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MUSIC IN CAROLINE PLAYS

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is the first comprehensive study dedicated to music in Caroline plays. The drama of the Caroline period marked the end of the great 'Elizabethan' theatrical tradition. Unfortunately, this has resulted in the Caroline theatre and Caroline plays being virtually subsumed into the Elizabethan and Jacobean. The music in the plays, which has received little critical attention, has never been studied as a body in its own right. Moreover, a relation between Caroline, Elizabethan and Jacobean traditions has nearly always been assumed; to such an extent that the traditions have largely been treated as identical. Those few commentators who have bothered to consider changes in musical practice have been influenced by preconceptions resulting from an erroneous historical perspective; and this has led them to a general undervaluing of Caroline theatre music. The issue of the music in the plays constitutes a notable omission from the recent important studies of Caroline drama and theatre, and a detailed examination and revaluation is long overdue.

I set out to do a more thorough survey than has hitherto been attempted. In particular, this is the first study to be based on a survey of all 260 new plays dating from 1625 to 1642 of which texts survive, and on extensive research into musical sources and transcription of a large number of pieces of music. This work has provided a substantial amount of new material. There are some significant findings and conclusions, and I demonstrate that the music in Caroline plays merits neither the neglect nor the cavalier dismissal which it has received in the past.

I begin by discussing the composers and performers of theatre music and the location of the latter. Next I

look at evidence of the types of music in Caroline plays: song, instrumental music and dance. I then go on to discuss the uses of music in the plays, referring where possible to surviving music (a neglected issue) and discussing it in dramatic context. I give special emphasis to instrumental music and dance, which have previously been given little attention, and I take a more theatrical approach in my analysis of the uses than has been pursued in the past. I deal first with music integral to the plot and emotionally supportive music; then with technically supportive music, music included purely to amuse the audience and music as structural articulation. I identify many musical conventions, and investigate the use of 'conventional types' of music (certain kinds of music which are consistently associated with particular types of dramatic situation). Finally I evaluate the importance of music in the Caroline theatre.

I have sought to establish that song, instrumental music and dance had an important role in drama of the time, and that all were important as part of the theatrical experience. The music in Caroline plays is also important historically. There were indeed many similarities with the Elizabethan and Jacobean traditions, but traditions were not static. The view that there was a decline in the use of music compared to earlier practices is refuted. Although the closing of the theatres in 1642 was in many ways a moment of decisive discontinuity, musical practices provide a link between the Caroline and Restoration periods. The extent of Caroline foreshadowing of Restoration practices is striking and to many will be unexpected. The overall pattern is one of basic continuity in musical practices in plays throughout the seventeenth century.

One of the main aims of this study has been to identify as much as possible of the music that survives.

An important finding is that a substantial body of music is extant, much more than was thought. There are musical sources for settings of or tunes for a total of 113 lyrics from Caroline plays (including settings which are new to musical scholarship); for thirty-one of the instrumental tunes which are called for by name in specific Caroline plays; and for another fourteen instrumental tunes which may be associated with plays. The sources for this music are listed in Appendix 1, which provides a current catalogue of all surviving music associated with specific Caroline plays. Appendix 2 is an edition which makes available thirty-one settings of Caroline dramatic lyrics and symphonies for three further songs, none of which has previously been published in a modern edition; they include newly identified songs. These Appendices are an important adjunct of the thesis, as are Appendices 3 and 4, which are a comprehensive listing of all the specified instances of instrumental music and dance contained in Caroline play-texts, classified by their dramatic context or function.

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MUSIC IN CAROLINE PLAYS

CONTENTS

PROCEDURES

Method of bibliographical citation

An author-date system of bibliographical citation (for example, 'Bowden 1951:233-34') has been adopted for all works except dramatic and early musical texts. The latter are cited in a rather fuller manner, but the reader is referred to the appended bibliographies for full details.

In the citation of examples from play-texts, the title of a play is given, followed by specification of act, scene and line numbers (where relevant). When numbering lines in unedited plays, I have followed the useful practice in numbering stage directions initiated by the general editor of **The Revels Plays.** Each stage direction appearing on a separate line is keyed decimally to the preceding line of dialogue, and stage directions which begin a scene are numbered 0.1, 0.2, etc.. Examples cited from the few twentieth-century editions which number the lines page by page retain this numbering, and take the form 'V.iv.p.28.4'. The particular edition or manuscript of a Caroline play referred to is that given in the 'Bibliography of Caroline Dramatic Texts Consulted'. Quotations are all taken from the texts listed, and the act and scene divisions given in those texts are followed. This means that some citations from unedited plays include no scene number, since often only act divisions are marked. Some of these act headings are followed by the marking 'scene i', but with no marking of subsequent scenes. Where more than one text of a particular dramatic work has been used, citation includes letters in parentheses which distinguish the different texts (for example, **The Sophister** [b]). The dramatist's name is given to distinguish plays with the same title. The same procedure applies to examples from non-Caroline plays,

and here the texts used appear in the list 'Non-Caroline Dramatic Texts Cited'. When non-Caroline plays occur in the discussion, they are distinguished by the citation in parentheses after the play title of the date of the play.

In the citation of examples from early musical texts, manuscripts are referred to using abbreviations based on those of RISM (see the list of 'Abbreviations'). For seventeenth-century printed music, the composer's surname, title and date of the work are given (for example, 'Wilson's **Cheerfull Ayres** [1660]'). Composers' initials are given if needed to avoid possible confusion.

Quotations

In quotations from seventeenth-century texts, the following silent alterations have been made: contractions (including those in speech-headings) have been expanded; superscripts have not been retained; the long 's' has been modernized; and 'i' has been substituted for 'j', 'u' for 'v', and vice versa, where appropriate. In the quotation of three or more lines of dialogue from a play (but not of stage directions), the lineation of the play-text has been retained. Where necessary, the case of the first letter in quotations has been silently altered. Italics have been replaced by underlining, and all stage directions have been underlined. As regards the first lines of songs, in the case of the songs which are edited in Appendix 2, the first line is taken from the musical copy-text and follows its spelling and punctuation. In other cases, the first line given is that in the play-text. The titles of named tunes are given as they appear in the play-text.

Authority for information on plays; dates; clarification of 'Cockpits'

Schoenbaum 1964 (supplemented by Schoenbaum 1966 and 1970) has been used as the authority regarding title, date, authorship and details of production of the plays, though I have made a few corrections. In the citation of dates, the modern calendar has been used. In order to avoid confusion with the Cockpit-in-Court, the Cockpit in Drury Lane is referred to by its alternative name of the Phoenix.

INTRODUCTION

The Caroline period in drama starts in 1625 with the accession of Charles I, and effectively ends in 1642. On 2nd September of that year, stage-plays were forbidden by Ordinance of Parliament, and this ban continued for eighteen years. Its effect on playhouse musicians is lamented by an out-of-work actor in **The Actors Remonstrance:**

> "Our Musike that was held so delectable and precious, that they scorned to come to a Taverne under twentie shillings salary for two houres, now wander with their Instruments under their cloaks, I meane such as have any, into all houses of good fellowship, saluting every roome where there is company, with Will you have any musike Gentlemen?" (1643:6-7).

But if the Caroline period ended with tragic abruptness for its theatre musicians, it seems to have begun in a decidedly foggy vagueness for the historians and musicologists who have written about them, their theatre and the music they provided. The drama of the Caroline period marked the end of the great 'Elizabethan' theatrical tradition. Unfortunately, this has resulted in the Caroline theatre and Caroline plays being virtually subsumed into the Elizabethan and Jacobean. The music in the plays, which has been greatly neglected, has never been studied as a body in its own right. Such examination as it has received has always been alongside that of Jacobean theatre music, and usually Elizabethan too. Moreover, a relation between Caroline, Elizabethan and Jacobean traditions has nearly always been assumed, and not even explicitly acknowledged; to such an extent that the traditions have largely been treated as identical. Furthermore, those few commentators who have bothered to consider changes in musical practices have been influenced by preconceptions resulting from a fallacious historical perspective; and this has led them to a mistaken

analysis and a general undervaluing of the music.

A detailed examination and revaluation of the music in the plays as a body in its own right is long overdue. Though the value placed at the time on music and musicians in the Caroline theatre is suggested by contemporary comments such as the above lament from **The Actors Remonstrance**, the issue of the music in the plays constitutes a notable omission from the recent important studies and revaluations of Caroline drama and theatre. It deserves investigation, both to provide new information and to allow a revaluation of long-held beliefs. In this, a consideration of all extant music is a necessity; and limiting the focus to the plays dating from 1625 to 1642 allows more detailed study than was possible for commentators looking at a broader period. In addition, restricting investigation specifically to Caroline plays encourages treating them as an independent body and allows for the possibility of chronological development.

Auspices of performance of Caroline plays

A summary of information on the variety of auspices under which plays were performed during the Caroline period will help set this study in context. Plays were presented in six professional theatres in London (1) and one in Dublin, at court, in private venues, and at universities and schools. There were also performances during provincial tours, but these are excluded from this study.

The professional London theatres were of two types, long described as 'private' and 'public', but more appropriately described by Butler as 'élite' and 'popular' (1984:132), which are the terms I use henceforth. Both types were genuinely public. The popular theatres, the Second Globe, the Second Fortune and the Red Bull, were large and open-air and had a

heterogeneous but predominantly plebeian audience whose tastes were backward-looking. In contrast, the élite theatres, the Phoenix, the Second Blackfriars and the Salisbury Court, were more sophisticated; they were enclosed, smaller in capacity, charged more, offered better facilities, and had a distinctively gentry audience. (2) Outside London but probably similar in type to its élite theatres was the Werburgh Street Theatre in Dublin.

The court stage was private and audiences were exclusive. Court theatre included both performances for the court by visiting professionals and performances by royal actors and courtiers. Some court performances took place in the Cockpit-in-Court, which was converted c. 1632 by Inigo Jones to a regular professional court theatre. Others were in the Hall at Whitehall, Inigo Jones' Banqueting House at Whitehall, and the Great Hall at Hampton Court; temporary structures were erected. Plays were written by professional playwrights and courtiers (under the influence of the Queen).

The fashion at court for dramatic authorship was imitated by noblemen such as Mildmay Fane, who wrote plays for his own private theatre at Apthorpe. We know that one, **Candy Restored**, was presented "to the Lord and lady ... by some of their owne Children and famely" (0.1-0.2). A few other plays were also privately acted, by both professionals and amateurs (Leech 1935:209-95).

Finally, there are the academic institutions, both universities and schools. There were many university plays in the Caroline period. Christ Church, Oxford, was especially active. Temporary structures were normally erected for their performance, although in 1638, a stage house was erected at Queens' College, Cambridge (McKenzie 1970). Plays were written by amateur authors, frequently undergraduates and fellows (Harbage 1964:127), and were performed by members of the

colleges. In general, plays which were written as an educational discipline were in Latin, but those which were essentially for entertainment were in English. (3) Audiences included members of the university and guests, and some plays were produced for royal visits.

School plays had initially been in Latin but were increasingly in English (McConaughy 1913:12-13). During the Caroline period, plays were performed at Hadleigh School, Suffolk, Bingham School, Nottinghamshire, possibly Westminster School, and at the Jesuit school at St Omers in Belgium. They are in English apart from the three plays for St Omers; the latter are considered here because their author, Joseph Simons, is English, the school was for English boys, and the exiled college (though uncharacteristically unyielding in its use of Latin in plays) was itself "thoroughly British, though placed on the Continent" (McCabe 1937:356). The audience at St Omers would probably have included both distinguished visitors and townspeople.

The relationship and influence between traditions is of relevance to the consideration of music in plays. Butler observes that "the crucial theatrical division in the period falls not between the élite and popular theatres at all, but between the courtly and the professional stages" (1984:283). The traditional view is that the courtly stage increasingly dominated the Caroline theatre, but Butler has convincingly demonstrated that this is a misconception. (4) It was "the weakest and least important tradition in its own time" (ibid.). The élite and popular stages continued and developed a vigorous tradition. The fact that the popular-theatre tradition "still exerted a vital, formative influence" (ibid.:4) has been particularly overlooked in the past.

Although little work has been done on any reciprocal relationship which may have existed between the

academic, professional and courtly stages, it seems that at first the main influence on the university theatre was the professional theatre, but during Caroline times, the influence of the court increased (McLuskie 1981:151).

Review of previous research

The general subject of music in Caroline plays - its types, uses, surviving music, the composers, the performers and their location - has received little critical attention, particularly in recent years. Where it has been mentioned, it has often only been touched on, or has been the object of sweeping, and frequently dismissive or derogatory, generalizations.

Such valuable work as there has been in the field is mostly scattered and is concerned principally with isolated aspects of the subject. There are only two studies which take a broader approach, both of which have limitations, and there is no single comprehensive and detailed study concentrating solely on music in Caroline plays. There has been a general concentration on song and a lack of reference to surviving music.

The two major contributions to an overall examination are in Bowden's book **The English Dramatic Lyric, 1603-42** (1951) and Ingram's unpublished dissertation "Dramatic Use of Music in English Drama, 1603-42" (1955).

Bowden's book is a valuable study of the dramatic use of song in Jacobean and Caroline plays, but does possess limitations, the first of which lies in the study of songs separately from the rest of the music in the plays. Secondly, a proper evaluation of the dramatic function of songs is possible only when musical settings are taken into consideration as well as lyrics, but Bowden does not take settings into account. Thirdly, his study is not based on comprehensive coverage of the dramatic sources, and his comments are thus based on a

survey of only about three-quarters of the Caroline play-songs. (5)

Ingram's thesis is broader in scope, including song, instrumental music and dance, and benefits from his consideration of the uses of music as a whole. It includes much valuable observation on various aspects of the use of music in Caroline plays. However, Ingram focusses on the dramatic role of music at the expense of detail concerning the music itself, and apparently consulted virtually no extant music. In addition, his comments are based on only a proportion of the surviving evidence, as it seems that he did not examine texts of seventy-four of the extant Caroline plays. Finally, the emphasis of the entire thesis is weighted towards music in Jacobean plays.

As for the work which concentrates on particular aspects of the subject, some of the most important is contained in Manifold 1948 and 1956, Duckles 1968 and Spink ed. 1977. Manifold's work was restricted to instrumental music. It is important in that he was the first to present detailed evidence to support the theory that instruments had a signalling role, but is limited by his study of only a restricted sample of plays. Duckles' indispensable guide was the first attempt at a comprehensive survey of the music for the lyrics in Jacobean and Caroline drama. It was limited by the fact that he used Bowden's Appendix as the basic framework for his bibliography. Few settings of lyrics from Caroline plays have been published in modern editions, but Spink ed. 1977 includes good editions of thirteen.

It becomes clear, then, that there are many areas in which existing work can be supplemented, and some in particular in which previous study is inadequate or non-existent; for instance, much potential remains for work on the identification, study and editing of surviving musical settings of lyrics from Caroline plays, and for

investigation into instrumental music which might have been performed in them. In addition, there are some undeserved generalizations to be countered. Two of the main beliefs, which encompass the music in Elizabethan and Jacobean plays as well, are that little actual music survives (6) and that it was largely extraneous. A third view, held by both Ingram and Bowden, concerns Caroline theatre music specifically, and perceives in the use of music a decline compared to earlier practices. Whereas the first and second of these generalizations have been partially refuted in the literature, the third remains unchallenged.

The aims, approach and scope of this study

It is the purpose of this thesis to provide the first comprehensive study dedicated to music in the plays of the Caroline period. Firstly, I wish to locate and identify as many sources as possible of surviving music for Caroline plays, and to provide an accessible musical text of some of the extant music, which could be used inter alia in revivals of the plays. Secondly, I intend to review the types of music used, the uses of music and musical conventions in all extant Caroline plays (with special emphasis on instrumental music), with reference where possible to surviving music. I study the music both within and outside the acts, and consider how it was indicated. Thirdly, I investigate the composers of theatre music, the musical performers, and the location of the latter. Fourthly, I evaluate the importance of music in Caroline plays: its dramatic and theatrical significance, its artistic quality, and its historical importance in the context of the whole of the seventeenth century (including a reassessment of its relation with Elizabethan and Jacobean traditions).

My general approach differs in several respects from that taken in the past. Previous research has tended to

give undue emphasis to literary aspects and to draw conclusions entirely on the basis of literary evidence. I attempt to redress the balance by taking into account important musical considerations so far neglected. A critical approach which combines actual music with the study of uses is taken, and extant music is discussed in dramatic context. A more theatrical approach is taken in the analysis of the uses of music, and a more critical approach in the study of the evidence contained in the play-texts.

Comparison of the music and musical practices in Caroline plays performed under the range of auspices described earlier has not been attempted before; instead interest has focussed on London's public theatres. Although problematic, some attempt at comparison is worthwhile, (7) in order to compare and contrast traditions, to examine the extent to which musical conventions were shared (particularly given the transfer of plays between venues), (8) and to investigate the possibility of cross-fertilization between auspices. Non-professional plays, which have been particularly neglected in the past, contain much information of interest for this study and deserve consideration, even though they were not the theatrical mainstream.

Finally, four points need to be made concerning my scope. First, my list of extant plays is taken from Schoenbaum 1964 and its supplements (1966 and 1970), and I studied texts of all the new plays dating from the period 1625 to 1642 listed there. This means that I studied plays performed under all auspices, and the frequently neglected categories of plays in Latin and French, translations and adaptations, and manuscript plays. (9) Second, the term 'play' here includes all the dramatic works listed by Schoenbaum except those he classifies as 'masque', 'entertainment' or 'pageant'. My study is restricted to music in the plays, although,

where it elucidates certain aspects of discussion, limited comparison with masques has been made. Third, I am concerned here with performed music, rather than music in the verbal imagery of the plays.

Lastly, I bear very much in mind (and hope my reader will too) the implication of James Shirley's Dedication to **The Bird in a Cage** (1633), where he referred to the necessity of the reader exercising his theatrical imagination. He said that the play "wanteth I must confesse, much of that Ornament, which the Stage and Action lent it ... I must referre to your imagination, the Musicke, the Songs, the Dancing, and other varieties, which I know would have pleas'd you infinitely in the Presentment" (16-22). Only if one considers the effect of performed music in the plays, and imagines the plays in performance in the theatre for which they were written, can one attempt a proper assessment of the dramatic and theatrical significance of the music.

The primary sources and the nature of the evidence for this study

My work is based on a thorough review of primary sources, set in the context of a synthesis of the scattered existing scholarship. My fresh examination of the evidence is supplemented by evidence from sources neglected in the past. Two main types of primary source have been investigated: Caroline dramatic texts, and musical sources which it was thought might contain Caroline dramatic music. Contemporary archival, historical and pictorial sources are also drawn on to a certain extent. Play-texts provide the bulk of the evidence for observations made during the course of discussion; musical sources supply that for Appendices 1 and 2.

Dramatic texts

Texts of all 260 extant Caroline plays were investigated. (10) A rigorous approach was taken to the choice of texts, since the value of the evidence is obviously dependent on the reliability of the texts. This study has benefitted from the greater availability in recent years of Caroline play-texts in good modern critical editions. However, about two-thirds of the plays are still unavailable in this form. Many appeared in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century editions, but these are often bibliographically and editorially unsophisticated (laying traps for some unwary scholars of theatre music), and it was felt preferable to use seventeenth-century texts rather than editions such as these.

Criteria were therefore established for choosing which texts of particular dramatic works should be studied. Ideally a modern edition should be used; where none exists, the earliest extant edition should be studied, or a surviving manuscript if the play was not published. 'Modern' here means dating from 1925 or later; 1925 was chosen as marking the beginning of reliable modern editions of these texts, with the appearance of the first volume of the Herford and Simpson edition of Jonson's works in this year. (The choice of this date is arguable, but some such decision was necessary because of the scope of this survey.) Schoenbaum 1964 and its two supplements have been used as the authority in all these matters, supplemented by private research into modern editions which have appeared since Schoenbaum's work.

For purposes of comparison and in order to locate additional evidence, dramatic texts other than those selected by the rationale described above were also examined. Some Caroline plays survive both in a seventeenth-century printed edition and in manuscript,

and some in more than one seventeenth-century edition. Certain of these texts were investigated, as indications for music can differ between texts. Texts of the extant corpus of Caroline masques, entertainments and pageants, and of some Elizabethan, Jacobean and Restoration plays were also examined, (11) and here the same rationale regarding choice of texts was followed.

In the study of the play-texts the following information was recorded: all stage directions for song, instrumental music and dance within the plays themselves, all incidences where music was strongly implied though not directed, the dramatic context and function of the music in each case, and lyrics of songs. Details were noted as to instrumentation, type of music, any tunes specifically called for, performers and their location, and evidence concerning the identity of performing musicians or of composers. Any allusions within the dialogue to music in plays were also noted, plus any information concerning music in plays contained elsewhere in the dramatic text (for example, in the Preface, Dedicatory Epistle, Dramatis Personae, Prologue or Epilogue).

Two broad issues concerning the use of the play-texts as sources of evidence have been largely overlooked in the past and deserve discussion. First of all, a case needs to be made justifying the use in this study of evidence from the texts of all the extant Caroline plays, whatever their provenance and performance history. Here we need to consider the issue of the source of stage directions.

Music implied by the dialogue can normally be taken as the playwright's intention. Seventeenth-century stage directions, however, derive from a range of sources, including adaptor, prompter, actor, possibly musician, scribe and printer as well as playwright. Some scholars have distinguished between authorial and playhouse

sources of stage directions, assessing authority according to their particular interest. (12) However, I believe that for our purposes, an eclectic approach is most valuable, and that it is important to consider evidence from the whole body of play-texts. So I have not distinguished between texts according to their provenance. In justification, I would point out that my approach is similar to that of Dessen, who, while bearing in mind and recognizing the potential importance of distinctions between the sources of stage directions, does not work closely with the sources (1985:35). He stresses the importance as evidence of "groups of stage directions from a wide range of plays", and the "advantages in treating related stage directions as parts of a larger group or genus" (ibid.:25,30). (13) He uses this approach to suggest "the presence then of a shared language of the theatre common to dramatist, actor, annotator, and spectator" (ibid.:31). I believe this approach is valuable when attempting to identify musical conventions. I hold that all musical stage directions, whatever their source, reflect what were shared conventions, and therefore constitute valid evidence for this study.

In short, it is important to learn both how music was actually used in the theatre (from texts derived from the playhouse) and how the playwright envisaged the use of music, even if this was not actually realized in the playhouse. Considered together, they help build up a broad picture.

For the same reasons, evidence is also included from the twenty-seven plays whose auspices of production are unknown (14) and the twenty-two plays which were unacted. They may well have been written with performance in mind, and even if not, they are interesting for their reflection of the author's envisioned use of music. The nineteen 'closet' plays,

which were definitely written to be read rather than acted, are included too. Some contain musical stage directions, which are evidently part of the author's conception of the play, and deserve investigation as they potentially reflect current musical conventions known to the playwright and recognizable by the reader.

So it is necessary, I believe, to look at all the plays before generalizations can be made. I qualify my position by following Dessen in stressing that no argument should be built on unique examples, and that it should be borne in mind that plays were performed under different auspices, and at different dates, which must have had some influence. However, once a general picture has been established, the source of stage directions is occasionally investigated on an individual basis, in order to make particular points.

The second broad matter concerning the use of the play-texts as sources of evidence about music is that of problems concerning the nature of the evidence. First, the evidence must be identified. Often the use of music, and details of performance, have to be inferred from dialogue alone, and one cannot always be certain that music was performed. The observations in this study are based on that music which is specified and that which is implied. Sometimes variant readings complicate matters; for example, the readings "Pray excuse me" and "Play excuse me" in different copies of the quarto of **Hyde Park** (II.ii) ("Excuse me" was a dance tune).

Another, though less common, difficulty is that of recognizing stage directions and songs. These are normally italicized, but this is not always the case, and in some manuscripts (for example, that of **The Launching of the Mary**) they are in undifferentiated script. Errors in printed texts can obscure stage directions; for instance, in the quarto of **The Humorous Courtier**, a musical direction has been mistaken for

dialogue, presumably by the compositor. He set "Lords, Musicke then. Enter ..."; this should read "Loud Musicke, then enter ..." (V.iii.102.1). Errors in printed texts can also affect the reliability of stage directions as evidence. So in general the reader must be alert to complications caused by errors and oddities of printing, and the possible significance of variants.

Another major problem is that the play-texts contain only partial evidence. I believe that on occasion there are 'missing' stage directions, by which I mean that sometimes music was performed which is neither directed nor implied in the dialogue, but where the conventions might lead one to expect it. This is a very important issue, and will be discussed in section 3.7.

In addition, there are many 'blank' songs; that is, songs which we know were performed on the evidence of stage directions or by implication from the dialogue, but whose lyrics are not contained in the play-texts. (15) The question of why this happened is interesting. There is no single explanation which covers all incidences. The various explanations which have been advanced in the past are not reviewed here, since these are well summarized and supplemented by Bowden (1951:87-94,113-14). Rather, Caroline examples which support and supplement some of the existing theories are given.

One suggestion is that some blank songs occur in circumstances where any song of a particular type conventional in the theatre of the period could be used, and this would be selected from a repertory of song-types at the discretion of the actor, performer or stage manager (Bowden 1951:90, and see 29). Some Caroline specifications support this theory, since they suggest that a general type of song rather than a specific lyric is required (for example, "A song in the praise of war" [**The Picture** II.ii.123]).

Another proposal is that blank songs occurred because

songs were kept by musicians or performers on separate sheets containing both words and music. The argument goes that a song in the author's manuscript would probably not be transcribed if a new copy was made for use as a promptbook; only a cue would be needed there. So if the play was printed from the promptbook, as was common, the song would be blank. (16) Bowden pointed out, however, that there are some instances where songs are blank in printed plays but full in promptbooks (1951:90). He made the supplementary suggestion that authors deliberately withheld lyrics from publication from economic and personal motivation (ibid.:93), and I support this. It may be significant that in **The Queen and Concubine**, the one lyric which is blank is described as "a new Song" (V.ix.98.1); it may have been kept from publication intentionally by the author. (17)

The suggestion that songs were kept on separate sheets seems quite likely to me. There is evidence in Caroline play-texts which may support it, or can at least be related to it. A text of **Valetudinarium** (a) includes what may be an example of a separate sheet containing the musical setting of a lyric which was later interpolated into the play-text. Interestingly, the lyric already appears in this play-text. The lyric of a song which is blank in the 1659 printed text of **The English Moor** has been found in a manuscript of the play (in Lichfield Cathedral Library). This manuscript was presented by Richard Brome to his patron, William Seymour, and it has been suggested that it is probably in Brome's hand (Steen ed. 1978:xix,xxiv-xxv). The copy-text for the 1659 edition is unknown, but could have been a promptbook which lacked the lyric. It can be speculated that Brome may have retained the lyric in the presentation manuscript for reasons of authorial pride and to keep it a complete copy.

One further example may support the suggestion that

music was kept on separate sheets, but the element of speculation involved should be stressed. The lyric of "A Health to the Notherne lasse" in the second edition of **The Goblins** is a corrected version which "agrees with plausible readings in independent manuscripts, which the corrector could have found in a private transcript of contemporary music" (noted by Beaurline ed. 1971:278). This could suggest that, even though in this case the lyric was printed in the first edition, a better version of it was available separately from the play-text, and possibly on sheets containing words and music and kept by musicians or performers, or on a private transcript of these sheets.

Having been identified, the evidence must be interpreted. One problem of interpretation lies in the ambiguity of many stage directions. The ambiguous term 'music', which often appears, was used to mean instrumental music, but also referred to song and to musicians. Knowledge of the meaning of signalling terms and technical terms such as 'soft music' is necessary, as is knowledge of conventions. Sometimes a specific instrument is indicated, but on other occasions there is merely an indication in general descriptive terms of the kind of musical effect sought. Lyrics are not all necessarily sung, even if marked as 'song'.

On those occasions where the source of individual stage directions is investigated, there are many problems, and the source cannot usually be established with certainty. There have long been misunderstandings concerning the distinction between authorial and theatrical stage directions, and many assumptions need cautious reexamination and revision. (18) The main point is that, although 'permissive' and suggestive directions sound authorial, and more precise and detailed directions sound theatrical, the reverse attributions could also be the case.

Finally, there is the issue of the extent to which evidence in texts represents what was done in production. Stage directions may sometimes be a dependable record of the music which was actually performed. This is suggested by Nabbes' comment in the 'Verse' prefacing **The Bride** that the play was "without ought taken from her that my selfe thought ornament; nor supplyed with any thing ..." (9-12). It is possible that Shirley removed a direction for a flourish from **The Bird in a Cage** during printing because he recalled that it had not been used in performance (Senescu ed. 1980:xxx).

Not all authorial directions were necessarily followed in production, however. After the Epilogue to **The Antipodes**, Brome tells the reader "You shall find in this book more than was presented upon the stage, and left out of the presentation, for superfluous length" ('Courteous Reader'.1-3). A stage direction following a song lyric in **Messalina** tells us that the song "was left out of the Play in regard there was none could sing in Parts" (V.i.490.1-90.2).

In other texts, there may have been music in production which is not indicated in stage directions. Some playwrights deleted theatrical stage directions prior to publishing in order to make the text suitable for reading by the public; for example, William Berkeley did this to the text of **The Lost Lady.** (19) Other stage directions were excised by compositors in order to save space (see Byers ed. 1980:17). Printing errors too can mean that a text does not reflect production. For instance, some copies of the quarto of **Changes** omit a stage direction for recorders in V.v. It has been suggested that the production did use recorders here, and that the direction was accidentally omitted by the printer (Herod ed. 1942:xxxiv-xxxv).

Musical sources examined, and identification of music associated with plays

In an attempt to locate surviving Caroline dramatic music, manuscript and printed English secular musical sources dating from 1580 to 1700 were examined. I looked back because earlier popular tunes and songs were still used in Caroline times, and I looked forward because music associated with Caroline plays continued to appear in sources dating from later in the century. Both date limits are, of course, arbitrary, but it was necessary to set some limits to the field to be studied.

Sources are scattered among a wide variety of locations. As far as possible, they were examined at first hand, or if not, on microfilm or in facsimile. Knowledge of the contents of further sources was gained by means of secondary sources. (20) Obviously this is not as satisfactory as examining musical sources themselves, but it did enable the coverage of more sources.

The amount of music associated with plays which can be discovered is obviously limited by the number of musical sources which are extant. There is also the problem of identification. Even when they include dramatic lyrics, play-texts virtually never give information about the musical settings of these. Settings were identified primarily by means of their first lines. The main bibliographical tools in this work were two first-line indices which I built up, and the invaluable Day and Murrie 1940. The first index I assembled contains the first lines of all the lyrics which appear in Caroline play-texts. The second contains the first lines of several thousand manuscript songs and of solo songs printed in England between 1580 and 1622 (that is, within my period of study but not covered by Day and Murrie). Comparison of the first index with the second and with Day and Murrie's first-line index

enabled identification of manuscript and printed sources for settings of the lyrics.

It must be emphasized that settings of the lyrics identified by this means were not necessarily all used in the original productions or even in revivals of plays. Some lyrics were removed from their dramatic context and set by a composer unconnected with the stage. The exact relationship between settings of Caroline dramatic lyrics and the plays from which they originated is a problematic issue, but an attempt at determining the possible association between these settings and stage production has obviously been necessary in order for subsequent discussion to be meaningful. (It should be noted, however, that this area could be the subject of more detailed study than was possible within the bounds of this thesis.) I have concentrated on investigating associations with original performances of plays, and have erred on the side of caution.

About half of the extant settings of play-lyrics which have been discovered (21) were fairly certainly used in original productions, and it is on these 'linked' settings that I have concentrated for the provision of evidence for my discussion. Another fifth of the settings are possibly those used in original performances, but a link cannot be relied on to the same extent, and so they are used only to support arguments based on the linked settings. This category of 'possibly linked' settings covers varying degrees of certainty. The remaining settings are obviously not associated with original performances of plays.

Factors such as the style and nature of the musical setting, the date and provenance of the musical source, the identity and dates of the composer, and any known associations between him and the dramatist and/or the theatre have all to be taken into account when

attempting to establish the likelihood of whether settings were linked with original performances. For example, certain musical sources may have been connected with the theatre, (22) so appearance of a setting in these could be significant. Ballads are a problem. Even where words and music survive in the same sources, we do not know whether the versions were those used in the productions. Ballads can thus be discussed only in a more limited fashion than can linked settings of lyrics specially composed for the theatre.

A few settings of dramatic lyrics have been identified and discovered by means other than the first-line indices, and provide positive evidence of links with plays. Here too, however, the question of whether the production concerned was an original production or a revival has to be considered. Firstly, some songs are ascribed to plays in musical sources. (23) Secondly, there are two musical settings which are contained within play-texts. This is exceptional (although there are rare earlier examples), (24) and has been overlooked. Indeed, as recently as 1985, it was stated that "wordbooks of the era did not include music" (Austern 1985:238). The reader is referred to my article "Two Latin Play Songs" (Wood 1988), which is included as Appendix 5 of this thesis, for a full discussion of these two Caroline settings and the possible significance of their being bound into play-texts. The two songs in question are known only from these copies; they are "Dulcis somne, qui perduras", from text (a) of **Valetudinarium**, and "Astrorum iubar", from text (d) of **Zeno sive Ambitio Infelix.**

The identification of instrumental music (including dance) associated with plays involves more problems than that of songs. I attempted to identify it via named tunes and ascriptions to plays. Although specific music is practically never indicated, some tunes are called

for by name in the play-texts, which means that it has been possible to search for them in musical sources. In addition, tunes whose titles are the same as those of plays have been looked for and investigated. Caution is necessary in ascription, and the significance of titles can be over-estimated (see Walls 1975:269-72). Even where musical sources of tunes can be located, the form in which they survive does not tell us about how they were arranged for instruments in the theatre.

A significant finding of this thesis is that an impressive quantity of music survives, much more than was thought. There are musical sources for settings of or tunes for a total of 113 lyrics from Caroline plays, thirty-two of which are additional to those listed in Duckles 1968. These are twenty-two extra settings of specially composed dramatic lyrics, for which I have located sixty-three sources, and ten ballads for which tunes survive (although in this case separately from the lyrics). I have located an additional 144 seventeenth-century concordances to Duckles' 198 sources for the eighty-one settings listed by him. There are also sources for thirty-one of the tunes which are called for by name in specific Caroline plays; these tunes are variously hummed, whistled, performed as instrumental music in their own right and danced to. There are sources too for another fourteen instrumental tunes which share plays' titles and may be associated with them. This quantity of instrumental music is again much more than was thought, though it must be said that it is only a very small proportion of that called for. However, substantiation of the shortage of positively identifiable extant instrumental music is in itself significant, and much can still be learned from a detailed study of what we do know about the instrumental music.

The sources for song and instrumental music are

listed in Appendix 1, which provides a current catalogue of all surviving music associated with specific Caroline plays. More sources will doubtless be discovered. Appendix 2 is an edition of thirty-one settings of Caroline dramatic lyrics, and symphonies for three further songs, none of which has previously been published in a modern edition; they include newly identified songs.

CHAPTER 1

THE PERFORMERS AND COMPOSERS OF MUSIC IN CAROLINE PLAYS

1.1 The identity of the musical performers

Actors and musicians performed the music in Caroline plays. The identity of the musical performers was related to the auspices under which the play was produced. Professional actors and professional musicians performed music in the plays produced at the élite and popular theatres, and many of those produced at court. The music in university and private plays was performed by both professional and amateur musicians, whereas amateur musicians alone probably provided the music in school plays. Amateur actors performed music in a few court plays, and in university, school and private plays.

Actor-musicians

Actors in the early seventeenth-century public theatres were frequently called on to sing, play instruments and dance onstage. 'T. G.' said in 1616, "Player hath many times, many excellent qualities: as dancing, activitie, musicke, song, elloqution, abilitie of body, memory" (f. 117). This applied equally to Caroline actors.

Many Caroline roles require actors who can sing (for example, that of Constance in **The Northern Lass**). Songs were sometimes included for a particular actor, to display vocal skill (see Sternfeld 1963:98 and Wright 1927:270). The vocal abilities or inabilities of the actors influenced the amount of singing in plays (Bowden 1951:119-25), and could involve problems in performing songs (Reed ed. 1925:349-50; Bowden observes his view is rather extreme [1951:122-23]). The omission of a song from **Messalina** because "there was none could sing in Parts" (V.i.490.2) could reflect the limited vocal skill

of actors in the King's Revels company then. Bowden stresses that a good actor should possess the qualities essential to dramatic singing and be able to sing acceptably without necessarily having a good singing voice (1951:124).

Actor-musicians were used in pre-Caroline theatres. (1) Caroline dramatic texts contain some evidence concerning actors as performing musicians. In **The Antipodes**, Letoy says,

> "My own men are
> My music and my actors. I keep not
> A man or boy but is of quality:
> The worst can sing or play his part o'th'viols
> And act his part, too, in a comedy" (I.v.57).

Of course this statement is somewhat ambiguous; it can be interpreted as suggesting not only that Letoy's actors can at least sing and play the viol, but also that his musicians can act too. However, there is a certain amount of solid evidence concerning the identity of actors who sang or performed music in certain of the plays. Few texts of early seventeenth-century plays contain cast or actor lists, but thirteen texts of Caroline plays performed in public theatres do, and it is possible to deduce from these the identity of three actors who sang, and speculate on a fourth.

The actor John Thompson sang in three of his roles with the King's Men: as Domitia in **The Roman Actor** (II.i), as Honoria in **The Picture** (III.v), and as Panopia in **The Swisser** (V.iii). According to Bentley (1941-68:II,599), he was the leading boy actor with the King's Men for several years, and from the casts of plays in which his name occurs, he evidently played female roles for the company from at least 1621 to 1631. Baldwin (1927:189) comments that Thompson's roles are mostly those of the haughty queen, the forceful regal lady, or the proud disdainful villainess.Thompson probably played minor male roles in 1632, 1633 and 1634, for, though he does not appear in any casts, he was sworn a groom in 1633 (Bentley 1941-68:II,599). This evidence for the

assignment of songs to John Thompson shows the way in which acting companies and playwrights might exploit the musical skills possessed by a particular actor.

In **The Soddered Citizen** there is a singing character, Brainsick, who sings frequently, both snatches and entire songs. He was played by Thomas Pollard, who probably came to the King's Men about the winter of 1615 (Baldwin 1927:185; and see Bentley 1941-68:II,532-35). Pollard "regularly did light comedy...and a contemporary pamphlet tells us he was a humorist" (Baldwin 1927:185). His songs as Brainsick in **The Soddered Citizen** contain elements of comedy. Bowden speculates that "it might not be amiss to assign Pollard most or all of the similar comic singing parts occurring between 1619 and 1632" (1951:121). He may have played Vechio, a character who sings, in **The Chances.**

Thomas Jordan sang in his play **Money is an Ass**, in his role as Captain Penniless, although the snatches he performed would have required no genuine vocal skill. Jordan (see Bentley 1941-68:IV,678-90) first appeared as a boy actor for the King's Revels company, and was still a boy with them when he wrote this play. Bentley thinks (ibid.:II,487) "that Jordan wrote the play for himself and the other boys of the Revels company and that their masters allowed them to act it, probably on tour". He may well have remained with this company through their transformation into Queen Henrietta's Men in 1637 and on to the closing of the theatres (ibid.). He was possibly one of the troupe at the Werburgh Street Theatre, Dublin, with Shirley as principal dramatist, in 1637 and for three or four years thereafter (Stevenson 1942-43:155-57).

The text of **The Lover's Melancholy** just lists "The Names of such as acted", but Baldwin has speculated on the assignment of parts (1927:368). The play contains a song by "Cuculus like a Bedlam" (III); Baldwin thinks John Shank played this part. He was the successor of

Armin as chief clown of the King's Men (ibid.:50; and see Bentley 1941-68:II,562-67). He was famous as a jigg-maker and dancer (ibid.:II,563), and had a large number of apprentices, including the first two actors mentioned above.

The identity of a fifth actor who sang, and also danced, is suggested by a reference in the Praeludium specially written for the revival of the **The Careless Shepherdess** (1619) at the Salisbury Court, probably in 1638. This establishes the likelihood that the part of Buzzard in **The English Moor**, which involves singing and dancing, was taken by Timothy Reade, the popular comedian and dancer (Steen ed. 1978:xi-xii). In **The Stage-Players Complaint: In A pleasant Dialogue betweene Cane of the Fortune, and Reed** [Reade] **of the Friers** (1641), his "nimble feet" are referred to, and the character representing him recollects having "capoured over the Stage as light as a Finches Feather" (1,3). The use of Reade's name in the title shows that he was familiar to Caroline audiences.

Professional musicians

Professional musicians were required in Caroline plays to perform songs and instrumental music such as flourishes, serenades, accompaniments to masques, dances and songs, and inter-act music. They were also occasionally expected to take small acting parts, sometimes involving some dialogue. As Bentley points out (1929:799), the distinction between an actor and a musician is not always very definite. Theatre musicians had to be licensed separately from the actors by the Revels Office. On 9th April 1627, the musicians of the King's Men had to pay Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels, the sum of £1 as their annual fee for a licence to perform in the theatre (Adams ed. 1917:46).

It seems likely that there would have been permanent groups of musicians regularly employed by particular

theatres, supplemented by extra musicians for those plays which demanded more music-making than usual. This theory is advanced in view of the often considerable musical requirements of Caroline plays. It seems most unlikely that these could have been satisfied just by the occasional hiring of musicians who sometimes acted too. (2) A permanent group of musicians associated with a particular theatre is suggested by several references to the 'Blackfriars Music'. Bulstrode Whitelocke wrote in 1634 that the Blackfriars Music were "esteemed the best of common musitians in London" (quoted in Burney ed. 1957:II,290); they evidently became well known during the Caroline period. In his book about Barbados, written between 1650 and 1653, Richard Ligon describes how some of the British settlers "had a purpose to send for the Musick, that were wont to play at the Black Fryars", that is, until its closure in 1642 (Field 1974:367). The Blackfriars Music are also referred to in **The Parson's Wedding**. Their presence throughout the play is implied, as is the fact that they could apparently be hired out after performances: "**Jolly.** Yes, I have got the Blackfriars' music; I was fain to stay till the last act" (IV.i.61-62).

As for the provenance and background of theatre musicians, it seems that they could be drawn from the waits or the royal musicians, or be independent members of the musicians' company. The evidence given below indicates that certain of the musicians identified as performing in the theatre also had other affiliations; for example, some were theatre musicians, and civic and royal musicians at the same time.

The waits had traditional connections with drama, and the London waits provided music in the playhouses during Jacobean times. (3) Caroline dramatic texts contain some evidence for the use of waits in the theatre. In **The Fatal Contract** there is the stage direction "Enter the Eunuch, whilst the waits play softly" (V.ii.0.1). In **The**

Lady Mother II, musicians who are supposedly the town waits perform and accompany a song and a dance. Although the characterization of the musicians as 'waits' is the way in which they are incorporated into the dramatic illusion, it might also reflect actual use of the waits in the theatre. There is a reference to the musicians imitating "those ayrey soules that grace our Cittie Theaters" (II.669-70), and the boy's singing is compared to that of the boy at the Whitefriars:

> "**Crackby.** Now on my life this boy does sing as like the boy
> at the whitefryers as ever I heard, how say you Captain
> **Suckett.** I and the Musicks like theires, come Sirra whoes your Poett" (II.675-77).

This is a meta-theatrical joke. The term "Musick" is ambiguous here: it could mean the musicians, and thus be comparing these waits with the musicians at the Whitefriars; or, more likely in view of the subsequent enquiry as to the poet, it could refer to the song, comparing it with songs at the Whitefriars.

There is further evidence for the use of waits in a letter of complaint dated 12th February 1634 from Nicholas Lanier (ii), Master of the King's Music, to Bulstrode Whitelocke. John Adson had prevailed upon Whitelocke to hire for the second performance of **The Triumph of Peace** twelve waits, his own former colleagues, whereas Lanier thought the King's Musicians should be used. These waits were musicians for the wind instruments at the Blackfriars and Phoenix Theatres. (See Lefkowitz 1965:45.)

There is some evidence which permits us to identify individual professional theatre musicians, and these include members of the waits and royal musicians. There survives the list of twenty-one employees of the King's Men exempted from arrest by Sir Henry Herbert in 1624. The Protection List gives their names and says it certifies that they "are all imployed by the Kinges Ma[jes]ties servantes in theire quallity of Playinge as

Musitions and other necessary attendantes" (quoted in Bentley 1941-68:I,15). Court records reproduced in Ashbee ed. 1988 reveal that two of these people can definitely be identified as musicians - Ambrose Beeland (violinist) and Henry Wilson (violinist and lutenist) - and Cutts established (1966) that five more can: William Saunders (violinist and wind instrumentalist), William Toyer (trumpeter), Edward Shackerly (instrument unknown), Jeffery Collins (instrument unknown) and Nicholas Underhill (trumpeter). Cutts thinks there is a possibility that four more were musicians too: William Chambers (singer), George Rickner (trumpeter?), John Rhodes (instrument unknown) and Alexander Bullard (recorder player or trumpeter?). He gives further details about some of these musicians, and so too does Lasocki (1982). For example, William Saunders later became a wait and a royal musician, playing bass violin and sackbut (Cutts 1966:101-102, Lasocki 1982:27), and George Rickner took small parts in plays (Cutts 1966:103).

Caroline dramatic texts contain references to two of these musicians, and it can be deduced from cast lists that a third both sang and took minor roles in Caroline plays. The surviving text of **Believe as You List** is a promptbook and contains the direction "Harry: Wilson: And Boy ready for the song at the Arras" (IV.ii.1968-72). The original cast list contains a Henry Wilson. In the song in IV.ii he would have played the lute to accompany the singer. Sisson commented (ed. 1927[28]:xxxiv) that nothing was known of Wilson, but he may well have been the "Mr. Wilson a cunning Musitian" involved in a performance at the house of the Bishop of Lincoln on 27th September 1631 (Murray 1910:II,148-50). Bentley believes (1941-68:II,621) that "there can be little doubt ... that the King's attendant of 1624, the fiddler sued by Heminges in 1628, and the lute player of **Believe as You List** are the same man". He thinks it possible that the King's Men musician was the singer who dined with Alleyn

in 1620. It is possible that Henry Wilson was a member of the family of musicians of whom Nicholas and John Wilson are recorded (see Sisson ed. 1927[28]:xxxiv and Cutts 1966:102).

The name "Ambros" appears in the prompt notes of **The Wasp**. This could indicate Ambrose Beeland (see Bentley 1941-68:II,363). Lever thinks that the play was intended to be performed by the King's Revels company in the 1630s (ed. 1974[76]:xv-xvi). If Beeland is indeed indicated, this is interesting in that it constitutes evidence of his association with the King's Revels company as well as with the King's Men. The 1624 Protection List links Beeland with the King's Men, and Bentley think he was evidently one of the musicians who served the King's Men at the Globe and Blackfriars (1941-68:II,362-63). He deputized for Francis Parke in the city waits and provided music for the King's Men before securing his own place as a London wait in 1631 in 'winde instrumentes and consorts' (Cutts 1966:102). Cutts also suggests Beeland's association with John Gamble as further evidence linking him with the King's Men theatre (ibid.). In 1639 he became a royal violinist (Ashbee ed. 1988:103), but did not relinquish his post as a city wait. Here is an example of a musician apparently employed at the same time both in the waits and in the theatre.

The third employee of the King's Men is Nicholas Underhill, who played the part of Shackle in **The Soddered Citizen**, in which role he sang. He took minor roles in other plays at the Blackfriars between 1619 and 1631, and was apprenticed to Beeland from 1620 to 1632 (Lasocki 1982:27). In 1634 he was a musician at the Phoenix Theatre. This is known from the Longleat Papers of Bulstrode Whitelocke, the original papers and plans for **The Triumph of Peace**, described in Lefkowitz 1965. These papers include the names of six musicians at the Blackfriars and six at the Phoenix Theatres in 1634. Another musician listed in the 1624 Protection List, Jeffery Collins, was also a musician at the Phoenix

Theatre in 1634. Cutts comments, "Presumably the Blackfriars band of musicians was eked out by musicians from another theatre when the occasion called for it" (1966:103). Another speculation is, however, also possible: that by 1634 the musicians Underhill and Collins were no longer associated with the Blackfriars Theatre, but with the Phoenix instead. More evidence is needed before the truth can be established.

The other musicians listed as being at the Phoenix Theatre in 1634 are Thomas Hunter, John Levasher, Edward Wright and John Strong. The last named was a wind instrumentalist who became a King's Musician later in the year (Ashbee ed. 1988:80,112). The musicians listed at the Blackfriars Theatre are John Adson, Ambrose Beeland, Henry Field, Thomas Hutton, Francis Parker and Ralph Strachey (Streachy, Street). According to Lasocki, they were all London waits (1982:27). The list proves that Beeland still played at the Blackfriars in 1634, which was after he had become a wait. Henry Field, a musician for the treble 'violen' and wind instruments, became a London wait 1610-25 until his death in 1641 (Cutts 1966:105, Woodfill 1953:249-50). A Ralph Trachey is known from a document of 1634 to have shared the task of deputizing for Francis Parke in the waits with Beeland, Henry Field and William Saunders (Cutts 1966:102). Thomas Hutton was a lutenist (Lefkowitz 1965:47).

When John Adson was listed as a musician (flute, recorder and cornett player [ibid.:45]) at the Blackfriars Theatre in 1634, he was also a wait of the City of London and a King's Musician for the wind instruments (he is listed as such in the Longleat Papers, and had been sworn into the King's order the previous year [Ashbee ed. 1988:73]). There is evidence in a play-text that in 1634 he may also have taken a minor role in a King's Men play. The direction "Enter an invisible spirit. J.Adson with a brace of grey-hounds" appears in **The Late Lancashire Witches** (II.836-37).

Bentley suggests other musicians who may have been associated with the theatre (in 1941-68:II). He names several musicians from Southwark and Clerkenwell, saying there is no direct evidence they were connected with the stage, but many (though by no means all) musicians from these areas were. He also bases a theory on a reference in **The Lady Mother** (licensed 15th October 1635). In this play, Sucket says to a musician, called simply Musician, "Ever, ever whilst you live Jarvice, the dancers alwayes payes the Musike" (II.i.728-29). Bentley notes that it seems possible that Jarvice was the name of a man, not a character, and if so, that he was a musician, probably for the King's Revels at the Salisbury Court (1941-68:II,482). There is evidence (4) that Richard Balls (apparently a royal, civic and Blackfriars theatre musician at the same time) and his nephew Alphonso Balls also played in the theatre.

Permanent and 'additional' musicians

Unfortunately it is difficult on the basis of the above evidence to draw any definite conclusions as to which musicians were likely to have been regularly employed by any particular theatre and which were likely to have been engaged as 'additional' or extra musicians for certain plays. Looking at the Blackfriars theatre, for which there is most evidence, Cutts has observed that the 1624 List suggests a potential band of eleven musicians there, which agrees fairly closely with previous conjectures as to the size of its permanent band (1966:104). However, he also, in view of the good evidence that other musicians played there too, raises the question of to what extent the musicians in the 1624 List were 'additional' musicians (ibid.). Here he seems to be suggesting that, although it has been conjectured that there were probably about this number of musicians in the permanent group, these particular eleven musicians did not necessarily constitute the regular band. At least

some of them could be 'additional' musicians, while some of the other musicians identified as being associated with the Blackfriars Theatre may have been regular performers there. (This point is, however, not made directly and there is some ambiguity involved.) In Cutts ed. 1971 there is also a suggestion (5) that royal musicians might have constituted the permanent nucleus of the Jacobean King's Men band. There seems to be some discrepancy here, since of the other musicians mentioned in Cutts 1966 (with the implication that some could have been part of the permanent band) not all were royal musicians in 1624. At least by 1634, Cutts' suggestion that the whole permanent group was composed of royal musicians seems unlikely, in view of the listing in the Longleat Papers of six waits as musicians "at the Blackfriars Theatre". Of these six, although John Adson was a royal musician as well as a wait, it is known that Ambrose Beeland at least was not then a royal musician. (The definite linking of these six with the Blackfriars Theatre in the Longleat Papers would seem to make it unlikely that they were merely 'additional' musicians, though this is of course a possibility.)

Performers at court, academic and private venues

It seems likely that court plays and professional plays transferred to court generally used the royal musicians. In an order of 1630, a substitute was appointed "to wait ... on play nights instead of Mr. Jeronimo Bassano, who is the ancientist musition the King hath" (Ashbee ed. 1988:52); this could suggest that the royal wind players were used for plays presented at court. The Queen herself sang in the performance of **The Shepherd's Paradise** at court (Bentley 1941-68:IV,918).

Music in Caroline university plays was apparently performed by both amateurs and professionals. It is possible to identify from surviving cast lists those actors who sang, and in one case played an instrument, in

two Latin university plays. **Valetudinarium** was performed at Queens' College, Cambridge, and the actors were all members of the College; a cast list survives in text (b). Jones sang in his role as Archiater, Pestill as Molossus, and Jasper Whithead sang and accompanied himself as Cordelia (see Smith 1923:88). The cast list in manuscript (b) of **Paria**, which was performed at Trinity College, Cambridge, reveals that Mr Mercer sang as Asellio and Mr Thoneton as Fulvius. Spink says of university plays, "Though the standard of acting might not have been high, yet the singing was surely good and permitted a considerable amount of chorus work, since musicians could be drawn from college chapels" (1959-60:69). The four-part chorus in the surviving setting of "Dulcis somne" in **Valetudinarium** (a) IV.ix, for instance, would have exploited the musical talents of such singers; it could have been sung by extra-dramatic performers. The waits of the town provided music at university performances, and a reference in the surviving bursarial accounts which record expenses connected with **Valetudinarium** may provide evidence of this (see Wood 1988:47). Another name in the accounts may also refer to a musician: "Mr. Lilly" is possibly John Lilly the Cambridge theorbo player.

The musical skill of the children who performed music in Caroline school plays was related to the training provided by the school concerned. We know that the performers of the three plays which were written for the school of St Omers were well-trained singers and instrumentalists, since an elaborate training in vocal and instrumental music was provided there (see McCabe 1938). A cast list survives for **Apollo Shroving**, which was written for and performed by the scholars of Hadleigh School, Suffolk. The child actors who performed the three probable songs in the play can be identified as Samuel Cricke, George Richardson and Wentworth Randall.

Music in plays produced privately was performed by members of the gentry, though it seems likely that

professional musicians attached to the household would also have been involved. The cast list of **Candy Restored**, which was presented privately at Apthorpe, indicates that someone called Pratt played the part of a drummer. It seems that in **The Lady Errant**, which was privately acted, the female roles were, unusually, played by women, who would have been members of the gentry or nobility rather than professional actresses (Blakemore Evans ed. 1951:85). These women would have sung in the play.

1.2 The role of the musical performers within the dramatic illusion of the play

Named characters as musical performers

In just over three-quarters of the cases where the singer is identified, it is a named character, of greater or lesser importance in the play, which incidentally gives some indication of actors' singing skills. Some major characters sing onstage, for example in **The Lady Errant** III.iv and **Paria** (a) IV.i. Although on most occasions the identity of the accompanists of songs is not known, in about half of those cases where it is clear, the singers themselves perform the accompaniment (as in the preceding example from **The Lady Errant**). But much more often it is named characters of less importance who sing onstage, again sometimes accompanying themselves, for instance Eulinus in **Fuimus Troes** V.iii, who unusually sings to the viol. As for singing offstage, major characters who do so include Pausanes in **The Prisoners** II.iii and Parthenia in **Argalus and Parthenia** II.ii, and minor characters include Francescina in **The Sisters** III. Performance of the song accompaniment by somebody other than the character who is singing could suggest that the actor concerned was not a proficient instrumentalist. Accompanists tend to be musicians who are in the same location as the singer.

The fact that a character has somebody to sing for him (as in **Landgartha** II) does not necessarily imply that the actor could not sing. Often real-life practice is reflected: rules of propriety dictated that gentlemen did not sing in public, and this limited the number of contexts in which noble characters sang on the stage. It might be thought that the performance of songs by a surrogate would impede the possibilities for the characterization in music of an important character, but the characterizing values of a song can still be achieved by having that character acknowledge the words as his or

her own and command the performance (see Bowden 1951:122). The performance of a song by musicians can be related in a different way to the social status of the character concerned, in that the customary practices of the period also influenced the types of song which particular characters might sing. Characters of lower status tended to perform popular songs and ballads, which were convenient for theatrical purposes because their performance required neither highly trained singers nor instrumentalists. But the performance of the ayres which were associated with characters of higher status tended to demand more musical skill, which was not always possessed by the actors, and hence professional musicians might have to be introduced (Long 1955:3-4).

The identity and location of instrumentalists is often not specified or obvious in Caroline play-texts. However, where it is, on the majority of occasions onstage instrumental music is performed by musicians rather than actors. Those named characters who do play instruments onstage are generally characters of lesser importance and often of lower social status. They are most frequently required to play the lute, violin and horn; less often, the viol and drum. Often only limited facility on an instrument is required. Characters of lesser importance who play instruments onstage include Severino, a banished nobleman, in Massinger's **The Guardian** I.iv, and Daynty, a pickpocket, in **The Court Beggar** V.ii; more important characters are Losserello, the eponymous knight, and Craft, a cheater, in **The Fairy Knight** V.i and I.iv respectively. Usually instrumental music performed offstage is supposedly played by musicians, but there are a few examples where named characters are meant to play there. In **Pseudomagia** (b) IV.v, Serastus enters after having played the lute, and in **The Novella** III.i, the maid Jacconetta is directed to go offstage to play the accompaniment to the dance; it is implied that she may join musicians there.

Musical performers identified in the drama as 'musicians'

These are generally incorporated into the play to the extent that some explanation is given for their presence; however, such dramatic justification can be very slight: they often take practically no part in the action and tend to depart immediately they have performed. Onstage musicians are most commonly not listed in the 'Dramatis Personae', but are occasionally included, being identified as fiddlers, minstrels, music teachers, ballad singers, singing boys and drummers.

Onstage instrumentalists and singers are often introduced in circumstances in which they would be expected in everyday life. They are usually identified by the characters so that their presence is plausible to the audience. Singers are often boys, sometimes called a 'fiddler's boy' (as in **Wit in a Constable** V.i), occasionally representing pages (as in **The City Wit** IV.ii), and singing in various guises in shows and masques (such as the boy "clad like a nuptiall Genius" in **Imperiale** [IV.iv.30.1]). Musicians sometimes accompany themselves (as in **II The Cid** III.vii), sometimes each other (fiddlers accompany a boy's singing in **The Staple of News** IV.ii), and sometimes named characters (fiddlers accompany Knowlittle in **The Drinking Academy** V.iii).

When offstage music is drawn into the dramatic illusion and performers are identified, some songs as well as most instrumental music are supposedly performed by musicians (for instance, in **Naufragium Joculare** I.vi, a lute player apparently performs a song offstage). The playwright indicates the supposed source of the music through remarks by the characters. Sometimes, however, the musical performance is not drawn into the dramatic illusion in a naturalistic way; for example, some music can be described as 'atmospheric' (a topic explored in section 3.3.3). It can usually be assumed in such cases that the atmospheric music was performed anonymously offstage by invisible musicians.

About three-quarters of the musicians who appear onstage do not speak. Naturally these non-speaking musicians nearly always perform music; but occasionally musicians make appearances when they neither perform music nor speak, yet still form part of the dramatic action. Such appearances are usually related to performance by the musicians earlier or later in the play. For instance, in **The Drinking Academy** IV.ii, fiddlers come onstage accompanying Knowlittle on his way to serenade Lady Pecunia, and this helps prepare for and reinforce their presence onstage accompanying his serenade in V.iii.

Occasionally musicians who come onstage in their own character have small speaking parts, though they generally have very few lines (as in **The Parson's Wedding** V.i and **The Wizard** V.v). The very fact of their speaking does, however, help to establish their characters as musicians and involve them a little more in the dramatic action. They usually speak in order tc offer music, and a formulaic similarity of wording is noticeable, for instance in lines spoken by the several fiddlers who appear in drinking scenes. In **Wit in a Constable**, the fiddler's boy says, "Please you hear a good song Gentlemen?" (V.i.218) and in **A Cure for a Cuckold**, a "Boy like a Musician" enquires, "Will you have any musick, Gentlemen?" (IV.i.54.1,55). Similar wording occurs in **Love's Cruelty** III.i. and **The Gamester** II - and in my opening quotation from **The Actors Remonstrance**. Very occasionally musicians are given more lines of dialogue (for example, in **The Spanish Lovers** II.i and **Confessor** III.vi).

'Musical characters'

In some plays, what could be described as 'musical characters' have minor roles. In **The Chances** there is a music teacher, Vechio, who is also a teacher of Latin and a reputed wizard. Although he is a minor character, he

does speak quite a lot in one scene as well as singing (V.iii). Other examples are a singing and a dancing master in **The Fool Would Be a Favourite** and Vicar Catchmey, a cathedral singer, in **The Ordinary. The Ball** and **The Variety** feature characters of French dancing masters who appear in several scenes, speak quite a lot, and play a more important role in the play.

1.3 The location of the musical performers

"Music, and a Song from the musick roome" reads a direction in **The Country Girl** (V.238-39). Other implied or specified locations for singers and instrumentalists in Caroline plays include onstage, 'above', 'within', 'within and above' and 'below'. Thus despite the evidence for the existence in at least some theatres of a music room, whose name suggests a location specifically for the performance of music where performers might be concentrated, (6) singers and instrumentalists were not restricted to it but performed in a variety of locations. In certain cases the location was dictated by the exigencies of the action: by where music was required as part of the dramatic illusion. The large and much neglected body of evidence in Caroline play-texts as to the location of musicians has a lot to tell us about all this. Evidence is considered separately for the various auspices, starting with public theatres.

The music room

In addition to the reference in **The Country Girl** (first printed in 1647), there are two other directions in Caroline play-texts which refer specifically to a music room. Both indicate that it was located above the stage and could also be used as an acting space. In **Money Is an Ass**, the direction "Enter Callumney in the Musique Room" (IV.i.123.1) follows the direction "Callumney above" (ibid.113). On this occasion, no music is performed in the music room. The second direction is from **The Parson's Wedding** and reads "Enter Mistress Pleasant, Widow Wild her aunt, and Secret, her woman, above in the music room, as dressing her" (I.ii.0.1-0.2). Some caution is necessary since both texts are late printings, but there is support from specific references to music rooms in pre-Caroline plays. The existence of a music room and its use for occasional acting 'above' are also suggested

by Jasper Mayne's praise of Ben Jonson: "Thou laid'st no sieges to the music room" (**Jonsonus Virbius** [1638], sig. E4, quoted in Bentley 1941-68:VI,244).

Returning to play-texts, the previous location of musicians 'above', presumably in the music room, is implied by the directions "Musick come down" and "Musicians come down to make ready for the song at Aras" (**The City Madam** III.i.4-5, V.i.7-11). Prior to their descent in V.i, the musicians have played "the Act" (i.e. inter-act music), apparently 'above' in the music room, and "Whil'st the Act Plays, the Footstep, little Table, and Arras hung up for the Musicians" (IV.iv.131-38). The musicians play behind the arras in V.iii; presumably they vacated the music room so that it could be used for the discovery of Plenty and Lacy as 'statues' in a raised playing-area (Hosley 1960:116). So here the music room is used for an action 'above' requiring curtains.

It can be assumed that on the twenty-one occasions when it is directed or implied that music in popular- or élite-theatre plays is performed 'above', the musicians are located in the music room. There are seven examples of instrumentalists' location being specified as 'above' or 'aloft'. In **Love's Changelings' Change**, "Still musicke from above with shrill voice naming Philoclea" (II.i.531-32) is thought by Pyrocles to be "sung out by some Angell" (534) and its effect is compared with that of the music of the spheres. Later in the same play there is "loud musicke twice above" (IV.i.1921-22), and in **The Launching of the Mary** there is "musique aloft" for two banquets (I.i.245 and V.ii.2793).

It is directed or implied that fourteen songs are performed 'above' (for instance, in **The Obstinate Lady** I.i and **The Novella** II.ii). It is obvious on eleven of these occasions that the accompaniment is also performed 'above', as in **The Fatal Contract**, where there is "musick above, and this Song" (IV.iii.0.1). The music room can be given a function within the dramatic illusion of the

play. Singers 'above' are sometimes supposedly at a window; for example, in **Hannibal and Scipio**, there is "A Song as from some window" (I.iii.5.1). Swaynwit, Courtwit and Citwit sing a catch in what is supposedly Lady Strangelove's music room in **The Court Beggar**. She then asks Philomel to "Goe call 'em downe" (II.i.334). The implication is that they have been 'above' in the stage music room, which also functions within the illusion of the play as Strangelove's music room.

Sometimes a curtain is indicated 'above'. In **The Jews' Tragedy** Miriam sings "in her Chamber" (IV.407.2), and afterwards "drawes her wind[o]w Curten" (418). On some occasions a singer is 'above' and apparently behind a curtain. "Musidorus from above within sings" in **Love's Changelings' Change** (II.i.817-18); previously "Musidorus goes behind the Curtane" (II.i.673-74). Musicians play 'above' at the wedding in **The Late Lancashire Witches**, and the introductory dialogue and full direction are revealing:

> "**Arthur**. Play fidlers anything.
> **Doughty**. I, and lets see your faces, that you play fairely with us.
> Musitians shew themselves above" (III.1424-26).

Pictorial evidence supports this. Both the frontispiece to Francis Kirkman's **The Wits** and the vignette from the title-page of **Messalina** (7) show a single curtained area 'above'. This again suggests that both music and action 'above' and requiring curtains took place in the same area. I believe that the upper area shown in these two pictures is the music room.

The evidence reviewed above, suggesting that there was a music room located above the stage, sometimes provided with curtains and occasionally used as an acting space, agrees with existing theories and with evidence in some earlier plays (see especially Hosley 1960; also Hosley 1975). Commentators further suggest that the music room was in the gallery over the tiring-house, and that, in outdoor playhouses at least, the gallery may on occasion

have served a third function: as 'the Lords' room', when the patrons or nobility visited the theatre (Edwards ed. 1979:23; see too Hosley 1957).

During the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods the question of a music room is complicated because of differing practices in élite and popular theatres. There was a music room at the Second Blackfriars (Hosley 1960:115, 1975:207,226,230), but probably not at the First Globe, at least before 1609 (Hosley 1960:118). It has been noted that the music room was necessary in élite theatres as a permanent station for the performance of inter-act music (Hosley 1960:117; Stevens 1966:26-27); and it was because there was no custom of inter-act music in popular theatres, at least until about 1608, that they probably had no special music room (Hosley 1975:230). Going by the evidence of act-division (Jewkes 1958:100-101), inter-act music was introduced to popular theatres sometime between 1607 and 1609 (Hosley 1960:117; 1975:191-92), and they began establishing music rooms; this explains references to music rooms at the Red Bull and the Swan by 1608 and 1611 respectively.

As regards the Caroline plays discussed as containing evidence for a music room, the theatres at which they were performed are not known in all cases. However, certain of these plays are known to have been performed at the Second Blackfriars, the Phoenix, and the Second Globe, and one was possibly performed at the Salisbury Court; they thus contain evidence for music rooms in both élite and popular theatres.

The function of the music-room curtains remains to be discussed. Their chief function was to conceal the musicians. Apparently performers 'above' were normally invisible during the action of the play, which meant they did not divert the attention of the audience. The music need not be assimilated into the dramatic illusion, and an affective function for dramatic music was possible. The invisibility of musical performers was sometimes assimilated into the dramatic illusion (for example,

Miriam singing supposedly in her chamber), and it could be put to dramatic use. And of course, it could sometimes be related to actors' musical skills.

As Hosley notes, another possible function of the curtains was to permit musicians to be made visible during the performance of inter-act music and music before and after plays, when they were performing music for its own sake (1960:114; and see 1975:231). As we have seen, sometimes singers and instrumentalists were visible in the music room during the performance of the dramatic action. On these occasions, the performers tended to be assimilated into the dramatic illusion. Curtains also allowed the discovery of actors 'above', though this seems to have been relatively infrequent.

'Within', onstage and beneath the stage

The performance of music in the tiring-house, or actors' dressing room, is alluded to in the Induction to **Cynthia's Revels** (1601), where Jonson gets one of the boys to say:

> "Wee are not so officiously befriended by him [the playwright], as to have his presence in the tiring-house, to prompt us aloud, stampe at the booke-holder, sweare for our properties, curse the poore tire-man, raile the musicke out of tune, and sweat for everie veniall trespasse we commit" (160-65).

This is the probable location for the performance of most music directed as 'within'. There are many more stage directions for music 'within' than for music 'above'. This term might designate the music room, but there are only very few examples (already cited) of 'within' also being 'above', and this seems to be an exception. Usually the term 'within' denotes location in the tiring-house, on stage level, and out of sight of the audience.

On those occasions when it is obvious where instrumentalists are located, they are offstage,

apparently in the tiring-house on stage level, far more often than anywhere else - in over 130 instances. On about half of these occasions their location is designated as 'within' (for example, "An Alarme within" in **The Amorous War** [IV.iii.81-83]), although occasionally the term 'without' is used, apparently synonymous with 'within' (**The Sophy** III.153, V.565.1). The various directions for music 'far off' (as in **The Sisters** III.206) presumably also imply its performance offstage. In **Messalina**, a bell rings "as far off" (II.i.13.1), and then twenty lines later "as neere at hand" (31.1), signalling the approach of the ruffians; this illustrates the dramatic use of realistic effects offstage.

Often the location of instrumentalists in the tiring-house on stage level is to be deduced from the dialogue. For example, in **The Weeding of Covent Garden**, Nicholas says that the fiddles who accompany the dancing "must play in the next room" (IV.ii.283-84), and 'within' also represents another room in **The Hollander** IV. On the whole, however, 'within' is not used in the realistic sense of representing an inner room where music is being performed (that is, as a 'fictional' stage direction), but as a 'theatrical' stage direction (one relating to theatrical structure) (see Hosley 1957:16-17 concerning this distinction). Musicians' location 'within' rather than in the music room is usually related to dramatic requirements, and extends illusion by helping to establish the impression of a world just offstage. For example, for purposes of dramatic realism, offstage hunting horns were heard from this level, as were offstage drums suggesting a distant battle or a military presence (**The Queen of Aragon** II.i.345).

Singers perform offstage much more rarely than instrumentalists. Again, sometimes the location is specified as 'within', and sometimes this is implied in the dialogue. That 'within' signifies location on stage level, not a higher level as some have claimed, is

confirmed by the practical consideration that there are occasions when singers or instrumentalists who have sung or played offstage then proceed to enter. In **The Politician**, for instance, a trumpet sounds within, then "Enter rebels with a trumpet before the coffin" (V.ii.27.1).

Music within the tiring-house was, at least sometimes, heard from behind a curtain, or arras, (8) which meant that the musicians could be revealed. In **A Jovial Crew** there is "a noise and singing within" (I.i.335.1), and later Springlove "opens the scene; the Beggars are discovered in their postures; then they issue forth" (362.2-62.3). (See also **The Old Couple** II.) The example already quoted of a song at the arras in **The City Madam** has illustrated another practical reason for the location of musicians here: because the music room was required for a discovery 'above'. Hosley points out that it was still desirable for the musicians to play, as usually during the acts, out of sight of the audience even though they had descended to stage level. He suggests that the arras was hung up in front of a middle doorway in the tiring-house facade (1960:116). The song in IV.ii of **Believe as You List** is performed "at the Arras" (1971-72). In **The Lady Mother**, Suckett orders the musicians to "goe behind the Arras" (II.668). Apparently they provide an accompaniment from there while the boy sings onstage. They presumably reappear when Suckett says "where are they", and counts them (II.696). In attempting to understand why they are sent behind the arras, it is tempting to interpret the following passage as meaning that in their location there they are imitating theatre musicians:

> "**Suckett.** your fellowes may goe behind the Arras I love
> to see Musitions in their Postures, Imitate those ayrey
> soules that grace our Cittie Theaters, though in
> their noats they come as short of them as Pan did

of Appollo" (II.668-72).
It has to be acknowledged, however, that this tantalizing passage is also open to other interpretations. The last two examples are especially significant since these texts are promptbooks, and therefore directly reflect theatrical performance practice.

Much music is performed visibly onstage (9) and the singers and instrumentalists are included as part of the action. Knowledge of the location of performers onstage is by implication rather than by use of this term as a stage direction. Instrumentalists obviously perform onstage on over seventy occasions (this figure excludes accompanists of songs). Where the location of the accompanists of dancing is known they are virtually always onstage, and most of the songs (about 350) are performed onstage (for instance, in **Confessor** II.ii and **Cornelianum Dolium** V.ii - to give two examples from those missed by Bowden [1951]).

There is only one example to be found in the entire corpus of extant Caroline play-texts of music coming from beneath the stage, and the play concerned, **Love in Its Ecstasy**, was unacted. However, the use of this location for music is substantiated by specifications in earlier plays which were performed, for instance **Antony and Cleopatra** (1607) IV.iii. This location is used for exceptional special effects, and music from 'below' usually has sinister and infernal connotations.

Location of instrumentalists

Most directions specify that instrumentalists are located 'within'. Perhaps these specifications are given because this location is different from the norm, which could have been the music room; or possibly they are given where it is important dramatically that the music is performed on stage level. Presumably in many of the instances where musicians' location is not specified, they could have been in the music room.

The matter of the concentration of instrumentalists in

a music room has been considered by Cutts. He dealt specifically with the musicians in King's Men plays. He claimed that, although there was still a vigorous movement in Jacobean times to portray music visibly on the stage for all occasions, during the Caroline period, musicians became relegated to a music room, where they performed invisibly and were separated from the play (ed. 1971:xxxvi). He wrote, "This later concentration of the musicians in one place ... sacrificed the variety of illusion of music coming from within, above, under and afar off, for the sake of the expediency of having the music all in one place", and claimed that it was "a sign of Caroline decadence" (1956a:21). He later moderated the last statement to read that it "constitue à certains égards une décadence" (ed. 1971:xxix).

I challenge his claim. The limitations of using stage directions as evidence must be acknowledged, but even going by this evidence alone, there are twenty-eight examples of instrumentalists performing onstage in Caroline King's Men plays, compared with the fifteen Jacobean examples which Cutts cited as his evidence. There are ninety-five onstage singers compared with his hundred and twenty-seven. There are fifty-five instances in Caroline King's Men plays of singers and instrumentalists performing 'within' but not 'above'. This variety of location does not support a claim for the concentration of musicians in the music room, and nor is such a claim true of Caroline plays in general. Possibly Cutts' claim was partly a result of the fact that sometimes he apparently interpreted the direction 'within' as referring to location in a music room.

Even where musicians were located in a music room, Cutts' generalization that they lost their involvement in the play does not necessarily hold, as we have seen. Cutts stated as further evidence for the use of a music room the fact that after 1629, King's Men plays began to contain specific references in stage directions to a

music room (1956a:21). I have discovered only two such references, which do not constitute proof. I think Cutts' statement concerning Caroline decadence is unjustified.

Musicians' location in plays performed at court, privately, and at schools and universities

It seems that in plays presented in non-public venues, music was performed in a similar range of locations to those utilized in the public theatres. Specifications are mainly for location onstage or 'within' (as in **Candy Restored** [i.179-90, iii.229-30], a play performed privately), but something is known of the possible location of the musicians in an upper area in two of the court theatres. **The Chances** was performed at the Cockpit-in-Court in 1630 and 1638; requirements for locations for the performance of music include an area "above" and "within" for the song in II.ii (15,17.1). Rowan thinks that the theatre had "a multi-purpose upper area, used by spectators, actors or musicians as circumstance permitted or occasion demanded", and cites pictorial evidence (1970:70; see too Wickham 1959-81:II,207). **Florimene** was performed in the hall at Whitehall, and Inigo Jones' drawing of arrangements for staging it survive (reproduced in Orgel and Strong 1973:II,638-39). Leacroft describes the plan, and the tiers of seats above the area allocated for 'scenes of relieve', and suggests that the musicians may have been here, "concealed behind an upper, cloud-painted shutter when they were not required to be visible to the audience" (1973:60). In another court play, **L'Artenice**, a singer "paraît, ou du moins se fait entendre" (V.ii.2592.2), a revealing example of flexibility.

As for Caroline plays performed at schools and universities, singers and instrumentalists perform onstage (**Apollo Shroving** II.vi, **Confessor** III.vi) and offstage (**Senile Odium** V.iv, **Naufragium Joculare** I.vi). In **Zeno sive Ambitio Infelix** (a) IV.iv, a song is

performed behind a curtain. Apparently an 'above' was available in the venues where two of the university plays were performed. In the Introduction to **The Rival Friends**, which was presented at Queens' College Cambridge, Venus sings "at a window above" ([a] 0.3), while Thetis and Phoebus sing onstage. In **Eumorphus Sive Cupido Adultus**, performed at St John's College Oxford, Glycerium sings "in fenestra" (V.v.1).

1.4 The composers

Composers wrote specially for the theatre. "Theaters were probably one of the best markets for their music" (Ingram 1958:491). And there is more to be said about Caroline ones than Cutts and others (10) have allowed.

Caroline play-texts contain very little evidence as to the identity of composers who provided music for the plays. A rare example of a clear ascription is the text of **The Floating Island**, whose title page states that "the Aires and Songs [were] set by Mr HENRY LAWES". Beyond this we are generally in the dark if we seek internal evidence as to the identity of Caroline composers. Still, there are one or two exceptions. In **The Country Captain** (a) IV.i, 'Master Adson's new ayres' are called for. This presumably indicates the popularity of John Adson's compositions with the Blackfriars audience; he has been mentioned as one of the performing musicians at the Blackfriars theatre. There is some evidence from archival sources. A warrant of payment for the Hampton Court performance of **The Royal Slave** in 1637 includes "the charge of dancers and composers of music"; payment is then listed as "to Estienne Nau and Sebastian la Pierre for themselves and 12 dancers, 541." (Bruce ed. 1867:563). Presumably Nau and la Pierre composed the dances. The former is mentioned in the Longleat Papers as taking part in **The Triumph of Peace** in 1634; he was then one of the King's Musicians for the Violins. He played the treble violin and was a composer for the violins, and was appointed musician for the lute in 1660 (Ashbee ed. 1986:5, ed. 1988:23,31). La Pierre was dance instructor to Charles as Prince of Wales and gave regular service to the court, being listed as one of "the Musitions" of Charles' household in 1625, and as one of the Queen's musicians in a list dating from c. 1640 (Ashbee ed. 1988:5,252).

A more fruitful, if somewhat hazardous, approach to

identifying theatre composers is from 'linked' settings (settings of Caroline play-lyrics which were fairly certainly used in original productions) for which it is possible to determine the composer. (11) The composers for whom there are most linked settings are the brothers William and Henry Lawes, John Wilson, and George Jeffreys. There are ten linked settings by William Lawes for nine different plays performed by the King's Men. An additional possibility is a lyric for a King's Men play which was set very probably by William Lawes and was also set by Henry Lawes ("No, no, faire Heretique, it needs must bee" from **Aglaura**); it is uncertain which setting was used at the performance. There are also four linked William Lawes settings for three plays performed by Beeston's Boys, and one for the performance of **The Royal Slave** at Christ Church, Oxford. This makes a total of fifteen (possibly sixteen) settings. In addition, five settings by William Lawes for earlier plays revived during the Caroline period have been cited by various writers (Lefkowitz 1960:197,199, 1980:564-65; Cutts 1952a:233, 1959:181, 1963b:245-47; Evans 1941:114).

There are ten linked settings by his brother for two plays performed at Christ Church, Oxford (**The Royal Slave** and **The Floating Island**) (see Evans 1941:122-37) and for another play probably performed there in 1635 (**The Ordinary**). (12) The surviving "Simphonyes" before three songs in "St John's play" are by Henry Lawes; the St John's referred to is St John's College, Oxford. Another possibility, for a King's Men play, is "No, no, faire Heretique". There are eight linked settings by John Wilson for two different plays performed by the King's Men. In addition, there are another two settings by him for two more King's Men plays which are possibly linked; and Cutts has referred to two more settings for Caroline revivals of earlier plays (1961b:385,387).

There are seven linked settings which George Jeffreys provided for **The Rival Friends**, performed at Queens'

College, Cambridge, another one for **The Muses' Looking Glass**, a King's Revels play, and four more which are described as "Songs made for some Comedyes A.4. voc.: 1631 Sir R. Hatton" (GB-Lbl MS Add. 10338, f. 33). The play or plays for which these last four settings were written are not known.

There is a linked setting by Charles Coleman for **The Lady Errant**, which was privately acted, and another setting by him which is possibly linked with **The Princess**, likely to have been a King's Men play. Only one linked setting by Thomas Holmes survives. Other composers, for whom only a single dramatic setting survives which is possibly linked, are John Atkins, Simon Ives (i), Robert Johnson (ii), Edmund Nelham, "C Simp[son?]", John Taylor and John Withy.

Composers' connections with companies and types of venue

The King's Men is the company for which by far the most evidence survives of the involvement of particular composers. The succession of composers employed by the King's Men can be established from surviving play-songs. The royal musician Robert Johnson (ii), who apparently began quite early in the century, was succeeded as principal songwriter for the King's Men by John Wilson. Even after this he still wrote for them. There is some uncertainty regarding the date when Wilson took over, but it seems most likely to have been about 1617, possibly after a period of collaboration (Spink 1986:55). All his extant dramatic settings are of lyrics from plays in the repertoire of the King's Men (other than settings associated with an unacted and a closet play). Spink thinks it more than likely that he was the 'Jacke Wilson' mentioned in the 1623 folio edition of **Much Ado about Nothing** (1598), who sings (1986:57). As he points out, this mention need not refer to the first performance of the play in 1604, merely to some performance prior to 1623. It is suggested by the dating of the new plays and

revivals for which he set lyrics that Wilson surrendered his place with the King's Men to William Lawes probably about 1633. As with Johnson, however, settings dating from after his probable period as principal songwriter also survive, suggesting a continued albeit reduced involvement. The last year for which play-song settings by Lawes survive is 1641.

Noting that royal musicians were responsible for providing music for King's Men plays, Cutts has explored connections between the King's Musicians and the King's Men, as continued and exemplified after Robert Johnson by John Wilson and (to a greater degree) William Lawes, and listed song settings by these two composers for entertainments at court and at the Blackfriars. (13) It should be stressed, however, that neither Wilson nor Lawes received a place as a King's Musician until 1635, and that whereas the majority of Lawes' work for the King's Men was done after that date most if not all of Wilson's was done before it.

All the King's Men plays for which Lawes wrote surviving settings were performed before the King and Queen while he was employed at court, and this strengthens the claim that he was the official composer for the King's Men. In addition to his music for plays, Lawes composed vocal and instrumental music for Caroline court masques and entertainments, the importance of his contribution to the masque being now well recognized. This, taken together with his contribution to plays, makes him perhaps the most important composer of dramatic music of the period.

There are four other composers, by each of whom one setting survives which is possibly linked with a King's Men play. They are Henry Lawes, Charles Coleman and Edmund Nelham, all of whom were royal musicians, and John Atkins. Henry Lawes, the leading English song-writer of the mid-seventeenth century, became a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal in 1626 and one of the King's Musicians for

the lutes and voices in 1631. He too was involved in masques and entertainments, both as singer and composer. Coleman was listed as one of the late James I's consort in an account of the latter's funeral in 1625 (Spink 1980b). In 1634 he performed in Shirley's masque **The Triumph of Peace** both as a singer and an instrumentalist, and he is listed in the Longleat Papers as a King's Musician for the lutes and voices (Lefkowitz 1965:46). He provided music for **The Entertainment at Richmond**, a comic show presented by courtiers in 1636. Nelham was already a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal in 1625 (Ashbee ed. 1988:1). Atkins, also a violinist, did not enter the royal band until 1660. Spink has suggested that the presence of songs by him in US-NYp MS Drexel 4041 could indicate that he was a theatre musician, since it is an important source of pre-Commonwealth play songs; indeed, possibly he compiled this collection (1980a).

It is possible that William Lawes, though he wrote predominantly for the King's Men, may also have been official composer for Beeston's Boys. As mentioned already, there are four linked settings by him for plays performed by them. This is the only company apart from the King's Men for which more than one Caroline dramatic setting by a single composer survives; that is, the only other one with any possible evidence for a definite link with a particular composer. Single settings by composers for other companies provide no firm evidence for speculation as to links between them.

Surviving settings for plays performed at universities reveal that, when the plays were presented before visiting royalty, the composers were often royal musicians. Both William and Henry Lawes were commissioned to help plan the university entertainments to honour the King and Queen on their visit to Oxford in 1636 (Evans 1941:122). As mentioned, there are surviving settings by Henry Lawes for **The Floating Island**, and by both him and his brother for **The Royal Slave** (both performed at Christ

Church); and music was provided by the royal musicians Stephen Nau and Sebastian la Pierre when **The Royal Slave** was performed at Hampton Court the following year. Evans suggests that as Henry Lawes usually just composed settings for lyrics, it is possible that William composed the instrumental music called for in **The Floating Island** (ibid.:123-24). William was to compose music for **The City Match**, and there is a linked setting by him of a lyric from this play; however, though planned for the royal visit, the play was not performed until several weeks later. **Love's Hospital**, one of the St John's College plays with which Henry Lawes' "Simphonyes" could be linked, was presented during the 1636 royal visit. Evans points out a context in this play for which William Lawes might have provided instrumental music (ibid.:127). Another play probably performed at Christ Church for which a setting by Henry Lawes survives, **The Ordinary**, was, however, not performed before royalty.

The Rival Friends was presented in 1632 before the King and Queen at Queens' College, Cambridge. The extant settings for this play were composed by George Jeffreys and Thomas Holmes. Jeffreys worked as an amateur for most of his composing life, and was primarily a church composer. According to Anthony à Wood, he was a member of the Chapel Royal before 1643, when he was appointed joint organist with John Wilson to the King's Oxford court, but there is evidence which conflicts with this (Aston 1980:583). The manuscript in which Holmes' setting of "Newly from a Poatcht Toad" survives says that it was sung by the composer. Holmes also took part as a skilful bass singer in **The Triumph of Peace**. He had been appointed organist at Winchester Cathedral in 1631, and was sworn in as a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal in 1633 (Lefkowitz 1965:46, Josephs 1980). There is a setting by Simon Ives (i) which is possibly linked with a play performed at Trinity College, Cambridge before Prince Charles in 1641, Cowley's **The Guardian**. Ives was organist of Christ Church in Newgate. He collaborated with William

Lawes on the music for **The Triumph of Peace** and composed music for the royal entertainment **The Presentment of Bushell's Rock.** In 1637 he became a wait of the City of London. There is one entry in court records of 1630 which may or may not refer to him (Ashbee ed. 1988:51).

Another play performed under academic auspices, **Zeno sive Ambitio Infelix,** was first performed at St Omers and subsequently in many Jesuit schools and at the English College, Rome (Gossett 1973:64,72,79-83). It is possible to speculate on the composer of the extant setting for this play which could be associated with the original performance or with one of the revivals. The reader is referred to my article (Wood 1988) for a detailed discussion of this matter, which had not previously been considered. The setting of "Astrorum iubar" is followed by what looks like a name and hence could be an ascription, but the signature is stylized and the name is not altogether clear. It could read "C Simp[son?]". Of the three possibilities which it raises, the most interesting is that of Christopher Simpson the composer, theorist and viol player (c.1605-1669), although overall this seems unlikely.

Collaboration

From the surviving settings some indication can be gained as to whether a single composer tended to set all the songs for a particular play or whether more than one could be involved. Although there is not much evidence, it seems that both were possible. For example, all four extant settings for **The Northern Lass** are by John Wilson, and both those for **The Lady's Trial** are by William Lawes. The preceding discussion of the plays for the royal visit to Oxford in 1636 illustrates the fact that composers sometimes collaborated in providing music for specific plays, as they normally did in the provision of music for masques.

An examination of which particular composers set

lyrics from plays by particular dramatists, and with what frequency, reveals information which can be investigated as to possible direct collaboration between musician and playwright, though this has to remain a speculative matter. There is evidence for collaboration between Henry Lawes and William Cartwright. Lawes' provision of music for Cartwright's play **The Ordinary** marked the beginning of what Evans calls "one of the happiest associations Lawes experienced in his unique history as friend of poets" (1941:113). He set to music a number of Cartwright's lyrics (this was advertised in the 1651 edition of Cartwright's works), and composed the popular recitative setting of his lament of Ariadne. He set lyrics for Cartwright's play **The Royal Slave**, and Evans suggests that he helped Cartwright plan this play. She puts forward a theory of collaboration between the two, a collaboration much like that between masque writer and composer (ibid.:128,132). Blakemore Evans, who basically supports Evans' interpretation, argues against early collaboration between Cartwright and Lawes in the working out of the main lines of the play, given the condition of the four manuscript copies of **The Royal Slave**. He concludes that "all that the evidence necessarily suggests is that some of Lawes' work in connection with the play came as an afterthought" (ed. 1951:174).

William Lawes provided settings for two plays by Davenant (**Love and Honour** and **The Unfortunate Lovers**), two plays by Suckling (**Brennoralt** and **The Goblins**), one play by Shirley (**The Cardinal**) and one by Cavendish and Shirley (**The Country Captain**). He provided music for masques by Davenant and Shirley. These settings of play lyrics may have been the result of his employment by the King's Men; however, they could also suggest an association between Lawes and Davenant, Suckling and Shirley. Lefkowitz points out the relation of all three of these playwrights to the court (1960:17) - suggestive in view of Lawes' links with the court.

CHAPTER 2

EVIDENCE OF THE TYPES OF MUSIC IN CAROLINE PLAYS

2.1 Song

Song, instrumental music and dance occurred frequently in plays of the Caroline period. Since song is particularly important, it will be examined first. Altogether nearly six hundred songs are indicated in the texts of the 260 extant plays, but the actual total would have exceeded this. There are about another two hundred likely or possible songs suggested by references within the dialogue, and there may also have been some of which no evidence at all now survives in the play-texts. Not only was the number of songs great: so was the range of styles used in them and the spectrum of dramatic functions they were made to perform. Both older and newer styles were represented, traditional dramatic usages were exploited and extended, and dramatists used song to communicate, through the music and through the words. Although I consider preexisting songs in my discussion of Caroline play-songs, I have concentrated on 'linked' settings.

Preexisting and specially composed songs; ballads and art-songs; old and new words and music

It is the traditional wisdom (expressed, for instance, in Duckles 1968:118) that song in early seventeenth-century English drama was either popular song and ballad from the repertory familiar to all playgoers, or song composed for a specific dramatic occasion in the play by a musician associated with the playhouse. (1) I have found evidence of both practices in the Caroline period, but would add that Caroline plays also make some use of preexisting art-songs, and sometimes use existing tunes

(from both the ballad and the art repertory) for new lyrics. There is musical as well as literary evidence for this.

By this time, many songs were certainly specially composed. However, I think there are strong arguments in favour of the use also of an existing repertory, both popular and art, and both melody and lyric. For instance, in the public theatres the demands of the repertory system make practical the use of songs from an existing repertoire of stock types suitable for particular dramatic contexts. The many 'blank' lyrics may provide evidence of this practice. The use of simpler old-fashioned popular songs and more sophisticated art-songs is related to such factors as the skill of the performers, the demands of the audience, the acoustic qualities of the venue, and also the dramatic function of the song. The use of new lyrics allowed songs to be of particular dramatic relevance. However, ballads and other preexisting songs already familiar to the audience could also be put to good dramatic use, through reliance on their associations.

The song-type 'ballad' is called for by this term only thirteen times in Caroline play-texts, and in musical sources for surviving settings of Caroline dramatic lyrics only one ("When Troy towne") is so identified. However, on numerous other occasions there appear in the play-texts what can be identified as ballad lyrics or snatches of them; for example, the lyric beginning "You dainty Dames" in **The Vow Breaker** V comprises stanzas from the ballad "Young Bateman". In other cases, ballads are called for by title though no lyric is given, as with the "Battaile of Musleborough Field" in **The Court Beggar** IV.iii. The ballad is referred to merely as a 'song' on this and other occasions.

The citation of only the first few words or lines of a song followed by 'etc.' (as occurs with "God prosper long our Noble King" in **The Benefice** [a] IV) suggests that the

song concerned is an already familiar ballad or popular song. Whether or not the whole thing or only a snatch was performed is open to speculation. Bowden tends to take it as implying the latter, and indeed given the number of verses frequently involved and the dramatic requirements, this often seems likely. On one occasion we are on more solid ground, and here the ballad is used with particular dramatic relevance. In **The Cyprian Conqueror** IV.iii, the first two lines of "When Troy towne" are cited, followed by "etc", and it is stressed in both the dialogue and in a stage direction that Eneas sings only the first part of the ballad (115,117.1). He sings the rest in V.iii, where it signifies his winning of Dido. The appearance of the same song in more than one play could suggest that it was a preexisting popular song. "There was a Lady lov'd a hogge", for example, appears in both **Grobiana's Nuptials** vi and **The English Moor** I.iii.

In some plays the age of the ballads and their place in traditional repertory is referred to. It is twice stressed in **The Court Beggar** that the "Battaile of Musleborough Field" is an "old Song" (IV.iii.43.1,47), and "There was an old fellow at Waltham Cross" is also referred to as an "old song", in **A Jovial Crew** (II.ii.86). On several occasions, however, the novelty of a ballad is stressed. The ballad "The Souldiers Joy" or "The souldiers delight" is called for in two plays, and both times its novelty is referred to ("a new one" in **Revenge for Honour** III.ii and "the new one" in **The Unnatural Combat** III.iii). This is interesting given the difference in date between the two plays (Schoenbaum 1964 states 1640 and 1626 respectively). (2) In each play the term 'song' is used rather than 'ballad'. An interesting passage in **The Lady Mother** is relevant here. The boy has just sung.

"**Crackby.** is this a new song
Musician. Tis the first edition sir, none else but we had ever coppie of it
Suckett. But you wilbe intreated, to let a gent'

have it

Musician. By no meanes the Author has sworn's to the contrary least it should grow soe wonderous old And turne a Ballad" (II.678-84).

(This also supports the suggestion that some songs are 'blank' because dramatists and acting companies were reluctant for their lyrics to be printed.)

Putting new words to old tunes was another way ballad material was used in Caroline, as in earlier, plays. New words are sung to unidentified existing tunes in **The Spanish Lovers**, where there is "a Mock-song, to a Ballad Tune" (II.i.276), and in **The Drinking Academy**. Here Simple follows his reading from a letter with

"fa la la la fa la fa lanini
downd dillie. tis just ballat way I can put a tune to it if you pleas" (II.i.214-16).

He then apparently sings the letter to a ballad-tune. (3) Sometimes an existing ballad-lyric is used with slight alteration (for instance, the snatch "Whope do me no harme good Woman" rather than "good man" in **The Fancies Chaste and Noble** III). Occasionally tunes might have been improvised. This could be suggested by the direction in **The Soddered Citizen** that Brainsick "sings and daunces to his owne tune" (I.v.337.1). This could, however, also be interpreted as meaning that he dances to his own singing rather than anybody else's accompaniment.

The art-songs which appear in the plays fall into three categories: those whose words and music both predate the play, those which put new words to an existing tune, and those whose words and music are newly composed specially for the play. The last type appears to outnumber the other two, but the shortage of evidence must be borne in mind. Sometimes it is the date of musical sources containing settings of lyrics which establishes whether or not the song predates the play. This is the case with the snatch "For he did but kisse her" in **Love's Cruelty** (IV.i), which is taken from "My Mistris sings no other song" in Robert Jones' **The First Booke Of Songes And Ayres** (1600). Sometimes additional

evidence is provided by the appearance of the same song in an earlier play ("What if a Day" occurs in both **The Queen and Concubine** and **Philotus** [1603]). Occasionally references within the play-text itself suggest that a song is already familiar to the audience; this occurs with "Why so pale and wan fond Lover" in **Aglaura** IV.ii.

Evidence for the setting of new words to preexisting art-tunes is limited. In **The Country Captain** (a) IV.i, "The juyce of Spanish squeez'd grapes is it" is apparently sung to one of "Master Adsons new ayres". This scene is interesting in its suggestion of a practice of performing songs to these instrumental tunes. Parodies of lyrics were presumably fitted to the tunes to which the original lyrics were set. Examples are "Have you felt the wooll of Beaver" (**The Variety** IV.i) and "I am confirm'd a Scholar can" (**The Benefice** [a] IV) (see Appendix 1).

Finally, linked settings provide evidence of newly composed tunes with new words. There are a fair number of examples, and also a reference in **Wit in a Constable** that a (blank) song is sung "to a fine new tune" (III.i.317). 'A new song' is requested or referred to on several occasions additional to those mentioned in connection with ballads; for example, in **The Lady Mother** II. The demand for and standing of new play-songs are reflected in this comment by Phantsy in **Wit's Triumvirate**:

> "all the gallants shall sing those till newer come up, and the younger sort, not being well read in the fathers and schoolmen of wit, will swear, 'Damme, 'twas mine,' and fight for it too, at least quarrel" (IV.iv.157-61).

Song-types and styles

A wide range of types and styles of song is used in Caroline plays. It is fairly representative of contemporary song in general, (4) including newer and more experimental as well as older types and styles. Though oversimplification is a danger, in the following I use a method of classification of songs by types and

styles which I hope is not too procrustean. (Some types are better defined than others.) Although there were also dialogues and group-songs such as catches and rounds, it is clear that the bulk of songs were continuo songs - both declamatory and non-declamatory (or tuneful and dance-like) songs, plus several songs in which both declamatory and tuneful elements appear.

In **The Country Captain**, Device says, "I can talke loud to a Theorbo and that's calld singing" ([a] I.i.389-90) - an interesting if critical reference presumably to the declamatory style. It has been asserted plausibly that the declamatory style dominated Caroline song. (5) However, it should be noted that it was exclusive, fashionable and important principally in court circles. The contentious issue of Italian influence on song of the time (6) is perhaps referred to in **The Weeding of Covent Garden**, where, after Dorcas has sung to her lute, Madge speaks to her of "your new fingle-fangle fashion, your preposterous Italian way" (I.i.318-19). If this comment does refer to the song, presumably that could have been in declamatory style. (However, the reference is ambiguous, and could also be interpreted as referring to Dorcas singing on a balcony dressed as a Venetian courtesan.)

The term recitative is used in one Caroline and two Jacobean masque-texts. (7) There has been much argument over what is actually meant by English recitative, given the dearth of actual music linked with uses of the word. Walls is probably right in suggesting that English recitative and what is now called declamatory ayre are essentially distinguished by the length and character of the verse set (1983-84:32-34). I have found no evidence for the use of anything that we would call recitative in Caroline plays, although the declamatory style is evident in various of the linked play-songs. (8)

The tuneful style was distinct from the declamatory, and this light style would have been more popular with

the middle classes of society than the declamatory style. Tuneful songs used dance rhythms and patterns, (9) and some songs also exist as instrumental dances. A relation between dance and song is suggested in some of the play-texts, though it must be remembered that songs which are newly composed and influenced by dance represent a different practice from songs which combine a new text with a preexisting dance melody. Either practice could be suggested by the song in **The Staple of News** IV.ii which is twice referred to as a sarabande. (10) The latter practice is possibly reflected in **The Strange Discovery**, where "at the sound of musicke and a song made fit and agreeable to the musicke, they danced" (II.vii.0.7-0.9). Several plays contain instances of characters dancing to singing (for example, **Byrsa Basilica sive Regale Excambium** II.xi and **The Sophister** [b] V.i), illustrating the affinity between dance and song. There is evidence for the use of two songs as dances, one being "The souldiers delight", which is referred to as a dance in **The Partial Law** II.iv.

In several of the linked settings, both declamatory and melodic influences appear. Earlier declamatory songs included melodic elements, a transitional tendency, but by the 1630s the declamatory element was predominant in them. Different from this are the play-songs of a mixed type, consisting of fairly distinct declamatory and tuneful sections.

Song-types called for or referred to by name in Caroline play-texts include, in addition to ballads, two dialogues (in **The Duke's Mistress** II and **The Rival Friends** [a] Introduction), nineteen catches (for example, in Cowley's **The Guardian** II.ix), two rounds (in **The Walks of Islington and Hogsdon** I.i and **Brennoralt** II.ii) and two hymns (one in **Leo Armenus** [a] V.i). (11) The dialogue was fashionable in England during the 1620s and 1630s, and was popular in both public and private circles (for

example, at court). Whenham has observed that "in France and England, the dialogue was an important vehicle of stylistic change during the early 17th century" (1980:418). By the 1630s the English dialogue generally utilized declamatory rather than melodious style. The close approach to recitative found in the dialogue has been emphasized by Spink (1959-60:70,1986:46). The distinction between the catch and the round has been defined as follows: "the round could be serious, whereas the catch was always frivolous" (Westrup 1980b) (though see too Spink 1986:135). The catch was especially popular during the seventeenth century, particularly with working men (Westrup 1980a:6). Types of song hardly represented in the plays include hymns and psalms. These, along with catches and ballads, were the popular songs of the time. There is one occurrence of a psalm tune ("How Happy" in **The Weeding of Covent Garden** II.ii), but it is hummed rather than sung. 'Wordless singing', or the singing of nonsense words or meaningless syllables, occurs in some of the plays (for instance, **The Copt-Hall Interlude** iv.49,60), often where an informal burst of singing is required.

Some of the types of song used in Caroline plays had been popular in Elizabethan and Jacobean plays, (12) for example, the ballad, catch and round. The lack of madrigals in Caroline plays is not surprising. There is just a snatch identified as a madrigal in **The School of Compliment** (b) IV.i. By this time they were going out of fashion, but they had also been infrequent in earlier drama, being unsuitable by nature for much dramatic use (see Long 1955:13 and Stevens 1966:28). The dramatic laments so popular in choirboy plays had fallen into disuse well before the Caroline period.

Dramatic potential

Assessment of the dramatic potential of song-types must not be unduly influenced by twentieth-century expectations of what 'dramatic music' might be, and songs must be judged on Caroline theatrical terms. All types of song can be used dramatically. Some types are especially suitable by nature for dramatic use, but in certain contexts even complex polyphonic settings can be as dramatic as simple solo songs. The dramatic requirements are important in determining the type of song. Where it is important that the words can be understood, solo song is obviously advantageous. The declamatory style is very suitable where intelligibility of the text matters, with its emphasis on the text rather than the music. The natural speech-rhythms of words are preserved, and flexible and subtle declamation is possible. There is affective emotional expression of the words and through-composition allows dramatic continuity. As Greer observes of the declamatory style, "it seems that in England as in Italy the new style was associated with theatrical entertainment" (1980:182). As for the dialogue, it is essentially dramatic by nature. It is a potential vehicle for the representation of conversation in music, and can allow dramatic interaction of characters and differentiation between them. Its importance is stressed by Lefkowitz, who notes that "we find in this form the essential musical-dramatic elements from which opera was evolving" (1960:169). Some of the functions fulfilled by song in Caroline plays (such as characterization and scene-setting) were better met by other types of song. For instance, catches are linked with conviviality, and this association is used in scene-setting. As well as exploiting the associations of certain types of song, the plays also make use of the associations of particular preexisting songs, especially ballads.

Structure

We now turn to some aspects of Caroline play-songs (other than ballads) as music. (13) Although information contained in the play-texts can often not be definitely related to particular song-types, there is some evidence concerning such aspects as structure, use and type of voices, accompaniment and general nature of musical setting. A comparison of linked settings with the specification given in the play-texts for the songs concerned reveals some interesting facts and aids interpretation of other such specifications.

None of the linked settings has an instrumental introduction, but they are suggested in several of the play-texts. Perhaps they were not usually written out, but, however brief, were improvised, perhaps using the opening bars of the song. Introductions were likely, if only to give singers their note. In a few of the settings (for example, "Cruell but once againe" and "Have pitty [Griefe]"), there is one instrumental note or chord before the voice enters. This does give the note, but could also be a result of the vocal entry on an offbeat characteristic of the declamatory style. One group of musical sources does give instrumental introductions to play-songs, but not the songs themselves, and without identifying the play concerned. They are short three-part "Simphonyes" identified as appearing before the first, second and third songs in "St John's Play" (see commentary on Appendix 2, No. 32). Performance under academic auspices is probably significant. Some surviving masque-songs have introductory instrumental symphonies. Conditions of performance at the St John's play would have been similar, and the music was probably more elaborate than was usual in the professional theatres. The survival of these symphonies without their songs suggests that perhaps other instrumental introductions might also survive but are unascribed in sources.

The play-texts contain evidence of thirty songs which

apparently have an introduction, and another seven which possibly do. Some ambiguous stage directions may imply an introduction or an accompaniment. Directions such as "Musique. Song" (**The Arcadia** II.14) and "The Musicke and song" (**The Roman Actor** V.i.159.1) have been taken as implying the former. (14) Introductions are presumably also implied in those instances where music is directed several lines before the song proper is performed (for example, "a Lute is heard" eight lines before a voice begins a song in **The Cardinal** [V.iii.90.1]). (15) In these cases, the dialogue apparently continues during the introduction to the song. In fact, there can be ambiguity as to when a song begins, since dialogue sometimes refers to music and a voice before the song-lyric appears. Perhaps dialogue actually continued over the beginning of the song (which could create problems with audibility), or possibly tuning and warming up are suggested. There is no evidence that play-songs had instrumental interludes or postludes.

Linked settings in declamatory style tend to be through-composed (for example, "Cruell but once againe" and "Wake my Adonis"). Occasionally a varied strophic form appears in songs of a fairly declamatory or mixed declamatory and tuneful style (such as the AA'A structure of "Come my sweet"). Settings in tuneful style are most frequently strophic, with two, three or four verses, though the words of subsequent verses do not always fit well to the music. In the dialogue "Now, now, the Sunne is fled", the material of the first solo section is re-used in varied form in the second solo section.

Some songs possess a refrain, which acts as a unifying element. (It is sometimes identified as a 'chorus', but this term can lead to some confusion since it is also used to mean a combination of voices. In this study the term 'chorus' is used in the latter sense only, and the term 'refrain' is used otherwise. A refrain performed by

more than one voice is described as a 'choral refrain'.) In the play-texts, some refrains are referred to as a 'burden' or 'burthen' (**The Northern Lass** III.iii, **The Soddered Citizen** V.iv), while others are merely suggested by the repetition of the same lines after each verse (**The Spanish Lovers** II.i). Sometimes both senses of the term 'chorus' apply (for example, in **The Shepherds' Holiday** III.iii and **Valetudinarium** [a] IV.ix), and indeed choral refrains are common, though occasionally refrains are performed by a solo voice (as in the linked setting of "A bony bony bird"). A slightly more complicated case occurs in **The Northern Lass** III.iii, where the first four lines of the refrain are sung solo, but the rest is sung by 'All'. Choral refrains appear in linked settings in declamatory style (for example, in "Come from the Dungeon", where the refrain separates solo and duet sections set to different music) and in the dialogue "Now, now, the Sunne".

Some of the settings involve repetition of sections other than a refrain. The final section of some of the songs in declamatory style (for instance, "Fond maydes, take warninge") is marked for repetition, and this type of 'petite reprise' emphasizes the conclusion of the song. The concluding section of each solo is repeated in "Dulcis somne", and the choral refrain is sung twice over on its first appearance. One stage direction, relating to a song for which no setting has been located, specifies "<u>These last two lines twice</u>" (**Pleasant Dialogues and Dramas, Pelopaea and Alope**.283-84). The tuneful settings do not tend to include repeat marks; their mostly strophic nature means that a large amount of musical repetition is already involved in their performance. The final chorus is marked for repeat in two of the dialogues ("Come my <u>Daphne</u>" and "Drowsie Phaebus"). Catches often end with a 'direct', indicating repetition (for instance, "Come let us cast the dice"), and could be sung as many times as wished.

Most of the linked declamatory settings are in duple time, but sometimes they involve changes of time-signature; for instance, several conclude with a section in triple time (as does "Newly from a Poatcht Toad"), which allows a change of mood. This also occurs in some settings incorporating declamatory and tuneful elements (such as "Loves a Child"), and in songs where fairly distinct declamatory and tuneful sections follow each other (for instance, "Wher did you borrow"). It has been observed that tuneful songs of the period are usually in triple time, but linked tuneful settings also include several in duple time, sometimes with a concluding triple section (for example, "Thine eyes to me"). The dialogues are mostly in duple time, but in "Come my Daphne" this changes to triple time for the chorus, and "Now, now, the Sunne" involves several changes, using duple time for the solo sections, triple for the choruses, and both for the duet. The triple-time choral refrain provides both unity and variety.

Use of voices

The play-texts give some indications of the manner of performance of songs. Most are sung throughout by one voice, though a few are sung by several voices (for example, in **Confessor** II.ii). In other songs, contrast is achieved by two or more voices singing in alternation and combination, and the variety of usages of voices is illustrated by the table below. Such uses were perhaps suggested by similar uses in masques, although plays do not make such varied uses of voices as masques do, and the chorus generally had a more substantial part to play in masques. In the plays, a chorus may comprise a combination of the voices which have sung previously (as is apparently the case in **The Shepherds' Holiday** III.i), creating a duet or a trio; or it may be a larger group of voices, which may or may not include those which have already sung (for example, **The Rebellion** IV.i and **The**

Soddered Citizen V.iv respectively). There is ambiguity as to the constitution of the chorus in some cases, and these are noted separately on the table. (16) The chorus may perform a refrain (as in **Love's Changelings' Change** II.i); or it may sing new words (for example, in **Microcosmus** I, II and III); or it may repeat the concluding few lines of the song (as in **The Rebellion** IV.i).

Table summarizing indications in play-texts regarding use of voices

Description of use of singing voices	Number of songs
2 voices in alternation	9
3 voices in alternation	1
2 voices in alternation and combination	8
3 voices in alternation and combination	2
4 voices in alternation and combination	1
1 voice and chorus of voices	16
2 voices in alternation and chorus of voices	1
3 voices in alternation and chorus of voices	3
Several voices in alternation and chorus of voices	1
Ambiguous cases:	
2 voices in alternation, then either in combination or a chorus of voices	5
3 voices in alternation, then either in combination or a chorus of voices	1
A blank 'song in dialogue'	1
A 'song in parts'	1

Note: Songs which are solo or choral throughout and catches are excluded.

In addition to the two songs identified in play-texts as dialogues, there are several where the lyric suggests this song-type. Voices labelled as 'Question' and 'Answer' alternate in songs in **The Noble Spanish Soldier** I.ii and **Paria** (a) II-III. Sometimes the use of voices is particularly elaborate; for example, in **The Lady Errant** V.viii, priests and ladies, standing on opposite sides, alternate with solos and choruses, achieving antiphonal

effect, and finally all combine.

Most of the linked settings in declamatory style are for solo voice, but some have a chorus. The first solo in "Thou O bright Sun" is followed by a four-part chorus which begins in note-against-note style, followed by some imitation and overlapping of voices. It is succeeded by another solo; three voices singing separately and together; and a concluding four-part chorus, in note-against-note style and different from the first chorus. In the four settings made for Sir R. Hatton's Comedies ("Fond maydes, take warninge", "Hymen hath together tyed", "You that have been" and "Cupid blushes to behold"), four voices sing together in a style including declamatory elements. Most tuneful settings and most songs incorporating declamatory and tuneful elements are for solo voice. Each of the linked dialogues makes different use of voices. In "Now, now, the Sunne", two solos are followed by a five-part chorus, two more solos, the chorus again, then the two initial voices combine. The setting is mostly in tuneful style, the chorus is in note-against-note style, and the duet includes note-against-note and imitative sections. In "Drowsie Phaebus" three voices alternate, with some speech interspersed, then a five-part chorus concludes the song, singing the last two lines spoken by Phoebus.

Although John Playford in 1673 described a catch as "a Song for three Voyces" ('Advertisement' in **The Musical Companion**), catches in the plays are sometimes for four voices (for instance, "A Pox on our Gaoler"). Some are not performed as catches although they are referred to as such in play-texts. Voices alternate and combine in two 'catches' in Cowley's **The Guardian** II.ix and one in **The Princess** V.ii, and the linked setting of "What Hoe" indicates that the song is not a catch but a part-song, sung by three voices throughout. Some directions in play-texts specify singing in parts, suggesting the use of

voices in combination. Song-types such as a catch are possible, as suggested by the direction "a Catch in foure Parts" in **The Wits** ([a] V.ii.145.1). A song involving a chorus is another possibility, and the lyric of the "Song in parts" in **King John and Matilda** (V.iii.102) indicates a chorus following alternating voices. A song in parts could have been performed by chorus throughout, and perhaps the song in **Landgartha** "in foure or five parts" (III.232.4-32.5) was performed in this manner.

The type of voice required is very rarely specified in the play-text. Isolated examples are "a base" in **The Floating Island**, and "two trebles and a bass" and later "two trebles" in **The Rival Friends** ([a] Introduction.0.2, III-IV.0.1). Obviously performance of a song by a male or supposedly female character gives some indication, the latter suggesting a treble voice. Most linked settings are for treble voice, though there are some for tenor (such as "Somnus the umble God") and bass (such as "Newly from a Poatcht Toad"). Dialogues tend to contrast treble and bass solos (for example, "Come my Daphne"), though "Now, now, the Sunne" features tenor and bass solos. The two- to five-part choruses involve a range of voices. The use of ornamentation for expressive purposes is exhibited in two of the settings ("Come my Daphne" [in source GB-Lbl MS Add. 11608] and "Newly from a Poatcht Toad"), and this notated ornamentation provides interesting illustration of contemporary practice. Jones has observed of the divisions in the second setting that "it would seem likely that this virtuoso style was developed by singers at court and in the theatres before the dispersal of professional musicians in the interregnum" (1989:124).

Accompaniment

Generally those accompanying instruments which would occur in the same situation in real life were used. The evidence in play-texts (listed in abbreviated form in the category 'Accompaniment to song' of Appendix 3) most

commonly suggests that songs were either accompanied by the lute or unaccompanied. Songs such as ballads and catches are unaccompanied, it being part of the nature of the song-type that an accompaniment is not an integral or even any part of the song. The frequent occurrence of the lute as accompanying instrument reflects contemporary practice. The theorbo lute was usually preferred to the treble lute or bass viol as an accompaniment to song, for reasons given in Mace's **Musick's Monument** (see Spink 1959-60:66-67 and Jones 1972:70). Mace observes that "the Theorboe-Lute is Principally us'd in Playing to the Voice, or in Consort; It being a Lute of the Largest Scize" (1676:207). The previously quoted comment by Device in **The Country Captain** (a) I.i refers to the practice of singing to the theorbo. Practical considerations affect the accompaniment of play-songs. If a singer was accompanying himself on stage, the treble lute would have had advantages over the bulky theorbo, although problems could have arisen over the sound carrying in certain venues. The song in **The Bird in a Cage** III.iii is, unusually for a play-song, apparently accompanied by several lutes. (Masque-songs were commonly accompanied by one or more lutes.)

A direction in **Messalina** V.i indicates accompaniment of a song by lute and treble violin. Such careful specification is rare, but this play-text is unusual for the amount of directive detail it includes. On a few occasions a fiddle is implied (for instance, in **A Jovial Crew** II.ii), probably meaning a violin. The singing boy in **Wit in a Constable** is referred to as "little Impe of gut and haire" (III.i.337), which suggests that he accompanies himself on a bowed gut-strung instrument, presumably a violin or a viol. Two other Caroline play-texts specify singing to the viol (**Fuimus Troes** V.iii and **The Court Beggar** V.ii). Both the bass viol and the lyra viol could be used on their own to accompany songs at

this period. (17) A few songs are accompanied on the harp (as in **Fuimus Troes** III.vi), and the song in **Calisto** I.i might be accompanied by pipe or pipes, 'pipe' possibly being used in a general sense to imply a wind instrument. Recorders which play for the virgins' entry in **The Ladies' Privilege** V may also have accompanied the following song. On quite a number of occasions, some sort of consort is implied by the fact that musicians or fiddlers perform the accompaniment (as in **The Drinking Academy** V.iii). The instrumental constitution of such consorts is not specified, except that one includes the bass viol (**The Spanish Lovers** II.i) and two the fiddle (**The Antiquary** II and **The Lady Mother** II). Fairly often the accompaniment is indicated only by the ambiguous term 'music'. Some descriptive qualifications of 'music' are used in a technical sense to infer specific instrumentation, and this reveals that a few songs are accompanied by strings ('soft music') (for instance, in **The Broken Heart** III.ii). Where instrumentation is implied for an introduction, it is presumably used for the accompaniment too (though introductions are mostly indicated merely as 'music').

The accompanying instrument for linked settings is sometimes specified in printed sources, but is virtually never identified by name in manuscript sources, where it has to be inferred from the nature of the notation and knowledge of contemporary practices. Most commonly an accompaniment is indicated by an unfigured bass line, in both declamatory and tuneful songs. The player of the continuo instrument, usually a theorbo, would devise his own accompaniment from this. Such a line carries a label only in the four songs from Sir R. Hatton's comedies, where it is described as "Basso Continuo". That a lute was usually implied by such a line is borne out by occasions when this instrument is called for in the relevant play-text; for example, to accompany "Com o Com". The 'cythera' or 'cithara' which is called for to

accompany "Dulcis somne" was a small plucked instrument, presumably in this instance a lute. Sometimes the play-text suggests that an accompaniment which survives in a setting only as an unfigured bass line was performed by instruments other than the lute; for instance, a consort of some sort apparently accompanied "I conjure the".

In some settings (for example, "Come my Daphne") there is an unfigured bass line for solo sections and no indication of accompaniment in choral sections. Although these choruses could have been unaccompanied, it seems likely that more often, the line indicating the accompaniment would be a duplicate of the vocal bass part. This is suggested in one of the sources of "Now, now, the Sunne" (US-NYp MS Drexel 4041), where two notes of an instrumental line are given with the solo lead into the chorus, after which it presumably follows the vocal bass. Sometimes additional notes to bridge gaps in the vocal bass might be expected (for example in bars 18 and 21 of "Dulcis somne", though in fact voice alone would be effective here, given that "tacito" is the word set). In "What Hoe", the instrumental line and vocal bass apparently share the same stave throughout. This is suggested in bars 1 and 7 to 10, where there are vocal rests but instrumental notes; there are incipits where the vocal bass re-enters. Presumably elsewhere the instrumental line is based on the vocal bass.

Very rarely the bass line has some figures. There are only six in "Have pity, Grief", but twenty-nine in "Wake my Adonis". Again, songs with figured bass lines sometimes have no indication of accompaniment in choruses, and duplication of the vocal bass is likely (for example, in "Drowsie Phaebus"). By the Caroline period songs with lute tablature were fairly rare, this being related to the change to a continuo style. A few lyrics which appear in plays survive in settings with tablature accompaniment, but these settings predate the plays ("Like to the damask rose you see" and "Deare, do

not your fair beauty wrong").

The notation of the accompaniment for "Astrorum iubar" is unique among settings of Caroline play-lyrics and deserves mention, even though it is not known whether the setting is associated with the original performance of **Zeno sive Ambitio Infelix** or one of the many revivals (see too Appendix 5). The dialogue preceding the lyric indicates that the musician accompanies himself with what is variously called 'fides', 'chelys', 'lyra' and 'plectrum'. In the context, these seem to denote a plucked instrument, presumably a lute or theorbo, though a bass or lyra viol is also possible. The term 'chelys', though used for the lute in Renaissance Latin writings, was used by Christopher Simpson in 1665 as synonymous with the division viol, and there are examples of the use of the lyra viol to accompany play-songs, for instance in **Cynthia's Revels** (1601) IV.iii. The term 'plectrum', however, suggests that it is more likely that a lute rather than a lyra viol was intended as the accompanying instrument. In the source, simple chords are given in staff notation, and beneath this sketch there is a blank six-line stave, presumably intended for tablature that in the event was never filled in. The "Symphonies" for songs in the St John's play are in three parts, for two treble and a bass instrument (plus basso continuo), a scoring usually associated with viols or with treble violins and bass viol. Whether all the instruments continued to accompany the songs is impossible to say.

General nature of settings

Information given in the play-texts concerning the general nature of settings suggests that they were of a suitable character for the dramatic context concerned. Similarly, the rare indications of the manner of performance of songs reveal that this also related to their dramatic role. Where general indications are given

concerning 'blank' songs, the description is often suggestive of their general type and musical nature as well as of their subject, and this means that it is possible to go at least some way towards assessing their dramatic role. The content of the lyric and nature of the setting are described in especial detail for a blank song in **A Challenge for Beauty**. Hellena, her thoughts full of Bonavida, calls for a song, and requests that

> "where Bonavida's name vouchsafes to grace the ditty, there let musicke speak in its smoothest phrase, and most courtly singing" (III.i.p.47.28-30).

Her request manifests a rare concern by a character in a play with specific musical detail, word-setting and style of performance, and illustrates her feelings for Bonavida.

Types of song used in plays performed under different auspices

Despite the difficulties in comparing and generalizing about the musical practices of the different theatrical traditions, some general observations are possible. Musical and literary evidence suggests that the élite theatres used a range of different types of song, including popular songs and ballads, but also art-songs: catches, dialogues and songs using declamatory or tuneful style or both. Sometimes only snatches are performed (as in **The Goblins** I.iii). Most songs are fairly simple (such as "Pleasures, Beauty, Youth attend thee"), but some are more elaborate, involving introductions (**The School of Compliment** [b] V.i), choruses and alternation of voices ("Come my Daphne"). Where indicated, songs are generally unaccompanied or accompanied by lute, or sometimes musicians (**Love and Honour** [a] IV.i). The far more scanty evidence for popular-theatre plays indicates that they used snatches of popular songs (as in **The Walks of Islington and Hogsdon** II.ii), rounds and catches (as in **Albertus Wallenstein** V.ii). The few other types of song

indicated are drinking songs, a mock dirge, a mock love song and a lullaby. The only specification of accompaniment is "Ruberts noyse" in **The Knave in Grain** (III.vi.1790), and there are no linked settings. Although little evidence survives regarding songs in court plays, it seems that art-songs rather than popular songs were used. Several are performed by choruses (for instance, in the Introduction to **Florimene**, and the inter-act songs in **L'Artenice**).

Some university plays involve popular songs and ballads (for example, "God prosper long our Noble King" in **The Benefice** IV) and some feature catches (for instance, **Aristippus**). However, much of the evidence suggests more elaborate art-songs. The play-texts frequently indicate songs performed by more than one voice; the voices sometimes sing together throughout (two in **The Converted Robber** I.i, a chorus in **Parthenia** V.ii), sometimes they alternate (as in **Aristippus**), perhaps also combining (as in **Eumorphus sive Cupido Adultus** V), and occasionally a solo voice is contrasted with a chorus (**Confessor** II.ii) or a choral refrain (**Plutophthalmia Plutogamia** V.i). Some songs have introductions (**Pseudomagia** [b] III.i), and accompaniments are provided by lute, harp, viol and consort. Several linked settings are tuneful but most are declamatory, and there are two dialogues. Settings are often sophisticated, and those for **The Rival Friends**, **The Royal Slave** and **The Floating Island** are especially elaborate, doubtless partly because they were performed before visiting royalty.

School plays include both popular and serious songs, sometimes accompanied by lute or fiddle. There are sporadic examples using more than one voice (two in alternation and combination in **Love Crowns the End**, a chorus in **Zeno** [a] IV.iv). No linked settings have been discovered, only one which is possibly linked ("Astrorum iubar"). There is still less evidence concerning songs in plays presented under private auspices. Most are serious

rather than popular, and as well as solo songs, there is a song in **The Conspiracy** (a) V.i involving three alternating voices and a chorus, and one in **The Lady Errant** V.viii where Priests and Ladies sing solo and in various choral combinations. The only linked setting, "Wake my Adonis", is an impressive declamatory song, accompanied by lute.

I would argue that the types of song in Caroline as in pre-Caroline plays (18) were primarily chosen for their suitability for particular dramatic contexts and purposes, and to achieve particular dramatic effects, and that there were conventions regarding this which were common to all plays, whatever their auspices. Other important influences on the type of song were the type of play concerned and the dramatist. I believe that practical matters of production and conditions of performance were of secondary importance, although the auspices did have a bearing, and interrelated factors such as acoustics, resources, performers and the taste of the audience must also be taken into account. For instance, the acoustics of a venue (particularly whether a theatre was enclosed or open-air) influenced the audibility of songs and the subtlety of musical effect possible. Care is necessary in generalizations over the composition and taste of audiences, but on the whole the largely plebeian audience at popular theatres during the Caroline period are more likely to have preferred simpler types of song and songs which made an immediate impact. Their backward-looking tastes regarding plays also applied to some extent to songs. The more cultivated audiences at élite, courtly and university theatres would have been more amenable to experimentation and more sophisticated music. Trained musicians might be necessary for more elaborate songs, involving extra expense, whereas no great skill was necessary for ballads and catches. Solos were easier to present.

It is impossible to separate completely the various factors that determined the nature of a particular play-song. The type of play was partly determined by the auspices. At popular theatres old-fashioned plays were mostly presented, the main genres comprising "spectacular plays of chivalry and romance, or farce and devilry, ... pseudo-histories of love and conquest ...and the apprentice's adventuring play" (Butler 1984:181-82). Plays of this type were generally more likely to include simpler and popular songs rather than sophisticated art-songs, as is shown by the limited available evidence. That the circumstances in which a play was produced did also have an effect is suggested by the noticeably more elaborate settings for some Caroline university plays. This sophistication is doubtless partly related to the indoor production, musical talent available, and musically literate audience, as well as to the dramatic functions of the songs.

Was there a distinct type of play-song?

Spink has observed that "play-songs between 1611 and 1642 are generally simpler, more tuneful and less declamatory than chamber and masque songs" (1959-60:69), and this is indeed true very generally of Caroline play-songs. They do on the whole incorporate more popular and melodic elements. However, the difficulties in generalizing must be noted, and the variety of types of song in plays from all traditions should be stressed, particularly the facts that there were more elaborate settings as well as simple ones, that newer types of song (for example, declamatory ayres and dialogues) were used and experimented with in élite-theatre plays, and that there are also declamatory settings linked with plays presented under private auspices and at universities. The particularly elaborate settings linked with some university plays are of interest: some of these (for example, those from **The Royal Slave**) are masque-like, and

here the similarity of conditions of performance is significant.

To summarize, there was not a distinct type of Caroline play-song, either in the sense of a single type used, or a type distinct from non-theatrical songs. An interesting comparison can be made here with main masque-songs, which were generally much more uniform in style, (19) this being related to the fact that they possessed one primary function: to communicate "the significance of the masque's most central rituals - the set dances and the revels" (Walls 1975:82). For this they required sophistication and ceremonial dignity, and a means of heroic declamation. The declamatory style, and occasionally recitative, was used as an appropriate vehicle for masque lyrics. Play-songs, however, were used in a much wider range of ways, and their type and style varied accordingly. Even though some play-songs are stylistically close to masque-songs, the levels on which they functioned were basically different, as Spink has observed: masque-songs were used for symbolic purposes and the suspension of reality, play-songs for the deepening of reality (1986:53-54).

2.2 Instrumental music

Evidence in the play-texts indicates a great quantity and variety of instrumental music in Caroline plays. It is indicated in a variety of ways in the play-texts, with varying degrees of explicitness. Sometimes specific instruments are called for, and sometimes particular signals and military calls. Some stage directions are of a descriptive nature (for example, terms such as 'loud music' and 'horrid music'). The theory advanced by Manifold (1948 and 1956), that some of these directions are used in a technical sense to imply specific instrumentation rather than particular types of music, is borne out by my findings. The ambiguous term 'music', with no further qualification, is also used.

There is even less detailed specification of the actual music performed or even the kind of music. The tune to be played is named only very rarely, and occasionally there is an indication in general descriptive terms of the character of the music. Nor do the musical sources examined contain any pieces ascribed to plays. There is a lack of surviving music identified as being associated with the plays, although sources have been traced for nine of the tunes which are called for by name in specific Caroline plays (henceforth referred to as 'named tunes') and performed as instrumental music in their own right.

Given the above, it would seem that the dramatic function of instrumental music cannot be assessed except in very abstract terms. However, an examination of the situations in which instruments are used reveals that particular instruments are used consistently in certain dramatic contexts (though there are of course some exceptions). It seems that instruments had symbolic associations and were used for these as well as for their emotional appeal. (20) Instruments' symbolic potential was exploited as a means of communication, and for

dramatic effect; instruments conveyed information to the audience as well as to characters in the play. They were used as a form of theatrical shorthand and contributed to the verisimilitude of the play. The symbolic associations of instruments were generally accepted, and were influenced by instruments' nature, sonority, tone quality, status in contemporary society and traditional associations. Their symbolic associations could be 'naturalistic' or 'conventional'. Naturalistic is here used to mean the association of instruments with dramatic contexts which reflect their use in the same contexts in everyday life. Naturalistic associations are most common. Conventional is here used to mean the association of instruments with dramatic contexts which do not reflect actual usage in real life but with which they are linked through theatrical convention. They may also be associated with these contexts in the ideas of the period, for example through classical tradition. The specific symbolic properties attached to particular instruments and the significance of particular instruments in particular dramatic contexts are discussed in Chapter 3.

I believe that in general instruments were important rather than the music they played. This theory is based partly on the frequency with which instruments are specified compared to the lack of directions for particular pieces of music. It could also help account for the lack of identification in musical sources of instrumental music associated with Caroline plays. The dramatic function of instrumental music was based to a large degree on the symbolic associations of the instruments, and can thus be assessed in terms of this. The symbolic associations of instruments, and the greater importance of instruments and their sonority than the music they performed, can be observed too in Elizabethan and Jacobean plays.

Information in the following discussion is drawn from

the categorization of instrumental music under particular instruments, signalling and technical terms, and the direction 'music', and the correlation of each instance of music with the dramatic context in which it is used, including the findings from my survey of texts of all extant Caroline plays. This provided information regarding the symbolic associations of particular instruments and the implications of signalling and technical terms (including any implied instrumentation). Although this particular classification is not included in the thesis because of limitations of space, all the information is contained in Appendix 3.

Instruments used

Stringed instruments include the viol, violin, lute, cittern and harp. 'Fiddle' is used to indicate a member of the violin family as well as being used in a more general sense to mean an instrument. The term 'a treble' is also used to denote a violin, and in another case a 'treble violin' is called for. On one occasion a 'kit' is possibly played, and a few plays call for a 'lyre'. The organ is used once.

Woodwind instruments include the cornett, hautboy and shawm, flute and recorder. Shawms (spelt 'shalms' in the plays concerned) are specified much less frequently than hautboys. The names were usually interchangeable, but occasionally a distinction was made (see Woodfill 1953:370 and Galpin 1965:123). Views differ on the implications of the terms 'flute' and 'recorder', (21) but it seems the term 'flute' could mean the recorder rather than the transverse flute. Flutes are called for in only one Caroline play, and it seems likely that here recorders are implied, since 'sad music' is called for, and in another play the direction "Recorders: Sadly" appears (**The Cruel Brother** [a] V.i.149). Bagpipes are also indicated, and a 'quailpipe'. The term 'pipe' occurs too; this can be used both specifically for the small

duct flute, usually with three holes, played with a small drum or tabor, and generically, covering wind instruments as a class, for example recorders, bagpipes, shawms and cornetts. The dramatic context can be examined to suggest the sense in which it is used. On one occasion a whistle is called for, and on another one is implied.

Brass instruments are represented by the trumpet and horn. Three plays call for sowgelders' horns and two for post horns. The term 'bugle' is used in only one play, where it is evidently a hunting horn. Drums are called for, and occasionally the tabor, and twice a tambourine might be implied. Bells are directed, but in only one play is any specification given: 'carriers horse bells' in **Time's Trick upon the Cards**. On other occasions, the type of bell has to be inferred from the dramatic context. There were various types, including the tower bell, the chimes, the watchman or crier's large handbell, the table-bell, the front-door bell, and the tiny bells borne by hobby-horse and man in the morris dance (listed in Lawrence 1935).

Certain instruments are directed to provide instrumental music more commonly than others in Caroline plays. By far the most frequently specified is the drum, followed by the trumpet, then the horn, recorder and bells, and then relatively rarely stringed instruments (viol, violin and lute), cornett and hautboy. The shawm, kit, harp, organ, bagpipe, quailpipe, whistle and tambourine are called for on only one or two occasions each.

The range of instruments used in Caroline plays must obviously be considered in relation to the auspices of performance. There is a sufficient body of evidence to enable generalizations concerning the use of instruments in the public theatres of this period, but unfortunately there are too few texts of plays performed at court, in academic institutions, and privately, containing too little evidence, for it to be possible to make an

informed comparison on this basis of instrumental resources at various venues. Common sense suggests that there would have been a wide range of instrumental resources for court performances, and certainly this is reflected in masques of the period. University plays apparently also generally had good instrumental resources available, particularly those which were performed before visiting royalty. Some of the play-texts contain evidence that a range of instruments was available; for example, a pipe, cornetts, 'wind music', bells and 'soft music' (implying strings) are called for in **The Converted Robber**, performed at St John's College, Oxford. As for plays performed at schools, surviving documents indicate that at St Omers at least the boys were well-trained instrumentalists (see McCabe 1938). There are virtually no indications of instruments in the texts of plays performed privately; it seems likely that the range of instruments might have been less extensive.

In connection with acoustic considerations, Caroline play-texts do not provide evidence for any difference in the instruments used in indoor and open-roofed theatres. Some critics have claimed that hautboys and trumpets were avoided in the élite-theatre choirboy plays, and Long found no examples at all of hautboys or shawms in these plays, observing that their loud and piercing quality "made them inappropriate for private indoor theatrical performances" (1955:20). However, both instruments are used in Caroline plays performed at the élite theatres. It has also been observed that trumpets were avoided (Lawrence 1928:52-53) and cornetts used instead (Shapiro 1977:253), because their tone was softer and less brilliant, but many trumpets are called for in Caroline plays performed in indoor venues. (22) Another observation which has been made is that the popular theatres generally used wind and percussion instruments (Hattaway 1982:62). Evidence concerning instrumental music in Caroline plays presented at popular theatres is

restricted and it is not possible to create a representative picture. The specifications in one popular-theatre play, **The Seven Champions of Christendom**, do indicate instrumental resources including strings, woodwind, brass and percussion, but there is insufficient evidence to be able to judge whether or not this was exceptional.

Likelihood of standard theatre bands

It seems likely that at this period there were bands attached to at least some of the professional theatres. The constitution of these bands may well have varied; it is impossible to be certain due to the nature and overall shortage of evidence. However, it is possible to generalize and propose what was probably the more or less standard composition of such a band. Suggestions concerning the proposed makeup and number of performers need to take into account the instrumental requirements indicated in play-texts, evidence from surviving music, and information concerning musicians employed in the theatre.

The standard band would probably have included strings, woodwind, brass and percussion. The strings probably included viols, violins, lutes and theorbos, and possibly cittern; the woodwind, cornetts, hautboys and recorders; the brass, trumpets and horns (possibly sackbuts); the percussion, drums. The number of musicians would not have been directly related to the number of instruments because of the practice of doubling (see Woodfill 1953:35). Previous commentators have proposed figures ranging from eight to twelve. (23) I think there is insufficient evidence for any guess at exact figures to be meaningful. However, I do think it likely that there existed in the professional theatres bands of a more or less standard make-up; that these varied from theatre to theatre and play to play, but contained a minimum range of instruments played by permanent musicians, which could be supplemented by additional

instruments when required and additional players if necessary; and that this minimum range (and hence possibly the number of musicians) may have been larger than that in Elizabethan and Jacobean theatres, given the frequently greater and more elaborate use of music in Caroline plays. By the Caroline period, there was a move to much greater use of professional musicians and less of musician-actors, as well as the demand for more sophisticated music.

Use of instruments solo and in combination

The whole band never all played together at once. When instruments played in combination rather than solo, various small ensembles were used. Just as certain instruments had symbolic associations, so were certain groups of instruments associated with specific situations, and this frequently determined the instrumentation. The use of many different instrumental combinations helped produce contrast and variety of tonal textures, which at this period was preferred to the tonal quality of masses of instruments. When considering the use of instruments solo and in ensembles, evidence from surviving music must again be considered in addition to that contained in the play-texts, which provide an incomplete picture.

The term 'consort' is used in the stage directions of only one Caroline play, **Necromantes.** In **The City Madam** a consort is referred to in the dialogue and presumably performs where the direction "Music" occurs (IV.ii.39). At this time the term was used with a variety of meanings (see Edwards 1974a:36-52 and 1984), but it is here used to mean a small instrumental ensemble. Caroline play-texts often contain evidence for the use of consorts, although they are not referred to as such. In some cases the instruments comprising the ensemble are specified or implied (though sometimes only partially), while in others, there is no indication of instrumentation, and

the use of a consort is suggested merely by the fact that more than one musician is performing; such instances are shown in Appendix 3 as '[consort]'.

It is evident that consorts composed both of like and of unlike instruments were used. (24) Most of the ensembles whose constitution we know are restricted to a single family of instruments, consorts of hautboys, of shawms and of recorders being used (indicated by the plural form of the instrument's name). These instruments commonly performed in sets. In fact, in the plays none of them is directed to perform solo except for the recorder on one occasion, and this is very likely a printer's error. Cornetts, violins, lutes, drums, trumpets and horns are called for in both the singular and the plural, and it is most likely that viols were used in consort as well as solo. Cornetts perform more often in consort, as opposed to lute, drum, trumpet and horn, which appear most often in the singular. Literary, archival and pictorial evidence indicates that mixed consorts could be made up of a large variety of different instruments (see Edwards 1974a:36-52, 1984; McCabe 1938:314), and combinations other than those for which there is evidence in the play-texts could have been used in the Caroline theatre. Various mixed consorts were used in the Elizabethan and Jacobean theatre, (25) and Beck (ed. 1959) has presented a strong argument for the use of the standard Elizabethan mixed consort in the theatre then, although there is no evidence that this usage continued in the Caroline theatre.

Those mixed consorts which are indicated contain various combinations of different instruments, and include ensembles of lutes and recorders, of treble violin and lute, and of pipes and cornetts. Occasionally instruments from two sections of the band are combined, for example the unusual combination of violins and cornetts in **The English Moor** I.iii. Cornetts, like hautboys, were usually used separately as they were too

harsh in tone to agree with stringed music. (26) In Massinger's **The Guardian**, Cario, giving performance instructions to the countrymen, orders:

> "And do you hear,
> Wire-string and Cats-guts men, and strong-breath'd Hoboys,
> For the credit of your calling, have not your Instruments
> To tune, when you should strike up; but twang it perfectly,
> As you would read your Neckverse; and you Warbler
> Keep your Wind-pipe moist, that you may not spit and hem,
> When you should make division" (IV.ii.8-14).

Cittern, bandora, violins and hautboys are indicated in this ensemble; the 'warbler' is presumably a singer. Trumpets are only ever combined with drums (though once with bells too). Other combinations are pipe and tabor (a standard combination); bagpipe and tabor; pipes, tabor, bells and Gaelic harp; and it is likely that the "musick of all sorts" called for on one occasion included pipes, tabors, bells and tambourine (**The Sad Shepherd** I.iv.0.3). In one instance 'brass pots', presumably beaten on as improvised instruments, are used with horns.

Musical signals

As well as specific instruments having symbolic associations, the various musical signals were similarly associated with particular dramatic contexts. Again, the consistency of situation in which they are used makes it obvious that the terms are used in a specific technical sense rather than in a vague sense. Instruments are associated with the signalling terms, as well as their inferring types of call. The instruments on which a particular signal was performed could vary according to dramatic context. Signalling terms have the same sort of implications as in Elizabethan and Jacobean plays.

The musical signals which occur in Caroline plays include the following military signals: the 'alarm', 'battle', 'charge', 'parley', 'retreat' and 'summons'. Two further signalling terms appear - the 'flourish' and

the 'sennet' - and these are used only infrequently in military contexts. The flourish is by far the most frequent musical signal, and this relates to the dramatic contexts with which it is associated. The alarm is called for on about a third of this number of occasions; the charge and retreat much less often than that, and the sennet, battle, parley and summons on only a few occasions each. The same range of signals is represented in Elizabethan and Jacobean plays, with the addition of the 'tucket'. Perhaps the lack of this term in Caroline plays indicates that this signal had fallen into disuse. Long notes that, because they seldom controlled troop movements, the flourish, sennet and tucket "signify, at least on the stage, ceremonious rather than military music" (1971:10). Even though the march is, strictly speaking, not a signal, it is discussed here because it functions as a signal in the theatre. Another range of musical signals used in Caroline plays were hunting calls.

The use in the theatre of the same military signalling terms which appear in military treatises of the period suggests that actual military calls were taken over from the battlefield and used on the stage, making the portrayal of military music onstage very realistic. The question arises as to what extent the audience would have been familiar with the various calls and their implications. Apart from familiarity with the calls through their symbolic use in the theatre, probably a fair proportion of the audience would have recognized them as a result of membership of the flourishing Trained Bands or attendance at the popular military displays and exercises, if not actual participation in battle.

The signals conveyed commands and information to the soldiers, and military treatises of the time stress the importance of soldiers being able to recognize and distinguish the different signals. (27) It seems that the Italians standardized the military calls, which then

spread across Europe (Downey 1981:329), although each country had its own national march. Military treatises and writings of the period contain references to the military signals called for in Caroline plays. Ralph Smith's rules from the mid sixteenth century are the earliest for English drummers and fifers. Grose describes in his **Military Antiquities** how Smith says that they must "teache the company their sound of the march, allarme, approche, assalte, battell, retreat, skirmish, or any other calling that of necessity should be known" (1786-88:II,248). Francis Markham's definitions of drum calls in the epistle 'Of Drummes and Phiphes' in **Five Decades of Epistles of Warre** include "a preparation or Summons to make them repaire to their Colours; then a beating away before they begin to march; after that a March according to the nature and custom of the country (for divers countries have divers Marches) then a Charge, then a Retrait, then a Troupe, and lastly, a Battalion, and a Battery" (1622:58). Robert Ward includes in his **Anima'dversions of warre** a 'Parley' and an 'Alarm' (1639:194,195). Barriffe's description of the 'Points of War' (or field calls) in his **Military discipline** (1635) includes the following definition: "By the Battaile or charge, understand the continuation or pressing forward in order of battaile without lagging behind" (ibid.:11-12). The drum calls in Thomas Fisher's **Warlike Directions: Or, the Souldiers Practice** (1634) include the Battalia, Charge and Retreat, and there are similar calls in Elton's **Compleat Body of the Art Military** (1650). Randle Holme's notes for his 'Academy of Armory' (before 1688) list calls which a drummer is to beat: "a call, a Troope a March, a Preparative, a Battalia, a Retreit, a Tato and a Revally. And an Allarum" (GB-Lbl MS Harl. 2034, f. 73v). His list of "Termes used by drumers in their drum beating" includes a relevant variant spelling, "a battalia", and an additional term, "a parlae" (ibid., f. 76).

Francis Markham also notes trumpet signals in **Five Decades**. These include "Carga, carga, an Alarme to charge; A la Standardo, a retrait, or retire to your Colours ... besides divers other points, as Proclamations, Cals, Summons, all which are most necessary for every Souldier both to know and obey" (1622:83). Gervase Markham's list of English trumpet calls in **The Souldiers Accidence** is very similar. These include six "poynts of Warre" and some other soundings (1625:60-62). The former include "Al' a Standardo, - or - Goe to your Colours" and "Carga, Carga, - or - An Alarum, Charge, Charge" (ibid.:61). The latter include "a Call for Summons" (ibid.:62). The trumpet calls listed by Ward in **Anima'dversions** are similar to those of Markham (1639:298).

Although the names of the calls survive in the treatises, there are very few examples of notation. The drum was used for infantry signals, sometimes with bagpipe, later superseded by fife, for marching. Francis Markham was opposed to the fife and wanted the drum, "the very tongue and voyce of the Commander", used alone, so that the soldiers' attention was not distracted (1622:58). Cavalry signals were given on the trumpet (ibid.:60,83) (and kettledrum). Military signals in the theatre are generally sounded on the appropriate instrument of the troops concerned, although there are some exceptions.

Let us now look at the signals in turn. The term 'alarm' or 'alarum' derives from the Italian 'all'arme' (to the arms), and is a signal to battle. In the theatre it often indicates that a battle is being fought. Long thinks Francis Markham's omission of the alarm from his list of drum calls suggests that "it may not have been a definite signal, but rather any noise...which would serve to indicate an enemy attack" (1971:8). However, the appearance of the term 'alarm' in other military writings contradicts this theory. In real life it was performed on

drum or trumpet or sometimes both, and this instrumentation is reflected in Elizabethan and Jacobean plays, where it relates to cavalry, royalty and infantry (Manifold 1956:25,50-51). In Caroline plays alarms are performed on a drum on three occasions, once on drums, and once on drum and trumpet. In two instances the term is qualified and a 'soft alarm' is directed. It seems likely that this was performed on muffled drums, to indicate distant action, similar to the "low alarums" in **Julius Caesar** (1599) (V.iii.967). The alarm is the only signalling term which appears in both the singular and the plural in Caroline plays, and it seems that there may have been an understood difference between these, each alarm being a definite musical realization (see Ward 1942:71). The number of alarms played would be sufficient to provide the amount of dramatic battle sound required. (28)

The 'battle' has not been discussed by commentators on theatre music of the period. However, it appears as a military call both in some of the military writings and in some of the plays. Presumably the 'battalia', 'battaglia', 'battalion' and 'battery' in the former could be variants of the term. Barriffe's definition links it with the 'charge'. In Caroline plays the spellings 'bataille' and 'battaile' appear as well as 'battle'. It is twice performed on the drum, and once on cornetts. In an earlier play, cornetts are also used (**Antonio and Mellida** [1599] I.i); this may be related to performance in an élite theatre, where the cornett performs martial calls normally given to the trumpet, and to Marston's fondness for cornetts. The 'charge', signalling military advance, was performed on the battlefield by trumpet or drum. There are examples in Elizabethan and Jacobean plays of its sounding on trumpets (**The Double Marriage** [1620] II.i) and cornetts (**The Wonder of Women, or Sophonisba** [1605] II.ii), again possibly imitating trumpets. There is only one instance

in Caroline plays where instruments are specified: drums and trumpets, for the entry of a commander of seamen.

The term 'parley' meant either a call announcing an embassy from one party to the other, or for cessation of hostilities during a fight (Naylor 1931:175-76). In Elizabethan and Jacobean plays the parley is usually sounded on the trumpet (for example, in **I Henry VI** [1592] III.iii) but occasionally on the drum (**The Devil's Charter** [1607] IV.iv). It is performed on drums in one Caroline play (and a reference in a closet play also indicates this instrumentation). In **The Arte of Warre** Garrard refers to the trumpet or drum sounding the 'retreat' (1591:45). It is nearly always performed on the trumpet in Elizabethan and Jacobean plays, but Caroline play-texts contain one indication of its performance on the drum. The 'summons' has been overlooked by commentators on early seventeenth-century theatre music. There are two occurrences of it in Caroline plays, in which it is performed on the drum.

Marches consisted basically of identifiable rhythmic patterns which, in real life, were usually performed on drums alone (see Ward 1639:194). Marches helped soldiers to keep in step and march in regular rhythm to the speed of the drum beat, as Arbeau explained to Capriol (ed. 1967:20), and were ceremonial and processional music. The existence in contemporary musical sources of melodies for marches provides evidence that they were not always performed on drums alone. Sometimes the fife was used too, and fife music to accompany marches could be improvised - Arbeau describes it as "composed to the player's fancy" (ibid.:39). Trumpets could be used for marches: a Royalist writer refers to "trumpets prattling their marches" (quoted in Winstock 1971:10). In Elizabethan and Jacobean plays, marches are mostly played on drums, but also on fife and drum (as in **Timon of Athens** [1607] IV.iii), trumpets (**Edward II** [1592] IV.iv), and even (exceptionally) on cornetts (**The Wonder of Women, or Sophonisba** [1605] I.ii). Where instruments are

indicated, the marches in Caroline plays are performed on drums except that in **Fuimus Troes** IV.iv, which is apparently played on drum and trumpet; this may reflect the entry of the emperor. A personalized march is indicated in **Love and Honour** (a) I.i, where the Prince's march (played on the drum) is recognized. The English March appears in **The Valiant Scot** IV.i, but no instrumentation is given. Its notation survives (see Appendix 1). The march which is beaten "softly within" in **The Fatal Contract** (V.ii.404) could have been performed on muffled drums, (29) since the normal stage direction for drums which were soft in the dynamic sense was 'drums afar off'. The term "dead march" appears in Randle Holme's list of drummers' terms (GB-Lbl MS Harl. 2034, f.76), and Francis Markham indicates that it was played on the drum (1622:59). This was apparently muffled, as is suggested by the direction "soft dead march within" in **Bonduca** (1613) (V.i.18.1). Manifold notes with regard to Elizabethan and Jacobean plays that it seems that any march played on muffled drums was called a dead march; it does not necessarily occur at a funeral (1956:30-31). It is normally played on drums, but there is an example of its performance on trumpets (**The Spanish Tragedy** [1587] IV.iv).

The 'flourish' was associated onstage, as in real life, with kingship and royalty. However, many of its occurrences in plays are specifically theatrical usages of the term. (30) In the theatre it most commonly announces the ceremonial entry or exit of royal, noble and distinguished figures, sometimes also accompanying other important entries (for example, victorious and military), and those of actors. Flourishes were probably short simple fanfares on the open notes, and it seems likely that they were extemporized. Manifold points out that "as late as 1690, when Purcell published his **Dioclesian** in full score, the flourishes were indicated merely by a verbal instruction: 'Here a flourish of all

the instruments, in C fa ut key'" (1956:26). The probable extemporization of flourishes contrasts with the military signals, which were melodically distinct. However, presumably the general nature of the flourish made it identifiable. Again, it seems that instrumentation tended to be related to dramatic context. Commentators on Elizabethan and Jacobean plays note its performance on trumpets (for example, **Hamlet** [1601] I.iv), trumpets and drums (**The Rape of Lucrece** [1607] V.2539), and sometimes cornetts (**Antonio and Mellida** [1599] I.i). The instruments on which the flourish was performed in Caroline plays are virtually always unspecified, but a trumpet, a drum and trumpet, sowgelders' horns, and shawms are used once each, and cornetts are used four times.

In Elizabethan and Jacobean plays, the character and length of a flourish were occasionally specified. The relation between the duration of the flourish and the stage action is obvious in the direction "A long flourish till they come down" (**Titus Andronicus** [1594] I.i.233.1), and the one 'long flourish' which is directed in a Caroline play may be 'long' to represent a wedding taking place offstage between the scenes (**Sicily and Naples** III.i). There is also an example of a 'short flourish', which could imply that only a suggestion is required. It could suggest that flourishes were usually, although brief, slightly longer than the two-note call proposed by Manifold (1956:26).

The distinction of the 'sennet' from the flourish is indicated by stage directions such as "Trumpets sound a florish, and then a sennate" (**Satiromastix** [1601] III.ii.0.1). It seems likely that punctuation has been omitted from the direction "Senate flourish" which appears in **The Noble Stranger** (I.0.1). The sennet was apparently usually more elaborate and lasted longer than a flourish; it was more likely a full musical composition than, for example, an extended fanfare. It usually

accompanied fairly lengthy stage action, such as ceremonious processions or dumb-shows, and lasted long enough to allow for this. Long notes the difficulty of defining the sennet rigidly, and observes that the term can also mean a ceremonious march or procession usually accompanied by stately music, and, as a verb, to march in an orderly or dignified manner (1971:13).

There are various possible derivations for the term (for example, from 'sonata', 'signum' and 'senatus'). (31) The variations in the term's spelling (for instance, cynet, signet, senet, sennate, sonet) and theatrical usage complicate the matter. Long thinks it probable that the sennet "was a specialized theatrical term describing a kind of musical composition used in plays. The term was possibly a recent addition to the playhouse vocabulary and through it to the English language" (1971:12). The occurrence of the term 'senet' in a military treatise of 1625 has apparently been overlooked: Gervase Markham's list of other trumpet soundings in **The Souldiers Accidence** (following the 'Points of War') includes "a Senet for State", which he says has reference to "the greater Officers" (1625:62). Sennet as a theatrical term is used in broader contexts, and does seem to imply a longer piece of music, but in certain dramatic contexts this military connotation is relevant.

No musical notation of a sennet is known. Long suggests that the term "did not refer to a specific type of music but rather to any kind of march-like music suitable for a particular dramatic incident" (1971:13). It seems likely that the signalling component of the sennet was the tone colour rather than the melodic character. Again, instrumentation was apparently related to dramatic context, although it is rarely mentioned, and not for the three sennets in Caroline plays. Manifold observes that the sennets without instrumental specification occur mainly in 'trumpet contexts' where royalty or great commanders are onstage (1948:373-74),

and indeed 'sonata', one of the possible derivations of the word, would suggest that the piece was 'sounded', or played by trumpets. In those Elizabethan and Jacobean plays where instrumentation is given, it indicates that the sennet was usually performed by a consort of like instruments, and trumpets are the most common, though not as Ward has observed (1942:132) the only instrument. There are also examples of cornetts (as in **Antonio's Revenge** [1600] II.i, V.iv), and one of "still flutes" (recorders) (**Antonio and Mellida** [1599] V.ii.172.2).

The importance of the trumpet and drum as signalling instruments can be seen from the foregoing discussion, and indeed, the provision of musical signals was their main function in Caroline plays. Horns too were important primarily as signalling instruments, in the performance of hunting calls. Stage directions indicate that the function of trumpets was not thought of as strictly musical. A distinction is often made between a call for a trumpet and one for music, for example in the direction "Then trumpets cease, and Musicke sounds" in **Doctor Faustus** (1592) (IV.i.1257.7-57.8). This attitude reflected the real-life view of trumpets as not being considered 'music' because they belonged to a nobler category. In the plays there is the same limited use of trumpets as in real life. The trumpet was considered the nobleman of instruments and was associated with royalty and the nobility. Ward discusses this, and notes that it would seem that the trumpet became part of the actors' equipment not by adoption, but by privilege, backed by noble protection (1942:111-15).

Technical and descriptive terms and 'music'

Other directions for music are of a descriptive nature, and certain of them (for example, 'loud music' and 'soft music') are used as technical terms which imply the use of specific instruments. Here my findings support Manifold's basic theory (1948 and 1956) while

supplementing certain of his observations and contradicting others. In other directions the descriptive qualification of 'music' seems to be of a different nature, apparently being applied not in a way that suggests instrumentation but as an adjective descriptive of the character of the music (for example, 'dreadful' and 'wanton'). The sense in which the descriptive qualification is used can be ambiguous and hard to determine, and moreover some of them are used in both senses, which further complicates an already difficult problem. 'Loud' and 'soft', for example, are also used in their dynamic sense. Various combinations of the descriptive qualifications occur too (for example, 'soft sad music' and 'sweet solemn music'), and this adds still further to the confusion. However, while remaining aware of the potential pitfalls in over-zealous speculation, there does seem to be evidence for the use of certain directions as technical terms.

Caroline play-texts only occasionally contain evidence of the instruments used in connection with this descriptive type of direction. However, for technical terms at least, knowledge of the instruments commonly associated with particular dramatic contexts can be used to support this evidence. Supplementary evidence is found in earlier play-texts, and also in masque-texts (although here it must be borne in mind that instrumental resources differed).

Calls for "Musick in her loud voyce" (**The Fair Maid of the Inn** V.i.259) and "Sound all loud instruments of joy and triumph" (**The Unnatural Combat** II.i.266) suggest the use of 'loud' to infer instrumentation. The rare evidence contained in Caroline play-texts implies that 'loud music' could be performed by hautboys (**The Antipodes** IV.x), cornetts (**The City Madam** IV.ii), or the trumpet (**The Noble Gentleman** V.i). 'Loud music' seems to be theatrical shorthand for these powerful-voiced wind instruments. This supports Manifold's conjecture that

'loud music' was either hautboys or cornetts, alone or possibly with trumpets (1948:388). The fact that in **The Noble Gentleman** a trumpet is used not with other instruments but alone constitutes evidence for the extension of his definition. Further examples from Elizabethan and Jacobean plays not cited by Manifold support particularly the use of hautboys or cornetts for loud music. (32) In some Caroline plays drums could be implied: on several occasions the term 'loud music' is equated with a flourish, which might suggest trumpets, drums and cornetts. Trumpets are suggested by the order to "Fill the shrill throats of warres loud instruments" prior to the direction for a flourish in **Hannibal and Scipio** (II.i.75). In several instances, although instruments are not specified, it is clear that several musicians were involved in the performance of 'loud music'. This and the instances of plural instrumentation suggest that it is likely 'loud music' was performed by some sort of consort of instruments, and that perhaps the use of a single instrument in **The Noble Gentleman** is unusual. The provision of 'loud music' by woodwind and brass is also reflected in a direction in the Caroline masque **Raguaillo d'Oceano**: "The Lowde Musicke - A Hautboy, a Cornett, a Sagbutt and a double Curtault" (31-33). (33)

Manifold suggested that 'soft music' implied strings - viols or violins with or without lute (1956:95). Caroline play-texts contain evidence for the use of lutes alone, and in **The Broken Heart** Ford evidently did not intend the inclusion of recorders in 'soft music'. As Calantha kneels before the altar, the direction reads "Cease recorders during her devotions. Soft music" (V.iii.9-10). This evidence contradicts the suggestion of some commentators (Long 1955:35, Ingram 1953-54:84) that 'soft music' included recorders.

The direction 'still music' is much rarer than the two discussed above. In **The Cruel Brother** (a) V.i it is performed on recorders, and the linking of the term

'still' with recorders is borne out by the following direction from **Raguaillo d'Oceano**: "A Dance played out by a sett of Recorders the stillest of winde instruments" (85-86). There are several examples of their use in Elizabethan and Jacobean plays, some of which Manifold has observed. He has suggested that 'still music' means music of a set of recorders "or something to similar effect" (1948:383).

The 'still music' in **The Cruel Brother** constitutes a theatrical representation of the music of the spheres, and in some other plays too heavenly music becomes audible. Sternfeld has noted that the practices of the stage and the beliefs of the age suggest that music presumably emanating from above was performed on strings by the theatre musicians (1963:246), and strings are indeed suggested in the Caroline theatre (for instance, for the 'heavenly' music in **I St Patrick for Ireland** V.iii). However, recorders were also used, as in the example from **The Cruel Brother** and in **Changes** V.v.

Several Caroline plays link recorders with 'solemn music'. The direction "sollempne Musick" in **The Wasp** (II.i.473) was added by the second hand which apparently prepared the manuscript for stage use; originally the direction read only "Recorders". In **Landgartha** "a sweet solemne Musicke of Recorders" is directed (V.390.1) (and see **The Antipodes** V.x). A direction in an earlier play strengthens the likelihood that 'solemn music' might be used as a technical term implying the use of recorders, or other (unspecified) instruments: "Recorders or other solempne Musique playes them out" (**The Second Maiden's Tragedy** [1611] V.ii.2454-55). The dramatic contexts in which 'solemn music' is directed are often those in which recorders are likely. A link between recorders and 'solemn music' could thus be speculated on. (34) However, a quotation such as the following throws into sharp relief the difficulties and ambiguities involved in trying to establish whether certain directions are used

as technical terms: "Solemne lowd musick. **Cleon**. What meanes this solemne musicke Sir?" (**The Emperor of the East** I.i.82-83). Presumably here, as in other examples, 'solemn' refers to the nature of the music rather than implying instrumentation.

The direction 'sad music' occurs rarely. In **King John and Matilda** V.iii it is performed on flutes, and in **The Cruel Brother** the direction "Recorders: Sadly" appears ([a] V.i.149). However, this association between recorders and 'sad music' seems more likely to be a consequence of the fact that recorders often appear in contexts where music of a sad nature is likely, than to be evidence of the usage of 'sad music' as a technical term. On other occasions 'sad' is often used as an adjective apparently descriptive of the nature of the music itself (for example, in the references 'sad notes', and 'the music sounds sad accents'). 'Sweet' is probably used in the sense in which Sternfeld defines it: "soft music in the proper tuning" (1963:235). This is supported by the reference to the supposed "sweete musicke of the spheares" to which Cupid, Psiche and the gods and goddesses dance in **Love's Mistress** (V.i.377) - a reference to celestial harmony and the tuning of the music of the spheres.

The other descriptive qualifications of music which appear in Caroline plays, though only rarely ('dreadful', 'hideous', 'horrid', 'strange', 'rude' and 'wanton'), seem most likely to refer to the nature of the music. However, occasionally there is some doubt over this. For instance, the direction "Florishe Horrid Musike" (**The Lady Mother** V.2474-75) could suggest the use of 'horrid music' as a technical term to imply instrumentation, but there is also the possibility that punctuation has been omitted, and thus made ambiguous the interpretation of the direction. The unqualified term 'music' appears fairly frequently, and there are also often contexts where it is obvious despite the lack even of this term

that some music is performed, though its nature is not specified. Such instances are indicated as '[music]' in Appendix 3. Sometimes this music consists of a song, or sometimes dance music, but most often instrumental music. The nature of this music and the instruments on which it might be performed have to be deduced from the dramatic context and from knowledge of conventions.

What was played

The play-texts contain very little indication of the actual instrumental music which was performed, or even the kind of music. Only nine tunes are called for by name, and this makes for difficulties in tracing sources of extant instrumental music associated with plays. Occasionally there is a general description of the character of the music, and sometimes particular kinds of music are indicated or suggested (for example, military and hunting calls), but there is an overall lack of detailed evidence. None of the musical sources examined contains any instrumental music ascribed to Caroline plays. Extant sources have been found for six of the named tunes, and possible sources for the other three named tunes, and there are also sources for another fourteen instrumental tunes which share plays' titles and may be associated with them. These sources are listed in Appendix 1.

In some cases, the lack of surviving music could be explained by possible aural transmission (for example, of drum signals); and perhaps some of the music was improvised. Possibly there are musical sources as yet undiscovered or unexamined which contain instrumental music ascribed to Caroline plays. However, much the most likely explanation is that, on the whole, an existing repertory of pieces was used. This would mean that much of the music does in fact survive, albeit often in different arrangements, and that the main problem is one of identification. Three of the six named tunes

definitely associated with Caroline plays were not written specially for these plays, but already existed, and they survive in arrangements other than those apparently used in the theatre and in sources not linked with the theatre.

The lack of named tunes in play-texts and of pieces ascribed to plays in musical sources strengthens the argument that instruments were important rather than the exact music they played, and suggests that an existing repertory of pieces was used. Not only were certain instruments consistently used in particular dramatic contexts, but also certain kinds of music were consistently associated with particular types of dramatic situations. The use of flourishes and military signals provides evidence of the latter convention. Such types of music are henceforth described as 'conventional types'. The use of conventional types (though not so-called) has been previously observed, for example, by Cowling (1913:42-64), Manifold (1956), and in particular Ward (1942:2,13), who has presented some convincing arguments for the existence of what he calls 'sound-formulae'. However, there has been no attempt at detailed study of conventional types and the nature and extent of their use in Caroline plays, integrated with consideration of the dramatic use of the symbolic associations of instruments. Also, commentators have tended to limit consideration to definite types of music, such as musical signals. It seems likely to me that such a convention also extended to other types of music; for example, that certain kinds of music were associated with banquets or with taverns. Obviously there is a distinction between conventional types of a more specific melodic nature (such as the musical signals) and those of a more general type. For instance, an alarm was a melodically distinct call, whereas there might be several tunes traditionally associated with taverns, that is, a repertory from which tavern music could be drawn. There would not have been

unique conventional types corresponding to every kind of dramatic context; presumably repertories overlapped to a certain extent. The conventional types worked in conjunction with instruments' symbolic associations in conveying information to the audience. However, I would argue that generally the sonority of instruments was the more important communicatory factor, except in the case of the distinct musical signals. Again, it must be remembered that the evidence contained in play-texts presents only part of the picture. Theatre musicians were required to provide more music than is directed in the play-texts, and presumably music was added in performance in accordance with the stock conventions, with the type of music and instrumentation being dictated by the dramatic context concerned.

There are practical points which strengthen the proposal for the use of conventional types and an existing repertory of pieces. The first (noted by Ward [1986b]) relates to the high speed at which plays were performed. The powerful combination of easily recognizable conventional types and the symbolic properties of instruments could act as a form of dramatic shorthand and save time, because of their association with specific dramatic contexts. The second point relates to the professional theatres. The demands of their strenuous repertory system dictated the usage of certain stock devices, and it seems likely that these extended to the use of music. Many plays had to be kept in repertory in order to satisfy a large regular audience, and both old and new plays comprised the constantly changing programmes of the theatres. Gurr, discussing the period 1574 to 1642, comments that "the stringent organisation and the feats of memory required from the company would have involved a number of consistent and traditional practices that must have persisted through the whole period and that we can recognize as characteristic" (1980:102). These included, for example, the custom of

acting 'lines', and certain conventions of gesture which enabled the shorthand stage presentation of inner emotions. Certain musical conventions would also have been invaluable, and in this respect music can be seen as a theatrical property, and was depended on as such. In general, musical usages would not have varied much from play to play (though of course there would have been exceptions), and conventional types would have been used.

There is evidence in Caroline plays performed under public, court, academic and private auspices suggesting the use of conventional types taken from an existing repertory. It seems likely that the conventional types largely comprised music taken over directly from the relevant real-life situations; for example, the use of the repertoire of contemporary military musicians for the provision of military music in the theatre. Conventional types were thus naturalistic and would supply realism. They could also be easily recognized and handled (a point made by Ward [1986b]). Dramatic situations which were not paralleled by real-life situations possibly still had conventional types of music associated with them, but these would have been linked specifically through theatrical convention. However, it seems likely that particularly in contexts such as the presentation of music of the spheres, the instrumentation was of primary importance rather than the music.

It seems likely too that the repertory from which instrumental music (other than musical signals) was drawn was largely popular. Music which was theatrically effective would have been used; music which would entertain the audience and hold their attention. Simple, familiar, brief pieces, such as arrangements of ballads and popular tunes, seem likely rather than more refined, intimate and contrapuntal pieces such as fantasias. (35) The tuneful nature of later theatre music supports this theory. Popular music is also suggested by the fact that most of the tunes which are called for by name are popular. The taste of the earlier élite-theatre audiences

is reflected in the choice of "Lachrimae" and "Baloo" by the citizen and his wife in **The Knight of the Burning Pestle** (1607) (II-III.524,525). In Caroline plays, "Selengers Round" and "Trench-more" are called for (**The Late Lancashire Witches** III and **The Vow Breaker** II).

Another factor supporting the use of popular music and of conventional types in the earlier popular theatres is that musicians were often actor-musicians, and music which was easily memorable, undemanding and familiar was obviously more practical. Actors would already have been kept busy memorizing their lines, and would have had very little time for learning new music. Even professional musicians tended to be employed elsewhere too, so again the use of an existing repertory would have been advantageous. Ward has observed an exceptional example of a particular extant instrumental piece associated with a particular scene in a specific pre-Caroline play. (36) The piece is "Orlando furioso" from the eponymous popular-theatre play (1591) (or "Orlando sleepeth"). Significantly, it is, as Ward has pointed out (1986b), what would have been expected: a masque-like measure (the scene being masque-like), based on a popular tune. However, in the élite theatres the musically skilled choirboys could have performed more demanding music, and at court the greater availability of money and resources would presumably have meant that the music need be less tied to existing repertoire.

During the Caroline period, various changes took place which I propose influenced the general practices outlined above. The theory for the general adaptation of music already to hand, and for the traditionally established use of conventional types, extends to the Caroline theatre. However, in addition to the continued use of popular music, the usage of more elaborate music probably increased because of certain interrelated factors which developed during Caroline times. The instrumental music repertoire itself developed. The greatly increased use of

professional musicians in the theatre meant that technically more advanced settings were possible. There was a large demand for music in the theatre, resulting, in certain plays at least, in greater use of music and more importance attached to it. The ways in which music was used in the theatre were developed. It is likely that audiences for plays performed at certain venues (for example, the cultivated and attentive audiences at élite theatres) also influenced the nature of the music. I suggest that the elaborateness of some songs which survive for plays performed in certain auspices makes it likely that instrumental music in these plays was also more sophisticated.

In addition to the use of more sophisticated settings of pieces in an existing repertory, it seems, although evidence is short, that for certain plays music was written specially, and sometimes this music was very elaborate. Composers and dramatists collaborated, with careful planning of the use of music; the plays concerned tended to be those produced at universities before visiting royalty. The absence of the professional theatre's time restrictions for productions such as that of **The Rival Friends** at Queens' College, Cambridge, presumably also influenced the nature of the music. This play involved elaborate music, much of which survives. The call in **The Country Captain** for some of Adson's "new ayres" ([a] IV.i.46) may suggest that he wrote music specially for the theatre, although this reference could be to music already existing though of recent date. The novelty of tunes is also stressed on a few other occasions (for example, in **The Parson's Wedding** V.ii and **Sicily and Naples** I.v). It is possible that some at least of those instrumental tunes which share the titles of Caroline plays may have been written for them. It is known that some tunes were written specially for the theatre from the fact that it became common to commend tunes as 'new playhouse tunes' (see Pattison 1970:163).

Tunes which are named in the plays are dramatically significant, as are the rare named tunes which are whistled. Even though the actual music performed is so rarely specified, Caroline play-texts do contain some indications concerning the nature of the instrumental music. Quite often the dialogue contains descriptive reference to the music which gives an indication of its character. For instance, 'ratling', 'rude' and 'lazy' tunes are called for. Descriptions of music include 'harmonious', 'ravishing', 'sprightly', 'melancholy' and 'discordant', and music of warlike or military character is sometimes called for. There are virtually no references to aspects of musical form. "A solemn lesson" is performed in **The Antipodes** (V.x.0.1), but this term is general. There are two references to strains of music, both of which are linked with action (**The Emperor of the East** I.i and **Messalina** V.i). Occasionally the length of a piece of instrumental music is indicated. The few specifications for the cessation of music occur where the music is relevant to the dramatic action in such a way that it is important exactly when it stops (for example, in **The Cruel Brother** [a] V.i, recorders represent the soul ascending, then cease when it has gone) or to achieve dramatic effect.

2.3 Dance

Dance was traditional to drama and audiences enjoyed watching it and listening to the music that accompanied it. Dance had an important role in the theatre because of its expressive potential. The great popularity of dance in Caroline plays is suggested by Shirley's drawing attention to the lack of it in his play **The Doubtful Heir**; he says that the play contains

> "No shews, no dance, and what you most delight in,
> Grave understanders, here's no target fighting
> Upon the Stage, all work for Cutlers barr'd,
> No bawdery, nor no Ballets" (Prologue.7-10).

Many dances are called for in the play-texts: over 250, contained in 121 of the extant plays. Probably more dances were performed than those for which there is evidence. The amount of dancing in the plays, and indeed also in the masque, reflects the universal popularity of dancing at this time.

Contemporary attitudes to dancing are reflected in the dramatic use of dance, particularly the view that it was a valuable means of communication and had semantic properties. (Here a similarity to the attitudes influencing the dramatic use of song and instrumental music can be noted.) Caperwit's comment in **Changes** that "Your dance is the best language of some Comedies" (IV.ii.p.52.4) presumably reflects this view. Many of the dances of the period apparently contained gesture and mime and some of them involved dramatic action; hence dance was viewed as communication in a specific sense. (37) The rhetorical properties of dancing were also exploited in masques (Walls 1975:126).

Dancing was seen as a form of exercise and as a social grace (see Sabol ed. 1978:7). John Playford says in the Introduction to **The English Dancing Master** (1651) that dancing is commended as "Excellent for Recreation, after more serious Studies, making the body active and strong, gracefull in deportment, and a quality very much

beseeming a Gentleman". In stressing that dancing is an important accomplishment for mixing in elegant society, dancing manuals are repeating ideas common in courtesy books and educational treatises (Walls 1975:122-23). **The Coronation** contains a revealing comment: "an you mean To rise at court, practise to caper" (III.ii.23-24). More critical views of dancing are also important to its dramatic use. Light dances were associated with drunken merriment (Westrup 1941-42:37), and dancing was criticized as wanton and physically dangerous, especially as livelier dances became fashionable.

Knowledge of the dance styles used and ideas as to their expressive properties is necessary before the dramatic use of dance can be properly studied. Dance manuals are sources for such information, (38) and details are also contained in the dramatic texts themselves. Caroline play-texts also contain information on types of dance, and on the character, choreography, conduct, structure and accompaniment of certain dances, and this is summarized below. For further details and examples the reader is referred to Appendix 4, and to the category 'Accompaniment to dance' of Appendix 3.

The only extant dance music which is associated or possibly associated with specific Caroline plays is sources for twenty-two of the dance tunes which are called for by name in particular plays; (39) these are listed in Appendix 1. This is considerably more music than was thought to survive. However, no examples have been discovered of music for various general types of dance (such as courante and country dance) ascribed to Caroline plays. Doubtless some of this music survives; the problem is one of identification. It must be borne in mind that even those named dances for which musical sources have been found survive in forms which are not directly linked with theatrical performance (for example, they may be stylized). It seems likely that, as with instrumental music, dances were frequently chosen from an

existing repertory rather than specially composed for particular plays. Some were perhaps specially written, for instance certain named dances whose title is dramatically significant (such as "The Cuckolds Joy" in **The English Moor** I.iii and "The Novella" in the eponymous play III.i).

Types of dance and named dances

The dance types which occur in the plays comprise almost the entire range of dance current during this period and include those popular at court and in society. Formal and informal dancing was an important part of court life; for instance, members of the nobility took part in masques and attended practice sessions under dancing masters. Those dances called for in the plays whose types are known comprise various formal dances - courtly social dances, masque dances, and popular and country dances - and antimasque dances, which include 'fantastic' and wild dances, and whose dancers characteristically wore bizarre costumes and represented grotesque and comic characters. In many instances the type of dance is not specified or definitely implied, though it is often suggested by such factors as the characters who dance, (40) description of the character of the dance itself, the dramatic context and the expressive properties associated with particular dances.

Most of the courtly social dances called for in the plays are those of a lively nature; this reflects the coming into fashion of livelier dances. The dances are representative of dances popular during the Caroline period, and include newer, more vigorous dances such as the volta and branle. A French influence is evident in certain of the dances (for example, the 'French brawle'), and this is interesting in view of a broader trend for imitation of the French at this period. The frequency with which particular types of dance are called for is interesting as some reflection of popular taste, though

it must be remembered that the types are often not specified, so not too much significance should be read into those that are. A comparison with the range of dances which are called for in Caroline masque-texts and theories based on this as to the popularity of particular dances (put forward, for example, in Lefkowitz ed. 1970) is also interesting. The evidence in the play-texts supplements that in the masque-texts.

The courtly social dances definitely and possibly performed in the plays are the canary, courante, galliard and cinque pas, volta, measure, branle and sarabande. (41) Courantes and galliards are called for most frequently. On three occasions courantes are definitely performed, and on another four they are likely or possible. The dance name most often takes the form 'coranto'. Courantes also occur often in masque-texts, and in fact they lasted longest of the English court dances. The galliard was also known as the cinque pas because of its five steps (Walls 1974:164, Ellis 1974:131) **("stink [sink?] a pace" in Time's Trick upon the Cards** [II.iv.573]). (42) It involved a scissor movement during a jump known as a capriole or caper. Galliards and cinque pas are definitely performed in four of the plays, and possibly in another three. There are also eight instances of capering, though it should be noted that on some occasions the term 'caper' is used more generally, meaning 'a frolicsome leap' (O.E.D.). However, the galliard does not appear as a masque dance after 1623, being replaced by the sarabande (Lefkowitz ed. 1970:19 and Sabol ed. 1978:17), which was associated with French fashions. The first mention in a masque-text of a sarabande occurs in **Tempe Restored** in 1631. There is only one occasion in the plays when a sarabande is possibly danced: a "Saraband" and a "Sellibrand" are listed in a selection of dances in **The New Academy** (III.ii.315,316), some of which are presumably performed.

The problems in defining the 'measure' are noted by Ward (1986a). He concludes that the term "was applied to

dances with individual choreographies ... to distinguish them from dances whose steps were typical" (ibid.:17). He observes that no two measures were the same, and that "any dance, English or foreign, with its own pattern of steps and music could be and was called a measure" (ibid.:19,20). In Caroline masque-texts, the measures of Jacobean masque-texts have been replaced by allemande and ayre, but neither of these is called for in Caroline play-texts. Measures are performed in, for example, **Sicily and Naples** II.iv. There is no call in the play-texts for the pavane to be danced, and by this time, the dance was also rare in masque-texts. As for the volta and branle, the former is danced twice in the plays, and the latter possibly twice. These dances are not called for in Caroline masque-texts, although they were in Jacobean. The canary is definitely performed in one of the plays (though probably only a snatch), and very likely in another.

The country dances performed are referred to by general terms such as 'country dance', 'country measure' and 'country figaries' (the latter term probably deriving from 'figure'). Types specified include the hornpipe, jig, morris dance and round. These traditional English folk dances were based on the use of figures, and rarely involved elaborate choreography. Dean-Smith notes that the characteristic that distinguishes virtually all types of country dance from courtly social dances is that a number of people dance together in the former whereas the latter are 'pair dances', although they may involve numerous couples (1957:xviii). Country dances, as well as being performed by country people and forming part of genuine rural customs, were also enjoyed by the court, partly because of their relative easiness (see Sorell 1957:373, Walls 1975:139). The country dance and jig were also danced in the revels of masques, and both these and the morris were also associated with antimasques. There are some named popular dances.

The types of dance used as main masque dances in embedded masques are given only rarely in the play-texts: "a solemne measure with changes" in **The Soddered Citizen** (IV.ii.1917), possibly a "French brawle" in **The Picture** (II.ii.196), and "the grand Dance" in **Landgartha** (III.340.1). The antimasque dances are variously described in the play-texts as an 'Antique', an 'anticke', an 'antique dance' and an 'antic dance'. Where terms such as these are not used, other information identifies certain dances as antimasque dances; for instance, dancers 'in antique forms', dancers who 'enter in antique postures', a dance 'in antic fashion'. Gesture and acting were important in antimasque dances, and this is reflected in the plays.

It is relatively rare for dances performed in the plays to be specified by name. Thirty-seven different dances are named, though not all of these are actually danced, because some occur in lists of dances from which only a selection are performed (in **The New Academy** III.ii and **The Variety** III.i). A few named dances occur in more than one play ("Sellenger's Round" and "Trenchmore", both very popular dances, appear three times each, and "Pardonne moy" possibly occurs twice). All the named dances are listed in Appendix 1; they include social, country, masque and antimasque dances. A study of the occasions on which dances are identified by name reveals that such detailed specification tended to be given when the dance itself was dramatically significant. This could be due, for example, to traditional associations or particular characteristics of the dance concerned, or to the dance's title. I propose that what mattered in general was the act and spectacle of dancing, more than what was danced. As long as the general type of dance fitted the characters and the dramatic context and function of the dance, it was not necessary to name a specific dance. This theory seems to be supported by the element of choice implicit in such directions as "some

country Igg or soe" (**The Lady Mother** II.702) and those where even a dance type is not specified, for example "some daintie dance" (**The Launching of the Mary** V.ii.2801). A French influence is again reflected in certain of the named dances (for example, those in **The Variety**).

Character, choreography and conduct of dances

The character of dances is often described in the play-texts, and they also contain some evidence relating to choreography and gesture. Not only can this information be used in speculation regarding unspecified dance types, but it can also help suggest characters who might perform the dance, where this information is not given. On some occasions it is the character and nature of dances of specified types which is described; for example, hornpipes are twice described as "lusty" (**The Great Duke of Florence** IV.ii.203; **The Late Lancashire Witches** III.1450), and an antic dance by four Elements and their creatures as "confused" (**Microcosmus** I.113.1). Measures are "light" and "ayry" (**Amyntas** III.iv.63), and "active" (**Microcosmus** V.404), but also "solemne" (**Sicily and Naples** II.iv.22.1). Country figaries are described as "nimble" (**The Bird in a Cage** III.iii.p.41.20) and a country dance is "conceited" (**The Court Beggar** IV.ii.42.1). Certain of these descriptions may refer more to the manner of dancing than to the nature of the dance itself, and there are other indications regarding the way in which dances are performed. An armoured dance is performed "with a gracefull dexterity" in **The Strange Discovery** (III.ii.52.2), "The Whip of Donboyne" is danced "merrily" in **Landgartha** (III.338.1), and Nat dances a galliard "vily" in **The English Moor** (IV.iv.75).

Sometimes the nature of dancers' entry is described in the play-texts. The four satyrs in the "Fourth Intermedium" of **Florimene** "come leaping in" (14-15), and "The Ladyes in a solemne march, present themselves all in

war-like habits, and dance" in **The Royal Slave** (V.vi.1496.1-96.2). Occasionally the placing of dancers in a figure before the dance begins is detailed; for example, in **Hannibal and Scipio**, the soldiers "put themselves into a figure like a battalia" during the song which precedes their "dance expressing a fight" in the 'solemnity' celebrating victory (V.v.99.3-99.4,109.1). (See also **Microcosmus** V.) The postures of dancers are referred to; for instance, they perform "in severall postures" in **The Fair Maid of the Inn** (III.i.154-55) and "in their Cripple Postures" in **The Royal Slave** (V.v.1491.3). In **Microcosmus** II the Complexions express their differences in a dance, and four satyrs dance "with wanton Action" in **Florimene** (Fourth Intermedium.18-19). Further information regarding the nature of the dance is given in **Trappolin Creduto Principe** II.ii (two dances led by Hymen) and in **The Late Lancashire Witches** (a round danced "by paire and paire" [IV.1568]). The dance "Trenchmore" in **Love or Money** I.iii involves the male partner 'turning' the female partner. Some of the many dance steps are referred to in **The City Wit**: "Your Traverses, Slidings, Falling back, Jumps, Closings, Openings, Shorts, Turns, Pacings, Gracings" (IV.i.108-110).

On several occasions dumb-show or symbolic action takes place during a dance. Hector and Achilles encounter each other "in a dumbe show by way of a Dance" in the masque in **Landgartha** (III.232.1-32.2), and there is a dance as part of the congratulation of royal victory in **The Royal Slave**, "the whole Dance expressing these verses of Claudian", which are then quoted (V.v.1496.2-96.3).

Structure

Dance music of this period consisted of brief tunes expanded to provide the music for lengthy dances by repetition, possibly with variation, of the strains. The number of repetitions was probably dictated by both the

tempo and choreography, and in the plays also by dramatic requirements. Aspects of the structure of the dance music are referred to very occasionally in the play-texts; for example, there are a few references to 'closes', 'changes' and 'strains', and there is also evidence for the repetition of dance tunes to extend their very short literal reading.

'Closes' are referred to in **The Amorous War**. Six moors dance, "at every close, expressing a cheerfull Adoration of their Gods" (III.ii.78.8-78.9). There are several references to 'strains'. In **The Late Lancashire Witches**, "Enter a Pedant dauncing to the musique; the strain don, he points at Bantam" (IV.2119-20). Each of the three subsequent dances in this scene, each by a different character, presumably also takes place to a strain. In **A New Trick To Cheat the Devil**, an antic "Dances a straine", then another enters "dauncing another straine" (IV.i.36.3,37.1). Again, possibly each of the six subsequent antics dances a strain on entry. The specification of 'another' strain suggests that here different strains might have been used for the various antics to allow for characterization. After all eight antics have entered, there is the direction "The Daunce continued" (ibid..58.1), which implies that the various strains are all part of the same dance. Here Walls' discussion of the music for comic entry antimasques is relevant (1975:182-83). He suggests that a kind of French musical structure could have been used in Caroline antimasques, which "might have been arrived at by extending the pattern of English antimasque tunes, and then using each strain for a separate entry" (ibid.). (43) Surviving antimasque dance tunes generally consist of about five strains, and their structure can be affected by choreographic and dramatic ideas (ibid.:162-64). Francis Bacon's reference to the fact that antimasque music had "some strange changes" (ed. 1972:116) suggests their potential for portrayal of

contrasting characters.

A dance in **Love's Sacrifice** has "sundry changes" (III.iv.18.5), one in **The Broken Heart** V.ii involves four 'changes', with entries and brief snatches of dialogue between them, and a dance in **The Walks of Islington and Hogsdon** II.ii involves five 'changes', between which drinking and dialogue take place. Changes are otherwise specified very rarely, and it may be that detail concerning changes is specified in these particular examples because the dances, the changes and the action and dialogue which occur between them are dramatically important. The final example illustrates the expansion of dance tunes by repetition: they "continue dancing the tune once more over" (II.ii.200.5). The duration of dances is referred to on only two occasions. In **Love's Sacrifice** the masquers who have entered "in an antic fashion" dance "a short time" (III.iv.18.1,18.2), and in the wedding masque in **Landgartha** six satyrs dance "a short nimble anticke" (III.183.1-83.2). The fact that both short dances are antimasque dances is interesting in view of Bacon's comment, "Let antimasques not be long" (ed. 1972:116).

This is virtually all the evidence which there is in the play-texts concerning the structure of the dances which are performed. However, on one occasion a tempo change (and possibly a metrical change) is apparently implied within a dance: "more sprightly" music is called for by Calantha for the final change of the ceremonial wedding dance in **The Broken Heart** (V.ii.17). For further information, concerning such aspects as the total number and balancing of strains, time-signatures and any metrical changes during dances, and the use of keys, one must turn primarily to surviving dance music, although dance treatises contain some relevant details. The named dances for which extant musical sources have been located are divided into sections, the number of which can vary from source to source of a particular dance, and which are usually marked for repetition. Walls makes the

important point that there are some basic structural distinctions between antimasque and main masque dances, which can be related directly to the dramatic function of the tunes (1975:156).

The play-texts suggest that introductions were played to certain of the dances; these would give the dancers a chance to form up and prepare themselves. In **I St Patrick for Ireland**, for example, Archimagus says, "The musicke prompts you to a dance" (II.ii.83). A direction in **The Walks of Islington and Hogsdon** reads, "They [the fiddlers] play the tune once over. They [the dancers] dance the tune once over" (II.ii.151-52.1). In several play-texts music is directed before the dance is (for example, **The Fair Maid of the Inn** IV.i; **Hyde Park** IV.iii). Directions like 'Music. Dance' and 'Music and a Dance' could imply an introduction and/or an accompaniment (for instance, in **The Queen and Concubine** V.iv; **The Goblins** III.vii).

Accompaniment

Evidence in the play-texts indicates that dances are accompanied by various instruments, singing, and whistling. Sometimes, although the nature of the accompaniment is not specified exactly, it is clear that there is one. For just under half the dances in these plays there is no evidence at all as to whether or not they were accompanied. It seems likely that they frequently were, and in some cases where accompanying instruments are not specified, instruments which have provided music earlier in the scene could possibly supply the accompaniment. However, in certain instances dances were probably unaccompanied. The likelihood of there being an accompaniment, and if so its possible nature, can be speculated on, taking as evidence common types of accompaniments in particular dramatic contexts.

There is only one stage direction which refers to the possibility of a dance being unaccompanied, thus

providing positive evidence rather than speculation based on omission. This direction occurs in **Landgartha**, during a masque. Six satyrs enter "and dance a short nimble anticke to no Musicke, or at most to a single Violine" (III.183.1-83.2). This suggests several aspects of circumstances in which an accompaniment might have been unlikely. Firstly, the brevity of the dance should be noted, and secondly, its nature; although it forms part of a formal masque, it is an antic dance and is evidently not intended to be elaborate. A certain element of spontaneity in the dancing seems likely, and freedom, allowing the satyrs' dance to express their character, so it would be best accompanied by simple or no music. Probably unaccompanied dancing was usually short spontaneous bursts of dancing, generally in a context more informal than this, where what was important dramatically was the act of dancing rather than an elaborate formal dance. (One example is Gorgon's dancing for joy in **The School of Compliment** [a] IV.i.)

The evidence for instruments used to accompany dances comes from the play-texts. No real evidence is provided by the musical sources for the few surviving dances which it has been possible to identify as being used in the plays, since these survive not in arrangements known with any certainty to have been used in the theatre, but in various adaptations for private diversion (arranged, for example, for lute or keyboard). A variety of accompanying instruments are specified in the plays, and they are used both singly and in various combinations. Different types of dance are contrasted by different instrumentation, and their accompanying instruments in the plays reflect those normally associated with them.

The instrument most commonly specified to accompany dancing is the violin, which was closely linked with dancing at this time. (44) In **The Ball** III.i, a dancer accompanies a dancing lesson on the violin, here reflecting an everyday usage of the instrument. A

'treble' (presumably meaning a violin) accompanies wenches on their way to a country dancing match in **The Country Girl**. In some plays the accompaniment is provided by several violins. Five ladies and five statues of commanders which have come to life "fall into a sprightly dance to Violins" in Cartwright's **The Siege** (V.viii.2295.10). The occasion is a hymeneal masque, and violins were among the typical accompanying instruments of masque dances at this period. There is evidence within the dialogue that the second masque dance in **King John and Matilda** is accompanied by violins: Young Bruce says, "Pox a' these Cats guts, how they squeak" (III.v.13). He feels that the addition of a drum would be an improvement: "Methinks a rattling sheep-skin lustily boxt, Would thunder brave amongst them" (ibid..14-15). This masque takes place in the presence of the king, and the use of violins here reflects the usage of a violin consort to accompany formal and informal dancing at the English court at this time (see Holman 1982-83:53-55). The musicians who accompany dancing in **Senile Odium** V.ix, **The Rival Friends** (a) IV.x and **Love or Money** IV.i are presumably violinists. In **The Walks of Islington and Hogsdon**, the group of 'fiddlers' includes a "base Violin" (II.ii.37). Violins again accompany a masque dance ("The Cuckolds Joy") in **The English Moor** I.iii, but this time in combination with cornetts. This is the only specification of the cornett accompanying dancing in Caroline plays, but apparently it was widely used as a dance instrument. There are examples of its use in Jacobean plays (Manifold 1948:375), and it accompanied both antimasque and masque dances (Walls 1975:148).

Dancing in Caroline plays is also accompanied by various types of pipe; for example, a bagpipe at the dancing challenge in **Hyde Park** IV.iii and (appropriately) a Lancashire bagpipe at the wedding party in **The Late Lancashire Witches** III. Fitzgibbon notes, "Armin tells us that the Lincolnshire bagpipe (see 1 Henry IV) was used

for the common dancing in the hall" (1931:327). Pipes tend to be associated with low-life figures. The dances to welcome the beggars' king at the beggars' wedding in **A Jovial Crew** (I.i and IV.ii) are apparently accompanied by a piper. Four Scotch antics and four wild Irish in trowses dance in the embedded masque in **Perkin Warbeck** III.ii, and instruments which may have been used in the accompaniment are suggested by a reference to "the rare discord of bells, pipes and tabors, Hotch-potch of Scotch and Irish twingle-twangles" (ibid.:4-5). Ure notes that here instruments of the English morris are mingled with those of 'Celtic' music (tabors and "twingle-twangles, the first instance in **O.E.D.**, sounds made by the Gaelic harp") (ed. 1968:68). If the instruments supplying the dance accompaniment did include bagpipes and harps, this followed **The Irish Mask** (1613). A dance in **The Partial Law** II.iv is likely to have been accompanied by pipe and tabor. Bagpipes and tabor are used in **The Gypsies Metamorphosed** (1621), and indeed percussion instruments are common in antimasques, which are "characterised by groups of instruments with a decidedly uncourtly guise" (Walls 1975:146). It can be speculated that percussion instruments were involved in the antimasque dance in **Zeno sive Ambitio Infelix** ([a] "Scena Muta" following V.viii), as it was danced "ad numeros" (ibid..21.2), which can be translated 'to rhythms'.

Percussive instruments had been used in the antimasque of witches in **The Mask of Queens** (1609), but the witches' antic dance in **The Fairy Knight** III.ii is accompanied by a lute, which is highly unusual: in independent masques the view of the nobility of the lute as an instrument was important and it was never heard in an antimasque situation (Walls 1975:155). Bowers notes that the lines referring to the lute are a later marginal addition, inserted when the writer found he needed to provide music for the witches' dance (ed. 1942:77). These lines justify the introduction of this instrument by characterizing it

as Orpheus' magic lute, brought by the devil from the Stygian shades. A country dance in **The Bird in a Cage** III.iii is possibly accompanied on the lutes which previously provided a song accompaniment. Caroline plays contain no examples of the cittern as a dance instrument, though the small cittern was the most suitable instrument to accompany oneself in a vigorous dance (see Abbott and Segerman 1975:42). Hautboys, which occur in combination with other instruments in Massinger's **The Guardian** IV.ii, were used separately as a dance instrument in earlier plays.

These are the only examples in Caroline plays where particular instruments are specified or implied to accompany dancing, except those where singing is also involved. The evidence offered by these few instances thus has to be used as an indication of general usage, along with information from other sources. As regards combinations of instruments, references in the play-texts to fiddlers or musicians (with no indication of instruments) have been taken to imply accompaniment by some ensemble of instruments, and these examples have been described in Appendix 3 as '[consort]'. There are as many instances of implied consorts as there are examples of particular instruments or combinations of instruments being specified. Sometimes these consorts could have comprised instrumental combinations similar to those listed above. The likely composition of the various implied consorts is related to the dramatic context, and also to some extent to the probable number and location of the accompanists. Consorts are implied in such contexts as scenes of courtship, and at taverns, weddings and masques.

The ambiguous direction 'music' also appears in the play-texts (for example, "Musicke and a Dance" in **The Goblins** III.vii.57.1), and on many more occasions references in the dialogue make clear the existence of an accompaniment but with no suggestion at all as to what

the instrumentation might have been, or whether there were one or more accompanying instruments. These examples appear as '[music]' in Appendix 3.

On a few occasions the accompaniment is described by technical terms. "Loud musick", possibly hautboys or cornetts, accompanies a dance of ghosts in **The Queen's Exchange** (III.i.252.4). Masquers dance to "softe musick" in **The Soddered Citizen** (IV.ii.1916); the viols and lutes suggested by this term are instruments characteristically associated with masque dances. In **Microcosmus**, the four Elements and their creatures dance "to their owne antique musicke" (I.113.2), which given that they had earlier entered "playing on antique instruments" (ibid..42.3) probably implies that they danced to the music of their own antimasque-associated instruments, perhaps percussion or pipes.

There was a long tradition of the accompaniment of dance by song, and in the plays the number of occasions where song is obviously used outnumbers those where particular instruments are specified, and there are still more instances where a sung accompaniment is likely. The occasions concerned are often of a more impromptu and less formal nature than those where the accompaniment is instrumental (for instance, celebrating recovery and practising dancing). There is a probable example in **The Picture** II.ii of the branle accompanied by a song, thereby reflecting real-life practice (Pattison 1970:185). A few dances are accompanied by instruments and singing. Examples occur in **The Court Beggar**, where the doctor, Citwit, Swaynwit and Courtwit practise dancing and singing for revels while Daynty plays the viol (V.ii), and in **The Strange Discovery**, where virgins dance "at the sound of musicke and a song made fit and agreeable to the musicke" (II.vii.0.7-0.8). Two dances (in **The Rival Friends** [a] IV.vii and **The Court Beggar** V.ii) are accompanied by whistling. Both are country dances performed in informal circumstances.

Occasionally the play-texts include evidence as to the

nature of the accompaniment. The wedding dance in Massinger's **The Guardian** is accompanied by "A most melodious note" (IV.ii.3), and the dance of devils in **A New Trick To Cheat the Devil** is accompanied by music "all of discords" (V.i.195). Generally, however, references are to the tempo and general character of the music; for instance, "quick" music for the galliard in **The English Moor** (IV.iv.75) and "sprightly" music to accompany the "lively measure" in **The Fair Maid of the Inn** (III.i.152,153).

CHAPTER 3

THE USES OF MUSIC IN CAROLINE PLAYS

3.1 Introduction

The performed music in Caroline plays functions in different ways and on different levels. It can be important to the plot, relevant to the theme, and significant symbolically or metaphorically. Music also assists in achieving stage realism and supporting dramatic illusion, involves the audience and intensifies their emotions, heightens dramatic atmosphere, provides relief from the spoken word, and amuses the audience. So, although some functions are dramatic, others can be described as technical, being intended to assist with staging. In addition, some music was there simply to delight and entertain.

A theatrical approach

Rather than just considering music's function with regard to the playwright's literary drama, I have taken a wider theatrical approach and considered too its role in contemporary theatrical performances of plays. This approach means that I give particular emphasis and consideration to the uses of music as a theatrical expedient, as a means of making the drama convincing and intensifying the dramatic situation, and to entertain the audience with an additional dimension.

When assessing the music from this standpoint, it is vital to imagine the play in performance and concentrate on the effect on the audience of the music in performance in dramatic and theatrical context. Furthermore, the uses of music and their significance must be seen in relation to the staging practices and nature of the theatres of the period. The existence of

conventions should be recognized. It is vital to attempt to establish what they were and to understand them. Only then can the uses of music in Caroline plays be properly understood.

There were many conventions concerning the use of music in plays. They were related to musical habits and beliefs in society of the time, and many of them represented a continuation of earlier practice. They were useful, given the repertory system (especially the number of plays on the go at any one time), and given the need for adaptability with the transfers of plays between venues which took place.

Drama itself was highly conventionalized at this time, and so was staging. Plays were performed on a bare platform stage; there was no front curtain, almost certainly no variable lighting, and scenery was very rare, though props admittedly were not. Playwrights used a variety of staging techniques. In an interesting article which applies semiology to drama criticism, Salomon has identified the range of visual and aural signs which were utilized, citing language as the most important sign category (1972). The nonverbal techniques which were used were both visual and aural, and comprised portable props, large props and scenic devices (such as trees), costume (including symbolic use of colour), lighting (for instance, torches and candles), acting (gesture, movement, stage business, grouping), sound effects and music. They were suggestive signals which constituted a set of conventions - a stage iconography. They relied on associations, and could also be symbolic on a metaphoric level. As Dessen has noted, some signals call upon associations which are less accessible or even lost today (1985:35). He and many others have concentrated on visual signals. However, music deserves consideration. Here we discern the use of music as a means of communication, as an important part

of the shared language of the theatre which was common to playwright, actor, and spectator. The effectiveness of musical, as other, conventions relied on their acceptance by the spectator and on his imagination.

Music was used as a method of dramatic shorthand. This depended on conventions whereby music was associated with particular effects, contexts, atmospheres, characters and emotions. These were expressed or indicated by the sheer fact that music was performed. In this respect, theatrical practice often reflected real life. Another type of shorthand was often overlaid upon this. It also relied on conventions: those concerned with the associations of the music itself. One example has already been mentioned: the consistent association of particular instruments with particular dramatic contexts and atmospheres. These instruments emphasized factors such as the setting, atmosphere or emotion through their associations for the audience. There was also reliance on and exploitation of the associations of particular types and forms of music with particular characters, moods and contexts, and the stereotyped and recognizable connotations of particular popular tunes and ballads. Other significant factors included whether a piece of music originated in the popular or art repertory, the nature of the music, and the use of named instrumental and dance tunes. Closely bound up of course with these purely musical factors were others such as the nature of the lyrics and the steps of dances.

Music, like the visual signals, was thus not only a very effective staging technique but also an economical one, because its associations meant that only a few suggestive details were necessary. The conventions allowed economy in the musical presentation of character, context or emotion; for instance, in the expression of character, often only a small amount of

singing or dancing (or indeed sometimes merely a verbal allusion to a tune) was necessary. Absolute verisimilitude was not the end, and this in fact allowed more flexibility to the dramatist and the audience.

Music fulfilled five basic roles. Firstly there is music which is integral to the plot, essential to the action and its exposition. Then there is emotionally supportive music, which is used for its emotional impact, and which enhances rather than participates in the dramatic development of the plot. Thirdly comes technically supportive music, which assists with practical problems of staging. Fourthly there is music which is introduced for its own sake and has no purpose but amusement of the spectators. Finally there is music which articulates the structure of the play in performance in the theatre, coming before and after the play and between acts. This music is outside the acts, whereas the first four types of music are within them.

Division into these five categories of usage is inevitably somewhat arbitrary, but some such division is necessary for purposes of analysis and discussion. I believe that these categories I have established, and the theatrical approach from which they grow, provide a valuable and fresh perspective on music in Caroline plays. The categories are not rigid, and often overlap, since most music fulfilled several roles simultaneously. I have classified music by what seems to be its most important use, although it is often difficult to know which, if any, was intended as the primary function.

In this chapter, I shall explore uses and observe trends; general patterns will emerge from this. I shall attempt to identify the musical conventions, and I shall investigate the use of 'conventional types' of music (that is, certain kinds of music which are consistently associated with particular types of dramatic situation). I shall conclude with an overview of three issues

relating to the conventional use of music. The fact that some usages of music receive particular attention in the present chapter is dictated firstly by what music survives, and secondly by the decision to concentrate on aspects neglected by other writers.

Choice of examples

Separating song, instrumental music and dance is artificial, difficult, and frequently impossible: they often functioned in combination, and the dramatic effect was a result of this combination. I discuss their combined effect, but in each category I also, insofar as it is possible to separate them, consider them separately, and always with more emphasis on instrumental music and dance, since they have previously been given little attention. I focus especially on cases where we know something of the nature of the instrumental music or dance. Even where musical sources do not survive for named tunes, the title alone is often revealing with respect to the function. In support of the examples in the text, particularly in sections 3.3 and 3.6, the reader is referred to the charts which constitute Appendices 3 and 4. They contain a comprehensive listing of all the specified instances of instrumental music and dance contained in Caroline play-texts, classified by the dramatic context of the music or dance or the function which it performs.

Song has in the past received considerably more attention, but emphasis has tended to be on its literary aspects. Hence I focus on musical aspects, particularly the much-neglected issue of surviving music for songs, giving prime importance to analyzing the music of 'linked' settings. This is because in these cases, the role of the original music in the particular dramatic situation can be assessed. I also refer, though more briefly, to some extant songs and ballads which are

possibly linked with original productions. In connection with my giving special emphasis to the surviving music and its dramatic effect, the reader is referred to Appendices 1 and 2, which facilitate the consultation of extant music.

Dumb-shows and embedded masques

My treatment of these two interesting dramatic devices, which are important to this study because of their utilization of music, should be explained. Dumb-shows are discussed according to the dramatic context in which they appear. Embedded masques are discussed in this chapter primarily in terms of the music they involve, but in Chapter 4, they are discussed as an entity, with consideration of their functions. (1)

Some general points concerning dumb-shows can usefully be made at this stage. First, they are more prevalent than generally believed; (2) there are over twenty-five in plays dating from the 1630s and 1640s (although these are not all labelled as such, and the existence of doubtful cases should be noted). Dumb-shows featured stylized action without words, and were traditionally accompanied by music (Sternfeld 1964:147). Music is directed in nearly all the Caroline dumb-shows. Exploitation of the symbolic associations of instruments occurs in association with visual symbolism (through the use of emblematic costumes and properties). Thus dumb-shows were a type of dramatic shorthand not only because the presentation of action in mime saved time in performance, but also because of these uses of symbolism. Dumb-shows were also used to achieve exciting visual and theatrical effect. The presentation of spectacle was characteristic of them, and the influence of the masque is evident. A few Caroline dumb-shows appear between the acts of plays, but most of them occur within acts; they perform many different functions. (3)

3.2 Music integral to the plot

This is music which furthers the dramatic action, makes a vital contribution to the development of the plot, and can change the outcome of the play. Of all the uses of music, integral music is most closely bound to the playwright's dramatic text.

An example is Constance's song "Nor Love, nor Fate dare I accuse" in **The Northern Lass** II.vi, which changes Philip's course of action by convincing him of her love. The song is part of an embedded masque, (4) and the subsequent dance reinforces the song's effect on Philip. **The Royal Slave** V.vii contains a song which is vital to the climax of the play. Cratander is about to be sacrificed, and the song also heightens the suspense. "Thou o bright Sun who seest all" presents a plea for him to be spared, and results in an eclipse of the sun which is interpreted as an omen that he should indeed be spared. Other songs which make similarly essential contributions to the development of the plot are those in **Love's Changelings' Change** II and **The Sad Shepherd** III; it is the fact that they are overheard which is vital.

Music to distract

Music is used to distract characters, allowing something essential to the plot to take place. In **The Drinking Academy** III.ii, Nimmer picks Simple's pocket while Bidstand, disguised as a ballad-seller, distracts Simple by singing six stanzas of "Tho it may seme rude for me to intrued" (interspersed with dialogue). (5) (See too **A Challenge for Beauty** III.i.)

Music also distracts from the exit or escape of characters. Nat succeeds in abducting Phillis under cover of a dance in **The English Moor** IV.iv. Mistaken identity is involved and irony is achieved. The dance is

part of a masque; there has been an Antique of Moors, then Nat calls for a galliard, (6) and in a buildup twice calls for the music to be quicker, then "daunces her quite away" (ibid..77-78). A long and unusually detailed stage direction concerning a dance in **The Walks of Islington and Hogsdon** indicates that

> "in the fourth Change they all dance off from the Stage into the Tyring-house, where they remain till the tune is plaid once over; then they dance all in again, and come to their severall Figures, and continue dancing the tune once more over; then they dance in and out again as before; At the last they Dance quite away from the house" (II.ii.200.1-200.7).

The jealous Trimwel, who has been disguised as a blind fiddler in the hope of surprising his wife and her lover, has been recognized, and they have escaped. He ends up paying for both the drinks and the musicians. Similarly in **The Weeding of Covent Garden** III.i, a song distracts from the exit of characters, and is thus significant to the dénouement.

Music and dance sometimes form part of a masque which diverts characters but is then dramatically interrupted by a murder. The use of disguised masquers and murder at a masque was a stock device. (7) A masque is used as a vehicle for revenge in **Love's Sacrifice** III, where there is sharp contrast between what is designed as an entertainment, with costumed couples dancing changes together, and the sudden murder of Ferentes by the female masquers, which shatters the atmosphere of enjoyment. The dramatic reversal is stressed by the cessation of the music. Disguised masquers also commit murders in **The Cardinal** III.ii and **Thibaldus sive Vindictae Ingenium** V.viii (where it is the dénouement of the play), and cause bloodshed in **King John and Matilda** III.v.

Sedative music

The sedative effect of music is often employed in

plays, and provides an opportunity for dramatic contrast and reversals. Music which induces sleep is important to the development of the plot in **Jupiter and Io**, one of Heywood's **Pleasant Dialogues and Dramas**. Io has been transformed into a cow, and Argus is watching over her. Mercury plots to send Argus to sleep so he can kill him, and to this end, he supplies "sweet and delicat" music of pipes (582), supposedly played by shepherds hiding "behinde that rocke (from whence an echo growes)" (585). Argus, unsuspecting of Mercury's purpose, now calls for "some merry Madrigall" to pass the time (589). Mercury's song completes his aim of charming Argus to sleep. Its subject bears parallels with the dramatic situation; it is about the nymph Syrinx who, like Io, is transformed into something else. Once Mercury has succeeded in sending Argus to sleep, he kills him, which allows the freeing of Io. Other examples of sedative music which has an effect on the plot occur in **I St Patrick for Ireland** V.iii (where 'soft music' alone induces sleep), **The Soddered Citizen** IV.ii ('soft music', dance and medicine) and **Messalina** II.i ('music', presumably instrumental).

Song is the most common musical means by which sleep is induced. A particularly good example of a song which influences the plot is "Astrorum iubar" from **Zeno sive Ambitio Infelix** (a) II.i. Longinus falls asleep during this song and drops his tablets, which are read by Anastasius, who is then forewarned of Longinus' intentions and able to act preemptively. Having helped send Longinus to sleep, the song can therefore be said to have contributed to his subsequent downfall and death at the hand of Anastasius. Other sedative songs with plot influence occur in **The Roman Actor** V.i, **Calisto** II.i and **The Maid's Revenge** V.i.

Curative music

Contemporary belief in the curative power of music is reflected in the dramatic use of curative music. This is often associated with restorative sleep and can be integral to the action. 'Soft music' and the song "Fly hence shaddowes" help in the cure of Meleander in **The Lover's Melancholy** V. 'Soft music' was used as a treatment for madness both in real life and in the theatre. Here it accompanies the carrying in of the mad Meleander, the song then wakes him from his therapeutic sleep, and the music continues for a while after he wakes. The concluding exhortation of the song, "fly hence, shadowes, that doe keepe Watchfull sorrowes, charm'd in sleepe", is complied with by Meleander's cure, which is completed by his reunion with his daughter and reparation for the wrongs done to him. The music and song also help create atmosphere.

A similar situation occurs in **The Queen and Concubine.** When the King restored Eulalia as his Queen, his ex-concubine Alinda went into a trance. In V.ix she is brought in, sitting in a chair and veiled, to the accompaniment of recorders. There is then "a new Song" (ibid..98.1), which develops suspense until Eulalia unveils her. Music continues until she wakes from her trance. This and the song have effected both her cure and her reformation: she is now virtuous.

In **Sicily and Naples** II.iv, music and dance (antic dancing, then "some solemne measures" [22.1]) are part of a masque-like charade which results in sleep and the consequential cure of Calantha's melancholy. (8) Other examples of curative music are the 'soft music' in **The Northern Lass** V.ii, and the songs in **The Inconstant Lady** II.iv and **Thibaldus sive Vindicate Ingenium** IV.vii.

Seductive music

Prynne speaks in **Histrio-mastix** of the "lust-

provoking Musicke" which was a concomitant of plays (1633:273); this illustrates contemporary belief in the power of music to arouse lust. In some Caroline plays, music not only provokes lust but also succeeds in bringing about seduction. In **Microcosmus**, Malus Genius entices Physander away from Bellamina, and "Musick" (III.47) presages the entry of the five Senses, who lead Physander to the bower of Sensuality. A seductive song with a chorus accompanies the discovery of the third scene and appearance of Sensuality. She entertains Physander, calling for "a livelyer musick", to which they perform "A familiar Countrey dance" (ibid..229,229.1). She apparently succeeds in seducing him, despite the pleas of Bellamina, who enters in mourning after the dance, providing a contrast with the atmosphere of pleasure. The choice of a familiar country dance may be significant. Sensuality enquires afterwards,

> "How doth my sweetheart like it?
> I doe not with an Oeconomick strictnesse
> Observe my servants, and direct their actions:
> Pleasure is free" (230-33),

implying that a country dance allowed more freedom than some of the stricter and more formal dances, and relating this to the freedom she allows her followers.

In other plays, music succeeds in winning over a character, but the actual seduction is interrupted by a reversal. In **The Grateful Servant**, a small masque is provided as part of a scheme to seduce the already lascivious Lodowicke. A figure representing Silvanus calls on nymphs and satyrs to "Hand in hand compose a ring, Dance and circle you[r]e new King" ([a] IV.i.328-29). When the three nymphs signal Lodowicke to accompany them after the dance, he succumbs, and all exit. There now follows music which assists in the seduction, creating atmosphere and intensifying the mood, establishing a change of scene, and accompanying entries, particularly preparing for the entry of

Belinda. The relevant passage reads:

> "Recorders.
> Enter againe where the Nimphs suddenly leave him, a banquet brought in.
> **Lodowicke.** Vanished like Fayries? Ha what musicke this? the
> motion of the Spheares, or am I in Elisium.
> Enter Grimundo bare leading Belinda richly attired and attended by Nimphs" (ibid..341.1-43.2).

They are left alone, and "Recorders" are again directed (ibid..371); their function is made explicit by Belinda, who says these are what she "prepar'd For your first entertainement, these but serve To quicken appetite" (ibid..368-70). They also help create an atmosphere of enchantment, and prepare for the reversal. Lodowicke is dazzled by the "ravishing" music (ibid..374) and his hopes are aroused. He says he wants no more provocatives and is impatient to proceed. The reversal now occurs, with Belinda announcing she is a devil. Although she continues to proposition him, Lodowicke is scared off. All is revealed in the final act: Belinda is no devil but Grimundo's wife, and this was a plot to reform Lodowicke and convert him to virtue; it succeeds.

References to the nature of the seductive songs are revealing. That in **News From Plymouth** provokes the description "a light note as I live" (IV.387), and Andrew says that the song in **The Elder Brother** "was never penn'd at Geneva, the note's too spritely" (IV.iv.20). Sometimes other factors work in conjunction with music to achieve a seduction (a potion in **Messalina** I.i, drink in Cowley's **The Guardian** V.vi).

Serenades

In **The Spanish Lovers**, Leonte refers to the custom which "Warrants Ladies in Musick to admit Their lovers, Evening and their Morning plaints" (I.i.92-93), and **Love and Honour** contains an allusion to courting a woman "at her window with rare musick" ([a] II.i.381). The romantic image of a suitor succeeding in inducing love

by means of a serenade occurs in Caroline plays (as in **The Noble Stranger** II), but only rarely. Instead, it appears conventional that both sung and instrumental serenades are used as a device which enables the introduction of a surprise or a dramatic reversal.

The Spanish Lovers II.i contains two excellent examples of serenades which provoke dramatic reversals and are vital to the plot; indeed, each is "the starting point for one half of the double plot", as Bowden explains (1951:21-22). They involve mistaken identity and disguise, elements commonly found in serenades, and the second has an ironic effect in that it leads Amiana to request Orco to guide her to her preferred suitor, his rival. There is a significant contrast in nature between the two serenades. The first is a "Song in Parts" (ibid..74.1) with a refrain, performed by musicians who accompany themselves on instruments including a bass viol. Although it is preceded by some comic dialogue amongst the musicians, it is a love complaint. The second, on the other hand, has no lyric given, and is described as "a Mock-song, to a Ballad Tune" (ibid..275.1). It is performed by Orco, disguised as a fiddler, and is a comic serenade; Amiana complains that the music is harsh.

Other examples of serenades with surprising results are those in **The Swisser** III.i (a song), **The Ordinary** IV.v (two songs), and **The Wizard** V.v (performed by musicians). The wedding salute in **The Parson's Wedding** V.ii is vital to the plot, since it is an essential element in the successful scheme whereby Master Wild and Master Careless win Mistress Pleasant and Lady Wild as their wives. Further serenades with plot function occur in **The Wonder of a Kingdom** IV.iv (performed by musicians and possibly including a song) and **Calisto** III.i (a song, possibly accompanied by dance).

The morning salute in **Sicily and Naples** I.v is a

parody, since its purpose, far from inducing love, is to annoy the music-hating Bentivogli, a scheme planned by Grutti and Cassio for their amusement. In this comic scene, Grutti calls on a consort to perform "Your last new tune", whereupon "Soft musicke" is directed (ibid..21,21-22). Since this does not wake him, "Loud musicke" is then performed (ibid..26), whereupon Bentivogli enters, swears at the musicians and vows revenge on those who have abused him. This episode forms the basis of a comic subplot.

Signals

Signals which result in an action or precipitate events are also vital to the action. One example is summonses which result in help arriving and enable the plot to develop as intended. Reignald [sic] "windes a Horne" and thus succeeds in summoning rescuers in **The English Traveller** (IV.616.1). (See too **The Arcadia** III and **The Fatal Contract** II.ii.) Signals are involved in plotting and trickery in several plays; for instance, **Amyntas** V.v and **The Amorous War** IV.ii. In **The Wonder of a Kingdom**, the signal provided by a "Cornet within" (IV.iv.3) leads Nicoletto to assume that all goes ahead in his assignation with Alphonsina, and he is thus led on in the plot which gulls him. Alphonsina has long since been won as bride by his son Trebatio, and this was a trick to mock his dotage.

The coincidental use of a pre-arranged signal in **The Ghost** V.i results in complications in the plot and creates comedy. The song "Come Cloris hie we to the Bower" is chosen as a signal for recognition at an assignation. Engin tells Valerio and Babilas that they will know the wench by "this inchanting melody" (ibid..34). Meanwhile a second plot is also taking place in the Frier's dark cave: one which will reveal Philarchus' lechery. Engin has promised Philarchus that

he will meet a girl there; she is Erotia, a bawd, disguised as Aurelia. Philarchus calls for a stimulating song, and the Frier says, "sing, sing, any thing" (ibid..85). Erotia chooses the same song, "Come Cloris", which results in mistaken identity, being interpreted as the signal for recognition. Eventually things are resolved, and Philarchus confesses.

In **The Fatal Contract**, a signal precipitates a murder. The Eunuch, really Crotilda, is threatening Clotair with a sword when a march is heard signalling the approach of Monsieur ("beat a March softly within" [V.ii.403-404]). Crotilda feels that the imminence of Monsieur's arrival does not leave time to explain to Clotair the injuries done to her. She says she cannot strike him, and gives him his sword on condition he swears to kill himself. Instead, he fatally wounds her, then discovers too late who she is. The signal, by leading her to believe she did not have time to make the vital explanation, can thus be said to bring about her death.

3.3 Emotionally supportive music

Although the plot-affecting examples we have looked at so far are important, they are outnumbered by examples of emotionally supportive music. By far the most common use to which music is put is to intensify dramatic situations, to assist the willing suspension of disbelief, and to help establish the emotional tone. Unlike integral music, emotionally supportive music does not contribute to the development of the plot, although it is part of the dramatic situation. Nevertheless, I would argue that it is still vital to the drama. Three types of emotionally supportive music can be identified: characterizing music, scene-setting music and other atmospheric music.

3.3.1 Characterizing music

Music is used to present and express character, to contribute to its interpretation, and to reveal an individual's emotions and reactions to particular situations. The fact that songs, and occasionally dances, are often used to strengthen a disguise or impersonation is a clear acknowledgement of the power of music in helping with characterization. Characterizing music and music integral to the plot overlap, as it can be argued that in many cases the characterization achieved by the former is crucial to the plot. By contributing to our knowledge of the person represented, it can help us understand his or her actions.

Music was both an effective and economical means of achieving characterization. The very act of performing music stressed character traits, moods or character-types. It is noticeable how many snatches and informal bursts of popular tunes, ballads and dances were used, and this emphasizes the exploitation of the potential for brevity. The use of snatches also enhances realism,

representing spontaneous expression of character. The type of accompaniment is also related to this issue of spontaneity. Characterizing songs and dances are frequently unaccompanied, and dances are performed often to a sung accompaniment and sometimes to a whistled one: this reflects the impromptu, informal nature of the occasions concerned. Similarly, tunes are whistled or hummed when instruments are not to hand.

Song is used most often for characterization, but dance is also utilized quite often (see the category 'Expression of character/mood/emotion' in Appendix 4). Instrumental music (apart from dances) is, however, used relatively infrequently, although there are a few tunes performed on instruments, and some hummed or whistled tunes. While certain aspects of this use of song have been discussed elsewhere (for example, in Walker 1934 and Bowden 1951), this use of instrumental music and dance has been almost completely overlooked.

For purposes of discussion, I have divided characterizing music into two very general and often overlapping categories: that which characterizes individuals and that which identifies general character-types. The difference is fundamentally one of degree. To some extent, there is a correlation between these two categories and the relative importance of characters. Generally speaking, in the first category, there is more subtlety and an attempt at genuine characterization, concentrating on an individual as distinguished from a group or class. In the second, however, there is more generalized characterization, relying more on convention and primarily identifying stereotyped figures.

Characterization of individuals

I have identified two basic methods whereby individuals are characterized by musical means. The first is through the performance of music or dance. In

the second, character is expressed through taste in music and attitude and reaction to it, and the individual being characterized does not necessarily perform music. Both permanent and transient characteristics of individuals are expressed.

Characterization of individuals through musical expression of personality, passing emotions and state of mind

A particular kind of economy is inherent in the method of characterizing individuals through musical expression of their moods and emotions. Bowden observes that some of the characterizing value of song lies in the fact that an individual "behaves as other individuals in somewhat the same situation have behaved" (1951:41). In other words, dramatic associations help achieve particular responses in the audience. I shall begin by concentrating on four of the major characteristics which are expressed through the use of music: madness, drunkenness, wantonness and joviality. In each case, music is conventionally associated with the presentation of the characteristic or emotion concerned. These conventional associations are exploited; their existence means that the music also identifies the individuals with broader groups of people. I shall then give some examples of the revelation or expression in music of other aspects of personality and passing moods of individuals.

Madness

In **The Anatomy of Melancholy**, Burton identified singing and dancing as symptoms of madness (1621, ed. 1955:pt 1,sec.3,memb.1,subsec.3); and, in reflection of reality, the use of music in connection with madness, both real and pretended, was a dramatic tradition. Caroline plays contain examples of both singing and

dancing from madness. Probably the best known precedent of somebody singing from madness is Ophelia (in **Hamlet** [1601] IV.v), and her case illustrates the way in which madness was most commonly shown musically, including during the Caroline period: by the singing of disjointed snatches, frequently of ballads, often bawdy. Realism was achieved by the suggestion of incoherence (Bowden 1951:38). However, sometimes complete mad songs were used, and there are some examples of these amongst the Caroline linked settings. One of them is "Newly from a Poatcht Toad" (ed. Appendix 2, No. 18) from **The Rival Friends**, which is sung by a madman or 'Bedlam' impersonating Oberon ([a] V.v).

The situation is a comic one: Anteros is gulling Stipes, and has tricked him into being tied to a tree, in the belief that Oberon will turn him into a gentleman. Stipes is led to think that the madman is Oberon. In the lyric, Oberon announces that he has arisen to see who is tied to his sacred tree; thus the lyric is relevant to the dramatic situation and comments on the action. Oberon continues by saying that he will not transform Stipes. Despite this, Stipes actually believes later that he is now a gentleman, and this results in his wife beating him.

Turning to the setting itself, the obvious question is how the composer, Thomas Holmes, has attempted to convey madness through the music. An important issue here is the extremely elaborate ornamentation, which first requires some comment. It is very likely that ornamentation was used at the original performance, though this may or may not be represented by the ornamentation notated with the setting. (9) However, even if the written-out fioriture are not what was sung at the original performance, it is probable that this style of divisions was in use at the time (Jones 1989:124) and the ornamentation deserves discussion

because this is one of only two linked settings with notated ornamentation and is valuable evidence of what florid ornamentation in play-songs may have been like. Returning to the matter of expressing madness through the music, the setting is highly theatrical, and offers further opportunity in delivery and gesture for the demonstration of madness. It is notable for certain characteristics which emphasize the extreme, and contribute to making it quite an effective representation of madness in music. For example, there are large leaps in the vocal line, such as a seventh in bars 1-2 of the dramatic and sinister opening phrase, and (most noticeably) in the passage from bars 6-12, with leaps up an octave and a twelfth and then several jumps down of a tenth. This creates an unusual effect. It is compounded by the very elaborate ornamentation, some of which indeed occurs in the same bars (6-9), with word painting on the word "arise".

Another striking feature of the setting is that it is for a bass voice; going by the evidence of linked settings, this was a relatively rare register for solo play-songs. Significantly, it is unaccompanied, which would have allowed more freedom and rhythmic licence during performance of the ornaments. The opening of the setting, when Oberon introduces himself, is in duple time and quite declamatory in style, with varied rhythms. However, from the words "I Ob'ron doe arise", it becomes more regular and tuneful, especially when it changes to triple time. This triple section is longer than that in duple time, and concludes with repetition of the final two lines of the lyric, the setting of the repetition being closely imitative of that of the first appearance of these lines. Here too, at last, the phrase lengths become more regular. The setting is basically in G major, but with some use of the relative minor.

The placing of the ornamentation is interesting:

although it decorates some words such as "broyl'd" (bar 3), it appears mostly at cadences, and then notably at those which are structurally important. There are ornamented cadences at the end of the duple-time section (bars 11-12), before the first appearance of the final lines (quite a long ornament, bar 30, preceding the cadence), and two during the repetition of the final lines (bars 43-44 and 47-48, the final cadence, significantly with the longest ornament of all). The use of ornamentation in the setting of the repetition of the final lines but not their first appearance creates contrast, and helps stress that this is the conclusion of the song. The ornaments are mostly long and running in nature.

In strong contrast is the simple and naive linked setting of the mad song "A bony bony bird" (ed. Appendix 2, No. 4), which Constance sings in **The Northern Lass** III.ii. The cause of Constance's madness is rejection by Philip. In this scene, she is being courted by a ridiculous suitor, Nonsence, and wonders if he is Philip, and whether she will get Philip back by singing. In the ensuing song she expresses her love for Philip and reveals her grief at being deserted and her faithful nature.

The strophic setting, by John Wilson, initially gives the impression of being crude; for example, the melodic direction is uncertain, and in fact the melody is mostly based around the E flat major triad. However, as Duckles has suggested (1953:317), the song may be deliberately inept in order to express Constance's madness. (10) The refrain is genuinely pathetic, and its repetition, on the words "phillip phillip phillip", of the melodic phrase to which the opening of the song was set, identifies Philip with the "bony bony bird" which she loves. The pathos is increased by this repetition of her lover's name.

Later in the play, Holdup, the courtesan, impersonates the mad Constance in two songs and a snatch (IV.iv); here we see the use of music to feign madness and aid impersonation. There is a linked setting of her song "As I was gathering aprill flowers" (ed. Appendix 2, No. 5), again by John Wilson. The lyric begins in a deceptively pastoral manner, but then, on the final lines of each stanza, becomes bawdy, in a manner quite unlike the real Constance. It is presumably intended to describe her seduction. As Ingram has described in a good dramatic analysis of this comic scene (1976:228), Holdup's songs contrast in character with Constance's; they are coarse and contain obvious double entendre. However, Widgine does not recognize the contrast, and indeed thinks the songs prove that this is the genuine Constance, mad from love. The fact that he is deluded shows the extent of his infatuation, and also the success of song in characterization.

The contrasts observed by Ingram lie entirely in the lyrics. Comparison of the two settings described reveals a very similar musical style, and so the impersonation of Constance in her madness is reflected musically. The style of "As I was gathering" is, like that of "A bony bony bird", tuneful, popular and (perhaps artificially) naive. Once more, triple time is used, and the melody is again based around triads, this time principally the C major triad. However, there is one detail which could be intended to indicate that this is not the genuine Constance. On the final two lines of each stanza, which introduce the crudity in lyric, the voice is flung across large intervals (for example, it ends with an octave leap) and a wide range (bars 23-31). This could be a conscious attempt to make the melody still more uncertain in its direction in order to take to an extreme the musical depiction of the supposed Constance's madness (possibly here the very lack of word

painting, with the leap of a seventh on the words "was close", is significant). It could be an exaggeration of the symptoms of madness because it is pretended, perhaps overdoing it in an over-zealous attempt at impersonation. It could also be to emphasize the shock of these lines after the earlier pastoral subject matter and to draw the listener's attention to them, since it is these lines which stress that this is not the real Constance. On the other hand, it may well be that no such subtle effects were intended and that it was merely clumsy writing.

One would suspect that the manner of performance and use of gesture complemented the establishing of madness by musical means, and there are stage directions which indicate that indeed this was so. The mad Archiater "sings ridiculously" in **Valetudinarium** ([a] IV.ix.6), and in **The Court Beggar**, the supposedly mad Ferdinand sings and "acts it madly" (IV.iii.43.1).

There is an excellent example of the use of dance to express madness in the same play, where Ferdinand performs a dance with imaginary partners:

> "He Dances a conceited Countrey Dance, first doing his honours, then as leading forth his Lasse. He danceth both man and womans actions, as if the Dance consisted of two or three couples, at last as offring to Kisse his Lasse, hee fancies that they are all vanish'd" (IV.ii.42.1-42.5).

On other occasions, bursts of dancing, often accompanied by singing, are utilized to establish madness, either pretended (**Paria** [a] IV.viii) or genuine (**The Sophister** [b] V.i).

Drunkenness

The association of singing with drunkenness (and incidentally with madness too) is referred to in **The Soddered Citizen.** Brainsick is depicted as a singing and drunken character, and Sly comments that he "doth nothinge but singe, and drincke, and drinck and singe,

And singe and drinck, that you would thinke him Lunatick" (I.i.32-33). Some of his singing is snatches, and these are used to show drunkenness in other plays too; for instance, in **The Damoiselle** V.i, where Magdalen sings "Diana and her Dearlings". This is an example of the use of a ballad snatch which is relevant to the dialogue: the ballad concerns Diana and her nymphs, and Magdalen sings it just after she has said, "Ile be a Nimph" (V.i.85). Complete songs are used too in the presentation of drunken characters, primarily catches, a form typically associated with drink. For example, the catch "A Pox on our Gaoler" (**The Royal Slave** I.i) establishes the condemned prisoners as drinking characters, and fulfils other functions, such as establishing the mood. There is a linked setting (ed. Appendix 2, No. 8).

The lyric stresses the prisoners' determination to be merry even in the face of death. The song shows them as drunken carousers; the exuberance and gaiety of the setting contrast with their fate. (11) "A Pox" is sung 'within', supposedly in the prison, by four prisoners. The triple-time setting is for bass voices, and is basically very simple, consisting of an eight-bar melody which is repeated four times in order to accommodate the lyric. The voices enter at intervals of two bars. The setting concludes with two lines which do not appear in the play-text. They are in fact the refrain from "Now, now, the Sunne", a drinking song provided for the prisoners later in the play (III.i). The use of these lines here links the two scenes and the two songs and helps emphasize the characters as drunken.

Another illustration of the association of catches with drinking occurs at the beginning of Act IV of **The Country Captain** (a), where "Come let us cast the dice" is sung, apparently offstage. Thomas then enters and announces that the singers "are all drunke already"

(IV.i.13). The linked setting (ed. Appendix 2, No. 11) is, like that of "A Pox", by William Lawes, and is again lively and in triple time; but this time there is no repetition of a single melodic phrase in order to expand a short basic unit. Instead, more ambitiously, the melody is through-composed. It includes some imitation of brief melodic phrases (II, bars 4-8 and 8-12). Even within the constraints of the form, some word painting is achieved, with the lowest notes in the piece occurring on the words "they run low sir" (II, bars 7-8). The setting is for three bass voices, which enter at intervals of twelve bars. It contains some examples of the prolongation of unstressed words common in catches (for example, on "for" [III, bar 7]), a result of making the parts fit together. After the catch, the drunken Captain dances, and other plays too contain dancing by drunkards. In **The Soddered Citizen**, Brainsick "sings and daunces to his owne tune" (I.v.333-35) - an improvised accompaniment.

Wantonness

Singing was used to express wantonness, and there is a linked setting of a wanton song in **The Ordinary** III.iii. A lute is heard from offstage, which Meanewell thinks is played by his beloved Jane. This introduction is followed by the seductive song "Com o Com I brooke noe staye" (ed. Appendix 2, No. 7). After two stanzas, Meanewell has realized that the singer cannot be the chaste Jane, and indeed after the final two stanzas, Jane's maid Priscilla enters. She had been attempting to transfer Meanewell's affections from her mistress to herself. Meanewell comments, "There have been many of your sex much given Unto this kind of musick" (III.iii.1291-92). Performance of the song 'within' allows for mistaken identity and consequent comedy and an element of suspense.

Henry Lawes' strophic duple-time setting is straightforward and tuneful, falls in regular phrases and is in F major. Musically, there is no obvious difference in character from other settings by Lawes which distinguishes this as a song expressing wantonness, and there is nothing which one would describe as 'wanton' (though here the pitfalls in looking from a twentieth-century perspective have to be recognized). It is rather the lyric which conveys that this is the nature of the song, and this is also reflected in the title given to it in John Playford's **Select Ayres And Dialogues** (1659), "Love admits no Delay". Perhaps giving it to a girl to sing is also significant. However, Evans has observed that "the melody is persuasive, and tends to lull the listener's sense, then lap him in oblivion" (1941:113). Although I agree with the description of the melody as persuasive, I find the second part of this claim somewhat hyperbolic. She proceeds by saying that "the character of the music is well suited to the words of the first stanza", with which I agree. However, I am rather dubious over her belief that when the other stanzas, "which are outright bawdy, are sung to Lawes' plaintive tune, they take on a surprisingly delicate quality and give to the wench Priscilla a subtlety of appeal she otherwise lacked" (ibid.). On the contrary, I feel that the contrasted setting highlights rather than mutes the bawdy nature of these stanzas.

Another means of indicating wantonness was the singing of snatches of well-known bawdy songs or ballads. In **Love's Cruelty** IV.i, Clariana is characterized by this means; one of the snatches is "For he did but kisse her" (see Appendix 1). Clariana is ridiculing her fearful lover Hippolito, and expresses her confidence by singing. A reversal swiftly follows as her cuckolded husband enters and discovers them. This snatch is also quoted for its bawdy connotations, and

possibly sung, in **The Grateful Servant** (a) V.i.

Not all songs performed to depict wantonness were bawdy in content; for example, in **The Ghost** IV.i, Philarchus sings a snatch of the amorous pastoral "Come lovely Phillis". This is one of the factors which shows that singing itself is an expression of wantonness, and that the choice of immodest words is not the vital element (Bowden 1951:32-33). Bowden notes that such songs are characteristically lively, and this applies to wanton dancing too. Vigorous and energetic dances are used, which presumably reflects the belief that such dancing aroused physical desire. It is reflected in Messalina's call, "Graspe me Saufellus; lets have a sprightly dance, Swift footing apts my blood for dalliance" (**Messalina** II.i.310-11). The dance which she and Saufellus perform is a coranto, which is characteristically lively; the view that this dance could induce lust is also suggested in Cowley's **The Guardian** V.vi. In the fourth Intermedium of **Florimene**, four satyrs "dance with wanton Action" (18-19). Here the expression of wantonness through the nature of the dancing is interesting, as is the use of an antic dance.

Joviality

The most important of the principal causes of song is joy (Bowden 1951:42). There is a linked setting which constitutes an excellent example of the way in which song could aptly express merry character. Hilario is described in the Dramatis Personae of **The Floating Island** as "a merry jovial gentleman", and both music and lyric of his song "My Limbs I will flinge" (ed. Appendix 2, No. 27) (I.iii) embody this concept. It is a natural expression of his high spirits. He enters dancing to his singing of it. The lyric stresses his belief in mirth rather than sorrow, and begins, "My Limbs I will flinge out of Joint"; the music reflects this, through the

frequent large and disjoint leaps. The vocal line constantly jumps around, covering a range of thirteen notes. The opening sentiment is also reflected in the tonality, which, although basically D minor, also wavers to F major (for example, an unexpected C natural rather than C sharp in bar 2), and is throughout somewhat vague. Presumably the opening of the lyric also describes the nature of Hilario's dancing. The vital compound rhythm would have been suitable for a merry vigorous dance. No accompaniment survives for this song, but it looks as though it was intended that one be written onto the empty stave with bass clef in the source.

The song is significant in that it serves to emphasize the dissatisfaction of other figures; they want to know why Hilario is never checked for singing and playing pranks, when they and their passions are bound in by the King. This introduces the scheme to overthrow the King: the main plot of the play. Thus the song is directly related to the dramatic action. Hilario's jovial, teasing character is reinforced by an episode later in the play when he again sings and dances "Loves Trenchmore" (II.iii).

Another jovial character is Hearty in **A Jovial Crew**, who sings of the value of song and sack to raise the spirits in sad situations. In II.ii he sings "There was an old fellow at Waltham Cross", whose lyric concerns exactly this, in an effort to cheer up Oldrents. The catch "A Round, a round", which is sung in IV.i, again reflects Hearty's merry character; and in V.i, the Soldier makes more plausible his impersonation of Hearty by singing the snatch "Old sack and old songs", which is the last two lines of "A Round, a round". Not only was joy commonly expressed by snatches of old songs, but also by bursts of dancing or capering.

Other aspects of personality and passing emotions

There was an established convention whereby music was associated with the presentation of melancholy. In Caroline plays, melancholy is indicated through whistling, instrumental music and song. In **The Antipodes** III.v, "Fortune my Foe" is whistled, and its associations are important dramatically. It was also known as the "hanging tune", and was used in plays to indicate sorrow; here, its mournful connotations emphasize the doleful mood of Joyless, who whistles it. In **The Spanish Lovers**, Orco, disguised as a fiddler, says "I'm e'en setting my Fiddle to the tune of Dying dumps" (II.i.294-95). Although this could be a figure of speech, I think it likely that he plays a 'dump' or part of one (see Appendix 1). Such tunes had doleful associations, so by playing one Orco would have reflected Amiana's mood of melancholy and thereby shown his sympathy.

The Sad One IV.iv contains an illustration of the way in which figures can be characterized even when the music is performed by a surrogate. Although it is a page who sings, the lyric about woman's falsity is in fact a soliloquy, reflecting Florelio's melancholy, which has been caused by his suspicions concerning his wife's unfaithfulness. The song, "Hast thou seen the Doun ith'air", is also intended to soothe him. Consolation is a common pretext for the introduction of melancholy songs.

In **The Virgin Widow** II.i, an individual's sense of humour is shown by his choice of tune. Quack whistles "As I went to Walsingham" after Quisquilla has told him to go to his trulls; the selection of this tune is both ironic and comic, given its association with pilgrimage. (12) The description in the Dramatis Personae of **Sicily and Naples** of Alphonso as a "humorous old lord" is partly borne out through dance.

The incongruous foolishness of old men who dance to show their suitability as partners and prove their youth is illustrated in several plays. For instance, in **The Bride** I.i, Goodlove, a wealthy old merchant, capers at the prospect of wedding a young woman, and in an attempt to prove that he is active. Not only is the spectacle of him disporting himself unseemly in itself, but comedy arises from the fact that he hurts his foot, and blames it on the unevenness of the floor. However, suitors need not be old in order to appear foolish. In **The Fair Maid of the Inn** III.i a range of suitors to Biancha evidently express their characteristics by the nature of their dancing. The suitors (a tailor, a dancer, a mule-driver, a school-master and a clerk) are exhorted, "courtly, courtly, Convay your severall loves in lively measure" (III.i.150-51); then "They all make ridiculous conges, to Bianca: ranck them-selves, and dance in severall postures" (ibid..153.1-53.2). Without realizing, they thereby appear so ridiculous that they are discounted as suitors. Their dances were presumably of antic type.

Let us conclude this discussion of the characterization of individuals through musical performance with brief consideration of a special case, that of characters who habitually sing in order to express themselves. These often sing for reasons already discussed. The most obvious precedent is Merrythought in **The Knight of the Burning Pestle** (1607); his Caroline successors include the Bard in **I St Patrick for Ireland**, Crack in **The City Wit** and Hearty in **A Jovial Crew.** We have already mentioned as a singing character Constance, the singing heroine of **The Northern Lass.** A slightly different case is that of Dogrel in Cowley's **The Guardian**, who usually responds to situations in doggerel, but probably sings in I.iii. Unusually, Fulgoso in **The Lady's Trial** characteristically whistles in response to situations.

Characterization of individuals through taste in music, and attitude and reaction to it

Characterization can be achieved through a preference by an individual for ballads or art-songs, old or new music. A liking for ballads indicates lack of good taste and lack of breeding (as evident in Bubulcus in **The School of Compliment** [a] II.i and Lelia in **Love and Honour** [a] II.i respectively). Old songs, introduced as knights' songs, are chosen by Manly when he sings in imitation of the Earl of Leicester in Newcastle's play **The Variety** III.i (for example, "The Hart loves the high wood" and "The great Choe bent"). He thus strengthens his imitation by the intentional choice of songs which are apt historically. So too later, when, after he has been compared with the famous Cardell, the dancing master in Queen Elizabeth's time, he apparently demonstrates the galliard and volta, as dances current during Elizabethan times. (13)

In **Hyde Park**, the fashionable status of dances, and also a figure's lack of skill in dancing, are exploited for purposes of characterization, and are significant to the plot too. In II.ii, Lacy orders Bonavent to dance. Bonavent's protest that he cannot do so strengthens his origins in the merchant class and contrasts him with Lacy the gentleman. Bonavent says, "I know not how to foote your Chamber jigges" (ibid..p.19.7), which could be a reference to fashionable dances of the time, and could relate to his absence for the past seven years. Despite this, Lacy cruelly makes him dance, apparently either "Monsieure", the canary, or "pardonne moye", and then some of "Excuse me" (which affords opportunity for punning). Bonavent is thereby humiliated and made to appear ridiculous. He has his revenge in IV.iii, when he forces the gallant Lacy to dance a galliard, which was by this time (1632) outdated and unfashionable. He thus embarrasses Lacy in turn; and this revenge through dance

parallels and symbolizes Bonavent's revenge in regaining his wife from Lacy.

Taste in music and attitude and reaction to it, all exploited for purposes of characterization, are obviously closely linked. This is evident from **The Weeding of Covent Garden** II.ii, where Gabriel's preference for psalm tunes and rabid dislike of popular instrumental tunes establish him as a self-important Puritan. (14) This scene contrasts the two types of music, and thus, despite its comical aspects, highlights a contemporary musical controversy which reflected the current religious and political situation. It is notable that the Puritan is here satirized. This characterization of Gabriel as a Puritan is ironical in view of the fact that he is actually a hypocrite, whose true nature is emphasized by his joining in the drinking and dancing in IV.ii.

Song was used as a means of distinguishing sympathetic and unsympathetic characters (see Bowden 1951:43-48), and this usage also extended to hummed and instrumental music. Related to this is an equation between the dislike of music and unsympathetic characters. In **Argalus and Parthenia**, Demagoras' reaction to the song "Loves a Child" illustrates his savagery. The opposing images of love, associated with music, and war, associated with the spurning of music, are utilized.

Characterization is again achieved through an individual's reaction to a particular piece of music in **The Royal Slave** II.iii. Cratander's qualities of self-discipline, determination and virtue are illustrated by him resisting the seductive song "Come my sweet, whiles every strayne". His taste in music, and the types of music to which he would respond, are also revealed by his response:

> "I did expect some solemne Hymne of the
> Great world's beginning, or some brave Captaines

Deserving deeds extoll'd in lofty numbers.
These softer subjects grate our eares"
(ibid..397-400).

This juxtaposition of the amorous and the military is also played on in **The Platonic Lovers** II.i, when Gridonell is characterized by his reaction to a dance.

Identification of character-types

It is possible to distinguish a number of general character-types which are conventionally associated with music in drama; for instance, the members of some occupations and trades. The case of professional musicians and ballad-sellers (and their impersonators) is self-evident, but dancing masters merit brief mention, since their presence often involves a note of criticism of contemporary fashions. French dancing masters appear, and are characterized through the use of music and dance. Both Le Friske in **The Ball** and Galliard in **The Variety** provide an opportunity for the introduction of dances, especially fashionable French ones. They give dancing lessons and dance themselves, and Galliard accompanies dancing on his fiddle. They are satirical depictions of French dancing masters; indeed Butler has observed that Galliard is "a specimen of those new courtiers who are undermining Charles's authority", and that he "represents the Frenchifying tendencies of the court" (1984:196).

Whores

The association of music with wantonness and the view that music could provoke lust extends to the association of music with whores, both real and supposed. Their depiction onstage as singing characters is not mere dramatic convention but is founded in reality (Bowden 1951:30). Holdup in **The Northern Lass** is an example of a singing courtesan, and two harlots and their consorts sing in **Cornelianum Dolium** V.x. In **The Novella**, the

virtuous Victoria impersonates a courtesan by singing to her lute on a balcony (II.ii), apparently a way in which whores advertised (Bowden ibid.:30-31). Other plays show that courtesans characteristically danced. In **The City Madam**, a "light lavolta" is danced (III.i.72). The volta involved energetic jumps and turns, and its movements were suggestive; Arbeau classed it as "wanton and wayward" (ed. 1967:87). After dancing this, Shave'em goes up to her chamber with Young Goldwire, and the direction reads "Exeunt, wanton music played before 'em" (III.i.100). Perhaps this was a popular tune or a dance with wanton associations.

Dancing as part of the impersonation of a whore occurs in **Senile Odium** V.ix and in **The Novella.** Horatio tries to win Victoria, the Novella, for love not money. He courts her unsuccessfully with a song and then a dance. His choice of dance is significant: he selects "The Novella", in order "To come the closer to you" (III.i.232), in other words by choosing the dance with her name. Significantly, she replies, "I am but weakly practis'd yet in that" (ibid..233). This relates to the fact that she is pretending to be a courtesan: as such she is apparently expected to be able to dance it, and the fact that she indeed does strengthens her impersonation. This episode relies on the association between whores and dancing, but her comment can be taken as indicating that she is not what she seems.

Country figures

Country figures are associated with music, in particular with old ballads and popular country dances and their tunes. Concentrating here on dances, rustics are characterized by dancing "a Morice" (**The Country Girl** II.251), a "countrey measure" (**Argalus and Parthenia** II.ii.136), an "Antique" (**The Converted Robber** 787) and a "round" (**Love's Riddle** I.i.458). As for named

country dance tunes, it is notable that "Sellenger's Round" appears particularly often. It was one of the oldest and most popular country dances, dating from the sixteenth century, and was obviously associated with rustic figures. In **The Rival Friends** (a) IV.x, it is probable that the wedding dances performed by the rustics are "Sellengers round in sippits" and "Put on thy smocke on munday". "Selengers Round" is again used in association with rustics when it is danced during wedding celebrations in **The Late Lancashire Witches** III, and another tune called "The running o'the country" is possibly also played here. In **Plutopthalmia Plutogamia** III.iii, the lyric of the rustics' song suggests that they dance "Clatter-de-pouch"; again, this is an old dance. (See Appendix 1 concerning these named tunes.)

The act of whistling was seen as being characteristic of rural types. In **Love's Changelings' Change** II.i, Dametas, a country character, enters whistling; and in **The Rival Friends** (a) IV.vii, Anteros dances a country dance, to the accompaniment of whistling, in order to contribute to his disguise as a shepherd's servant.

Figures associated with the supernatural

Finally, let us consider the use of song and dance in the presentation of figures associated with the supernatural. This was common, and related to beliefs about supernatural figures. There was a well-understood convention, for example, that fairies sang and danced. Consequently it was possible for sham fairies to rely on song and dance in order to make themselves convincing, as in **The Fairy Knight** IV.vi and **Amyntas** III.iv. The songs in the latter are in Latin, which was presumably intended to achieve a sense of unreality as well as comic effect. Singing angels appear in **Zeno sive Ambitio Infelix** (a) IV.iv, and dancing devils in **I St Patrick for Ireland** III.ii. Devils also dance in **A New Trick to**

Cheat the Devil, to the accompaniment of music "all of discords" (V.i.195). (15)

Magicians sing (for example, Vechio in **The Chances** V.iii), and so do witches (as in **Adastra** III.i), on occasion to summon their familiars (as in **The Late Lancashire Witches** II). They dance too (for instance, an antic dance in **The Fairy Knight** III.ii), often to the accompaniment of song. **Necromantes** contains a witch's song and dance for which an unusual amount of detail is given. Of particular interest are the nature of the accompaniment and the dance, and the fact that options are given for the song's lyric and melody. The stage direction indicates that the dance, "the Three=footed Trichuris" ([a] II.i.51), was accompanied both by the witch Herophile's song and, exceptionally, by each of the dancers beating a kettle with a pestle, presumably to provide rhythmic support:

> "three copper Kettles were taken from behind the Arras, with yron knockers for their use, or Pestells ... the three Maydes daunct tripple to the measure of their kettles, with strophe and Antistrophe, And with the song underwritten, or with some ditty to the tune of Dowlands Cock, which may do well and best in this place, els some other note to this our ditty" (ibid..53.3-53.9).

Then follows the lyric, which has three stanzas. There is a burden to the first two, "Dancey dancey round, Dancey dauncey round a round" (ibid..60), by which is the marginal indication 'strophe Antistrophe'. I think this is a choreographic indication, showing a change in the direction of movement of the dancers.

3.3.2 Scene-setting music

The term 'scene' is used here in a broad sense, to mean not only specific physical settings and locales, but also broader dramatic contexts. Scene-setting music can encompass practical, theatrical and dramatic functions. It helps set a particular scene and locate the action; it identifies the action with particular

occasions and contexts. It also sets the scene emotionally, establishing and intensifying the emotional tone. It can reflect and identify the predominant mood of a particular scene. It can also help provide a transition between scenes of different emotional content.

On some occasions, it prepares for scenes; for instance, offstage music presaging the appearance of a funeral procession and depicting its approach. This anticipatory use of music arouses expectation. Through the expository use of music from offstage, action is depicted there too. Scenes difficult to stage in view of the audience (such as hunting scenes) or scenes which the dramatist did not want to present in full are often represented offstage by musical means, another form of theatrical shorthand. This helps establish the sense of a 'real' world offstage and extend the illusion.

The use of music for scene setting is undoubtedly a convention, and moreover a highly effective one. Music worked in conjunction with visual staging techniques, and was a very effective way of establishing settings quickly. The important role played by music in setting scenes has been both underrated and largely overlooked, especially by dramatic and theatrical commentators, who have concentrated mostly on visual techniques. An example is Dessen, who has given extended consideration to the issue of signalling locale, (16) and suggests that the most significant factors, along with the dialogue, were the presence not of large props, but of representative figures, with appropriate props and costumes (1985:96). One of his examples is taverns, which he says did not even necessarily feature tables and chairs, just a 'drawer' with an apron and napkin. He does not consider music as a factor.

Scene-setting music can be described as 'realistic', in that it is part of the situation onstage. It is

mostly used in dramatic contexts which mirror those in which it was used in real life, and is an important component in theatrical representations of real-life occasions. However, although the use of instruments is mostly naturalistic, it is sometimes conventional. Complete verisimilitude was not the aim, and the fact that music was also used for its emotional effect should not be forgotten. Total verisimilitude was in any case obviously impossible from a practical point of view in many of the scenes, because of considerations such as restricted time and limited physical space for musicians.

Scene-setting music will be discussed in terms of eleven of the most important contexts with which such music is characteristically associated. There are overlaps between some of the categories. Reference should be made to the charts in Appendices 3 and 4 for a comprehensive listing of examples of instrumental music and dance in these contexts, and for examples of the use of music for scene setting in contexts other than those discussed here. The charts indicate the large quantity of examples; indeed, most occurrences of instrumental music and dance fulfil a scene-setting role in addition to whatever other functions they may perform. The charts mean that it is possible to limit the number of examples contained in the text. Rather than repeat examples already detailed there, I shall attempt to distinguish patterns and interpret, and I shall concentrate on more sophisticated uses and dramatic effects to support my description of what the conventions were.

Weddings

Music was a natural concomitant of weddings in real life, and this is reflected in the theatre, where song, instrumental music and dance often appear in association with wedding contexts. A song symbolizes a wedding

ceremony in Cartwright's **The Siege** V.viii. The flourish which accompanies the exit to a wedding at the end of Act III, Scene i in **Sicily and Naples** may be specified as "long" (140.1) in order that it may represent the wedding taking place offstage, since the characters "returne from the Temple", wedded, only seven lines into the next scene; this could thus be an example of inter-scene music, symbolizing offstage action. Music is important in reinforcing action which has taken place offstage in **The Ladies' Privilege.** A wedding is supposed to have taken place between Acts IV and V, and the wedding is celebrated with a song and dance by seven virgins at the beginning of Act V. (See too **The Soddered Citizen** V.i.) These heighten the irony, and precede the dénouement, in which it is revealed that the virgin who has saved Doria from death and claimed him in marriage by pleading for him is in fact his page in disguise.

Music commonly occurs as part of wedding celebrations, whether nuptial banquets, dancing or hymeneal masques. Music 'within' is used in an expository manner to represent wedding celebrations taking place offstage (for example, in **A Cure for a Cuckold** I.i). Weddings are often the pretext for a final dance (as in **A Contention for Honour and Riches**), and sometimes for a final song (**L'Artenice**). At the end of Davenant's **The Siege,** the music called for to celebrate a forthcoming marriage symbolizes the end of hostilities and the harmony which has been achieved. In the closing couplet of the play, Castracagnio calls, "That all may dance to th'Musick of this Peace, Let Bridal tunes sound high, now the Drums cease" (V.422-23).

There is a linked hymeneal song, "Hymen hath together tyed", which is notable for its elaborate nature. It is for four voices, and some play-texts also indicate the performance of wedding songs by more than one voice, as befits their formal nature (for instance, a chorus sings

in **The Jealous Lovers** V.ix and two priests in **The Amorous War** V.ix). That hautboys were traditionally associated with weddings in real life is indicated by Mersenne (1636:III,303), and there are some examples of this association in Caroline plays. In **The Cunning Lovers** V.i, hautboys accompany a dumb-show which represents Mantua giving his daughter away in marriage, after which they go to the church. Hautboys accompany the entry of the wedding banquet in **Tis Pity She's a Whore** IV.i, though here their associations with banquets and hospitality (17) are also being exploited. Fundamentally, they helped establish a festive mood. The lower-class equivalent to hautboys were the fiddles, who performed at provincial and lower-class weddings, as in **The Rival Friends** IV.x. The nature of the music is significant in **A Jovial Crew**, where it is "rude music" which represents the beggars' wedding (IV.ii.0.1).

'Soft music' is associated with nuptial contexts three times in Caroline plays, (18) twice in **The Queen of Corsica**, where the atmosphere it helps establish is shattered by sudden reversals. In III.vii, along with tapers, it helps set the scene in the bridal chamber while Calidor is awaiting Queen Achaea there; it has ironic effect since he is an unwilling bridegroom. His wait, and presumably the 'soft music', are interrupted by a sudden shriek and the news that the queen is miscarrying. In V.iii, 'soft music' accompanies the discovery of Hymen's image on an altar and presumably continues during the wedding procession to the altar and perhaps during the marriage vows themselves. In this reversal the image sweats blood, portending Achaea stabbing herself and her groom in revenge for him taking her honour.

There are a few examples of bells to celebrate weddings, a realistic effect. Actual bells are implied in **The Queen's Exchange** II.ii, but in **The New Inn** V.iv

and V.v the call for 'the bells' refers to a tune representing bells ringing (see Appendix 1) and performed by string players.

Dancing is an important part of wedding celebrations onstage, and the accompanists are usually designated 'fiddlers' (for example, in **The Fancies Chaste and Noble** II). The type of dance is appropriate to the social context and the characters who dance; for instance, towards the end of **Love's Mistress**, Cupid, Psyche, gods and goddesses dance "a measure", "to the sweete musicke of the spheares" (V.i.374,377) (probably strings or recorders). The famous dance scene in **The Broken Heart** V.ii, in which a noble wedding is being celebrated, features a stately dance with changes. In this episode, Ford makes telling and ironic use of the dramatic contrast between joyful nuptial dancing and the tragic announcements of deaths. (19) Between each of the four changes of the dance, Calantha is told of another death, but she will not "interrupt The custom of this ceremony" (26-27). When staged, this scene makes exciting theatre.

The dances at country weddings tend to be lively (such as the "lusty hornpipe" in **The Late Lancashire Witches** III) and popular. This is indicated by the several dances which are named, one of which is "Trenchmore". This lively dance had been popular since the mid-sixteenth century (Simpson 1966:716), and was distinguished by "its stamping step and its capers" (Baskervill 1929:362). It is danced in **Love or Money** I.iii. In **The Vow Breaker** II.i, the playing of "Trench-more" offstage fulfils an expository function. The music supposedly accompanies celebratory wedding dancing, and hence in theatrical terms it represents offstage activity and helps extend the dramatic illusion. However, in dramatic terms it has a meaning specific to Bateman, and one grave indeed: he subsequently discovers that the bride is his betrothed, who has wed somebody

else in his absence. The music thus has ironic values and helps create suspense; and, in heralding this discovery, it heralds too the subsequent tragedy. Contrast is also achieved, with the juxtaposition of Bateman's rejection and horror with the festive joyful music celebrating marital unity.

Funerals

Music is used in the theatrical presentation of funerals, mostly to accompany funeral processions. It helps create an appropriate atmosphere of solemnity, pomp and mourning. Some funeral scenes utilize song alone. **The Walks of Islington and Hogsdon** V.ii contains a mock dirge. A reversal follows with the revival of Mercurio, who was pretending to be dead, and the turn of events is paralleled by a musical contrast: that between the funeral song and the joyful dance which concludes the play. In **Sicily and Naples** III.ii, the funeral song for Calantha's father has dramatic and ironic effect, providing stark emotional contrast, since she has just been married to the man who killed him. The song is performed offstage by a choir and three solo voices, and in fact, in funeral songs in general, the fairly elaborate use of voices is noticeable, with alternating voices and choruses being common (as in **Confessor** II.ii). This was presumably realistic, and helped add to the sense of occasion.

In other instances, instrumental music is used alone in connection with funerals (for example, a muffled drum accompanies the funeral procession in **Zeno sive Ambitio Infelix** [a] V.xi). The instrument which occurs most often is the recorder, or to be more accurate, a consort of recorders. There has been some disagreement as to whether this is a purely theatrical convention (Manifold 1948:380,382), or whether it reflects a usage in actual funerals (as claimed by Long [1955:22]).

Recorders playing "sollempne Musick" accompany the entry of the hearse in **The Wasp** (II.i.473). Much detail is given concerning this entry, which begins Act II; for example, "a rich Herse with 5. pendantes, Armor. plumed Helmet and sword upon it" (474-75). Indeed, it is characteristic of many of the stage directions concerning funerals that they include elaborate detail, relating not only to music but also to such aspects as costumes and order of entries. Perhaps this is partly a reflection of dramatists' concern to create a striking and ceremonial effect. The nature of the music performed by the recorders is also indicated in **King John and Matilda**: "suddenly the Hoboyes cease, and a sad Musick of Flutes heard" (V.iii.102). The musical contrast would help produce great dramatic effect, and heighten the contrast in emotional tone between King John's meeting with the nobles to confirm their treaty of reconciliation and the entry of Matilda's funeral procession, which reverses the mood. Song is also used in this scene, and in fact the music of recorders may even be an introduction to the dirge which follows. Another song (again employing alternating voices and a chorus) follows on fairly closely. It accompanies the processional exit of the funeral and ends the play, thus constituting what could be termed a musical finale and setting the tone of the conclusion. Recorders and song are again combined for effect in a funereal context in the final scene of **The Lovesick Court** (V.iii).

Religion

In addition to its use at weddings and funerals, music in the plays is associated with religion in a broader sense, accompanying religious worship, ritual, ceremony and sacrifice. Christian, Hebrew and pagan songs appear (**I St Patrick for Ireland** I.i, **The Jews' Tragedy** IV and **Amyntas** V.v respectively). The use of

Latin for purposes of realism is noticeable (for example, the hymn with the processional entry of St Patrick and the priests is in Latin), and the comic satire of religious song in **Plutopthalmia Plutogamia** V.i mixes Latin with English. In this song, the Pope's lines are punctuated by a choral refrain, imitating real-life responses. (See too **Leo Armenus** [a] V.iv.) Amongst pagan music, that to accompany sacrifice is common, and in **The Strange Discovery** II.vii, a pagan sacrifice even involves dance. Some of the music accompanies the enacting of pagan ritual (for example, **Florimene** Introduction), and it is noticeable that songs of pagan ritual can be very elaborate; for instance, that in **The Lady Errant** V.viii, and the two for which there are linked settings.

One of these, "Thou o bright Sun" (Spink ed. 1977, No. 46) from **The Royal Slave**, has already been mentioned in section 3.2. "Come from the Dungeon to the Throne" (Spink ed. 1977, No. 43) comes from the same play (I.ii), and is sung just after Arsamnes has chosen Cratander to be King for three days, after which time he will be sacrificed. The song is performed by priests and covers the dressing of Cratander in royal robes. The lyric relates directly to the dramatic situation, and describes Cratander's fate. Its reference to the sun setting prepares for the eventual eclipse of the sun which saves Cratander. Like "Thou o bright Sun", the setting is by Henry Lawes, and solos and chorus alternate. However, in this song, the same chorus is repeated, resulting in an ABCB form. It opens with a tenor solo, which is followed by a five-part chorus; then there is a treble solo, a bass solo, and a duet of treble and bass; and finally, a repeat of the choral refrain. Although the lyrics of the A and C sections are of unequal length in the play-text, the former is expanded in the setting to the same length as the latter

by the fact that the first solo voice also sings the two lines which are then performed by the chorus. The text of the chorus encapsulates Cratander's fate, and its repetition (three times in all) stresses the sense of foreboding. The repetition of words at the end of each section also serves to emphasize the horror: "they bleed" (bars 16-18, 23-25) and "Whil'st pleasures ripen thee for fate" (bars 38-45).

Declamatory vocal rhythms are evident in the solo sections rather than in the chorus. The duet makes use of imitative writing, as does the chorus to some extent, although it begins in note-against-note style. The use of a range of voices, and different combinations of them, adds variety and helps maintain interest. Overall, the setting serves to heighten the dramatic situation and to emphasize Cratander's terrible fate; it thus helps to build suspense, preparatory to the final reversal. The setting is elaborate, in accordance with the occasion, and reinforces the solemnity of the ritual.

In **I St Patrick for Ireland**, the Christian and pagan religions are characterized and contrasted by musical means, and music is the means by which the hypocrisy of the latter is illustrated. The musical presentation of Christianity is altogether weak compared to that of paganism. Perhaps this was to avoid censorship, or perhaps because paganism offered more opportunity for the type of spectacle with which Shirley was trying to attract the flagging Dublin audiences.

Recorders are associated with other aspects of religion as well as funerals, and it is possible that there was some basis for this in reality, although the evidence is only slight (Manifold 1956:66,68). Manifold's statement that in the theatre recorders were associated with temples, churches and prayer is borne out in four Caroline plays, indicating that this pre-

Caroline convention continued during Caroline times. In **The Jews' Tragedy** IV, the "noise of still musick" contrasts strongly with the preceding combatory drums, and accompanies a religious entry. It may have provided an introduction and accompaniment to the following ritualistic choral song at an altar. There follows a reversal, with the murder of the High Priest. The sense of violation is greater after a religious scene, and in this and the several other examples which introduce reversals after religious scenes, such as **Leo Armenus** (a) V.iv, there is obvious reliance on the effectiveness of music in making a religious scene convincing.

There are a few occurrences of 'soft' and 'solemn' music in association with religious scenes. This was not a convention in pre-Caroline times; whether it was becoming established as one during the Caroline period is difficult to say. Certainly the music plays an important role in creating atmosphere, as in the final scene of **The Broken Heart** (V.iii). This opens with recorders accompanying the processional entry with the hearse and the positioning of the characters round the altar. The recorders cease during Calantha's devotions, and there is then 'soft music' and Calantha and the rest rise, doing obeisance to the altar. The musical and visual effects here are specified in detail in the play-text. This scene and that from **The Jews' Tragedy**, with their use of altars with candles, provide examples of the use of recurrent visual symbols to establish the setting by means of a shorthand, complementing the similar use of music.

Tavern and drinking scenes

Tavern and drinking scenes are amongst the most popular contexts for the introduction of music. These convivial and often roistrous scenes provide an opportunity for lively, rousing music, and they involve

song, instrumental music and dance, often in combination (**The Knave in Grain** III.vi, **The Politician** III.ii).

They conventionally feature the lighter song-types, and songs vigorous in nature. There are many examples which confirm the association of catches with drinking; for instance, in **The Parson's Wedding** IV.iv and **Albertus Wallenstein** V.ii. In the latter example, the expression of harmony and fellowship through singing together is followed by a reversal, with murder taking place. There are four linked drinking catches, and it is interesting that they are all by William Lawes, whose catches were very popular at the time. In addition to those mentioned already, there is "Some drink, Boy" from **The Goblins** III.ii (ed. Appendix 2, No. 31). This is the only one for tenor voices, the others all being for basses. Like "Come let us cast the dice" and "A Round a round", it is for three voices; "A Pox on our Gaoler" is for four. Rounds are also called for in drinking scenes (for instance, in **Brennoralt** II.ii).

William Lawes' drinking part-songs were also popular in taverns of the day (Lefkowitz 1960:180-81), and there are two linked examples of these: "A Health to the Notherne lasse" and "A hall a hall". Both appear in plays by Suckling, **The Goblins** (III.ii) and **Brennoralt** (II.ii). "A Health" (ed. Appendix 2, No. 30) is a good example of this type of song and deserves examination in detail. The scene in which it appears forms part of the scheme of three cavaliers to help Orsabrin escape from prison. They have caught and bound the jailor, and Samorat, disguised as the jailor, then goes off to release Orsabrin, while the other two remain onstage guarding the real jailor. Meanwhile, they unperturbedly drink and sing together. Other parts in the songs they perform were presumably taken by some of the "three others in disguise" whose entry is directed at the beginning of the scene (III.ii.0.2). Suspense is built

up, with a knock interrupting their second song. "A Health" is the final song, and is set for three voices: a treble and two tenors. An accompaniment is indicated by an unfigured bass line.

The lyric has three stanzas, the first two with five lines, and the third with eight. Each stanza concludes with what is effectively a three-line refrain, although the final line varies each time. In each case, however, the rhyme of the final line picks up that of earlier lines of the stanza, giving rhyme schemes of aabba in the first two stanzas, and dddeebbe in the third stanza. The setting highlights the structure of the lyric. Firstly, although it is through composed, it repeats melodic material for the refrain. Secondly, it emphasizes the transition from the first stanza to the next, partly by means of contrasting vocal registers and partly through harmony. For example, the second stanza begins with the first use of the treble voice, an effective entry because of contrast of register and a sudden, though brief, transition to C minor after the strongly established F major. A distinction is made between the second and third stanzas by the conclusion of the second with a strong perfect cadence and the treble voice ascending scalically to top F, the tonic. Thirdly, in the first and third stanzas, the unifying rhymes of the final line and that three lines previously are pointed melodically by the repetition in each case of a brief melodic fragment (see bars 5-6 and 8-9, and 32-33 and 38-39).

Returning to the refrain and its repetition of melodic material, it first appears in bars 7-10; it comes next in bars 15-18 (with an imitative repetition in bars 19-22); it recurs in bars 34-37 (this phrase then being extended in order to accommodate repeated words); and it occurs finally in the closing bars (40-43). The extent of repetition of the refrain is thus

considerable. It acts like a small ritornello, and helps unify the song. Its final repetition is set as a three-part note-against-note chorus, which provides a climax and stresses the conclusion. It contrasts with the previous writing, which is all for solo voices in alternation.

The lyric as it appears in the play-text gives no indication of apportioning to the various voices; in fact, in the setting, the lyric is split between them in an irregular manner, adding interest. The third voice opens the song with an incisive exhortation to drink a health, entering on the offbeat, utilizing an F major triad, and extending the first line of the lyric by verbal repetition. The second voice interjects with calls to pass the bottle; presumably this was accompanied by action. The passing round of the drink is reflected by the passing round of the melody. The second stanza begins with the first voice, and the voices then alternate with calls to drink. The third stanza is set as a long solo for the second voice, and makes use of imitative writing (for example, in the vocal line in bars 22-24, and between the vocal line and bass in bars 24-25). The final line is again extended by verbal repetition (bars 36-39), and is then concluded, as we have seen, by a final choral repetition of the refrain of the third stanza.

Overall, this is a vigorous, tuneful setting, basically light, but very effective in, and skilfully constructed for, its dramatic role. The bawdy nature of its lyric is characteristic of drinking songs of the time (see too, for example, those in **The Knave in Grain** III.iii and vi). Its carousing character is also typical. Another feature it shares with other types of drinking song, such as the catch, is the use of repetition. As a representative more specifically of William Lawes' drinking part-songs, it has the

characteristic basic theme, use of three voices, and some of the diversified elements of style (such as the use of solos, trios and note-against-note writing) listed by Lefkowitz (1960:181). Lawes' lively "A hall a hall" (ed. Appendix 2, No. 29) is also for three voices, but here they are used in a wider variety of combinations, with duets pairing different combinations of the voices as well as solo and trio passages. Again note-against-note writing and imitation are employed, but this time, there is only one stanza, and no refrain.

Other drinking songs are also for more than one voice, characteristic of the conviviality which they express (for instance, "To Bacchus" in **The Princess** V.ii, in which three voices sing in alternation and then combination), although still others are solo (**The Ward** III.ii). Occasionally ballads are performed; for example, "The Souldiers Joy" or "The souldiers delight" in **The Revenge for Honour** III.ii and **The Unnatural Combat** III.iii, on both of which occasions it is followed by a reversal. In this and other drinking scenes (such as **The Lady Mother** II and **Wit in a Constable** V.i) the novelty of the music is stressed.

The appearance of fiddlers in tavern and drinking scenes is conventional, and indeed, this is the principal context in which they appear. In **The Weeding of Covent Garden** they play "rude tunes" (II.ii.136). They are called for in some of the satires of the elaborate drinking rituals which existed at this time and were accompanied by music. For example, in the drinking scene in **The Royal Slave** III.i, a 'military' method, the 'Postures', is employed, and appropriately it is accompanied by fiddlers playing a tune called "The Battle" (see Appendix 1). A similar military method occurs in **The Opportunity** III, where musicians "Sound a health" (53,57).

The accompaniment to dances in drinking scenes was

usually provided by fiddlers (as in **A Fine Companion** IV.i), but sometimes characters danced to singing (as in **The Soddered Citizen** I.v). Various types of dance are performed, and the emphasis is on liveliness (**The Walks of Islington and Hogsdon** features a dance "to a sprightly Ayr" [II.ii.200.1]). There are two named dances: "Gascoynes Whibling" (**The Knave in Grain** III.vi) and the "Fine Companion" (**The Fine Companion** IV.i). The latter dance, whose title is significant, is performed in a scene which deals with notions of companionship. Careless is the fine companion of the play's title, and has already been accepted as a member of the scoundrel Captain Whibble's group of tavern frequenters. The Captain's choice of this dance is ironic, since he is far from being a 'fine companion', particularly not to the imbecile Lackwit, whom he eventually tricks into paying the bill. The scene possesses comic and characterizing values. (See too **The Walks of Islington and Hogsdon** II.ii.)

Procession

Processions offered an opportunity for visual display and spectacle, and were accompanied by music. They fell into two general types which Gurr has characterized as those stressing the martial and pompous aspects, and those stressing the sumptuous and elegant (1980:173). They occurred in the contexts of funerals, weddings and banquets, and in military and masquing contexts. But there were two other types of procession. The first, the Skimington procession, was an old English rural custom which mocked marital problems such as scolding, and involved a procession with a couple on horseback, representing the husband and wife concerned. There are Skimingtons in **The Late Lancashire Witches** IV (accompanied by a drum) and in **A Knave in Grain** (accompanied by "A great Hubub and noise, a ringing of

basons" [V.iii.2882], which suggests improvised instruments). The second type of procession, that involved in the 'state entry', is normally elegant and lavish. Detailed specification is common, and a study of the stage directions reveals several recurrent features which are evidently the visual and aural signals which were implied by the phrase 'in state'. A concern with the identity of the participants is evident, as is the presence of 'attendants' and the large number of participants. The movement of characters is often specified with care, indicating the importance of the procession as visual spectacle. Some of the things denoted by the phrase 'in state' are made explicit in **The Picture** I.ii, where Honoria, the queen, enters under a canopy with her train being carried. Her entry is accompanied by 'loud music', and indeed 'loud music', cornetts or hautboys are consistently used to accompany processional state entries in the theatre, and can thus be claimed as the conventional instrumentation. Entries of royalty would normally be accompanied by trumpets, but for these entries, which represent lengthy action, they are replaced by cornetts or hautboys because these instruments were better suited to performing a long piece of music (20) (see Manifold 1948:374,385). This music is sometimes extended still further to accompany dumb-show which follows an entry (as in **Perkin Warbeck** II.i).

The use of the sennet in this context is also conventional. All three sennets which are directed in Caroline plays accompany ceremonial entries of figures of rank. Considerations of length are again relevant. In **The Telltale** V.ii, a sennet accompanies the processional entry of Aspero (a general) to be crowned as the duke's successor, and this is ironic, given the reversal which soon follows, resulting in Aspero's downfall and loss of title.

Hunting

Hunting scenes were made realistic by the use of horns and bugles. Caroline plays contain examples of stage directions which form part of the group observed by Dessen, which calls for characters to enter 'as from hunting' (for example, "Wind Hornes - then as from Hunting Enter ...", **The Queen of Corsica**, I.ii.0.1-0.3). Dessen has observed that "the 'as from' stage direction represents an essential part of the strategy" for using the stage of the period, "a strategy that builds upon a few clear signals and the actor's skill to convey, deftly and economically, a recently completed or continuing action" (1985:34). The elements important in establishing hunting scenes were distinctive costumes, portable props and musical signals. For example, an activity in progress is suggested by "Enter two hunstmen [sic] winding their horne [sic]" (**Love's Changelings' Change** I.432). Some plays contain more extended hunting scenes, which again are supported and punctuated by horns (for example, **Calisto** I.i).

Military contexts

Musical signals are very common in military contexts, playing an important role in scene setting. As we have seen, both the signals and the instrumentation (primarily trumpets and drums) are realistic. The frequent use of signals with military entries and exits continued the conventions of pre-Caroline plays. Some of the entries are extended into processions or marches. Signals also depict approach, often of military opponents; they thus provide suspense. The frequency with which drums are used reflects their association with the infantry. Trumpets had a meaning distinct from that of drums. They signified the presence of royalty and of "the deputy of the king, the commander-in-chief" (Manifold 1956:39), and were also used with messengers

from figures of 'trumpet rank'. The few examples of horns tend to be associated with messengers or 'posts'.

Signalling was achieved not only through instrumental timbre but also by the melodic signals employed. All the military signals discussed in the section on instrumental music are used with military entries and exits, in accordance with the particular situation, which they help to clarify. There are also several personalized calls; these were a type of musical heraldry, by which people could be recognized. The flourish is used too, albeit infrequently. Long has observed that the flourish and the sennet are ceremonious rather than military music (1971:10), and this is certainly the case in **The Noble Stranger**, where both accompany the victorious processional entry at the opening of the play. Here the music would have helped set the scene, and reinforce, along with his wreath of bays, the fact that the King was entering "as from Conquest" (I.0.2).

As for music in other military contexts, it commonly fulfils an expository role, using appropriate signals. Its value in simulating an offstage battle (as in **Fuimus Troes** IV.iv, where the stage direction reads "the whole battaile with-in" [19.1-19.2]) is obvious, given the difficulty of presenting battles onstage. Different dynamic levels were evidently employed to indicate relative distances, and approach and retreat. In **The Doubtful Heir**, a "Soft Alarum" interrupts Ferdinand, and he then observes that "the frightfull noise increases" (V.416,417). This represents an approaching army, which constitutes a threat to Ferdinand, and is an example of the expository and suspensive use of music. **The Phoenix in Her Flames** contains an example of inter-scene music which comprises an offstage military signal: "a flourishing charge" (IV.144.1) represents thieves seizing booty from the rear of the army. Onstage

military calls signal such events as a call to arms and a retreat. Instrumentation follows the conventions described for military entries, and the conventional signals are all employed (the alarm being the most common).

Entry and Exit

The use of song, instrumental music and dance to accompany entry and exit is very noticeable. This music introduced and identified characters and their status, indicated their mood, and instrumental music in particular also helped establish or reinforce the setting of action and the emotional atmosphere. Entry music was especially valuable in that it focussed the audience's attention on the imminent or actual appearance of characters onstage.

Singing entries were common (as in **Love's Riddle**, where Alupis often sings a snatch from his identifying song as he enters or exits). Related to them is the matter of characters being 'discovered' singing (as in **The Imposture** II); this suggests that the activity has been going on for some time prior to the discovery. There are a few examples of dancing entries and exits, which can also suggest the continuation of an activity.

Of the music which accompanies entry and exit, instrumental music is markedly predominant. The same conventions as those established in pre-Caroline plays were followed: trumpets for royalty, cornetts for minor dignitaries, and horns for hunting men, messengers, couriers, and sometimes sow-gelders (Manifold 1948). In addition, and as we have seen, 'loud music' was conventional for state entries, and for the entry of important figures. The flourish was also conventionally used, to announce the ceremonial entry or exit of royal, noble and distinguished figures.

Again, anticipatory music helped prepare for an entry

and could provide a build-up, as with **The Emperor of the East**, who enters "after a strayne of musicke" (I.i.89.1). The location of the instrumentalists could be put to dramatic effect. For example, in Massinger's **The Guardian**, there is a "Cornet within", then one "from a second place", and another from a third (V.iv.28,40). They give the impression of the bandits approaching from a variety of offstage locations.

Most examples of music accompanying entry and exit speak for themselves, but two points involving greater sophistication need to be made. The first is that dramatic emphasis can sometimes be gained by working against the conventions described above, by using music which is inappropriate for the character who enters. An example is contained in the following stage direction: "Loud Musicke, which Doon Enter Jupiter in the habit off a nimphe or shepherdesse" (**Calisto** I.i.320.3-20.4). The expectation aroused by the nature of the music is dashed when Jupiter enters in feminine rural attire; although suitable for a stately entry by Jupiter, the music is definitely not appropriate for the entry of a nymph or shepherdess. The music helps emphasize his true identity, and also has comic values, which are reinforced as he practises walking with smaller steps more suitable to a woman. The music contrasts not only with his disguise but also with the song of rural entertainment which immediately precedes it. Another instance occurs in **The City Madam**, where Young Goldwire says, "Let loud music when this monarch enters Proclaim his entertainment ... Cornets flourish" (IV.ii.30-31). It is the merchant Luke who is referred to as a 'monarch', and he is being accorded lavish treatment such as this music because he has inherited great wealth, thereby gaining in status. (See also **The Variety** III.i and IV.i.)

My second point on sophistication of entry and exit

music is that a wide variety of instruments is used, and that the instrumentation could be determined by dramatic context as well as by the identity of the characters entering or exiting. There are concerns of realism; for example, offstage bells are used to represent approach with a carthorse in **The Converted Robber.** Reliance on the associations of instruments is exemplified in **The Antipodes** IV.x and xi. 'Soft music' is identified as the music of the court, (21) and it then continues, accompanying the processional entry of courtiers and a supposed queen, and some dumb-show. It is used not only because of this courtly association, but also for its curative and nuptial associations. The use of instruments to create atmosphere occasionally took precedence over their use to establish status. For example, recorders are used with the entry of royalty in **Landgartha** I and **II The Fair Maid of the West** I.i, on both occasions to reflect contexts of mourning.

The character of the music accompanying entry could also be appropriate to the dramatic context. "Sad music" accompanies the entry of those who have been badly treated in **The City Madam** (V.iii.59.1), and helps set the emotional tone. The nature of the music can be symbolic; for instance, the goddess of peace and harmony enters to "most harmonious melody" in **Rhodon and Iris** (V.vi.1756).

Embedded masques and other shows

These shows are performed for a stage audience. The music in them can be described as fulfilling a scene-setting role, but it functions in a slightly different way from that in the other categories. The music is a vital component of them, not merely establishing that they are shows, but constituting all or part of them. These shows often take place on occasions such as banquets and celebrations of victory; the fact of a show

or entertainment makes the scene more realistic and reinforces the occasion. They are also designed to entertain notables and worthies; and their very performance stresses the importance of the figure so honoured. Other shows are symbolic, cautionary, and intended for moral instruction or curative purposes. Shows are commonly exploited as an opportunity for subsequent reversal and contrast (as in **The Twins** V). They are predominantly embedded masques, but also include embedded plays, and other shows and entertainments. (22) Of the latter category, pastoral entertainments predominate, so they will be considered separately.

Embedded masques

The sheer number of these is striking: there are over fifty, which reflects the vogue of the masque proper at the time. The use of music in embedded masques merits detailed discussion for several reasons. Firstly, they are a very important vehicle for the introduction of music into plays. Secondly, they provide an interesting point of comparison of musical practices in the two principal dramatic forms of the Caroline period. Although I shall not attempt detailed comparison, some comparison is useful to illustrate the extent to which embedded masques realistically imitated independent masques. Thirdly, playwrights exploited the dramatic potential inherent in the masque, and their embedded masques and the music in them often perform a significant dramatic role.

Music, and particularly dance, is a fundamental constituent of embedded masques, being directed or implied in all but one of them (**Osmond the Great Turk** II). Its importance is, of course, not surprising, given its indispensable role in independent masques. However, playwrights did not attempt to represent faithfully in

miniature the full-scale contemporary court masques. Rather, they used certain elements of these (both musical and non-musical) as appropriate to the function of the embedded masque concerned; for embedded masques performed a variety of roles, and their forms varied accordingly. I shall examine here some of the recurrent musical elements which imitate the independent court masques. (23)

It is necessary to begin by examining the structure of masques. (24) In general, independent masques comprised an antimasque followed by a main masque, but over half of the embedded masques comprise just a main masque. Rarely, only an antimasque is present, although not so-called (for example, in **Perkin Warbeck** III.ii). On the rest of the occasions, there is both an antimasque and a main masque, though some antimasques follow the main masque or occur within it. (25) This is for dramatic reasons (for example, in **The Traitor** III.ii). Unusually, antic and masque dancing take place simultaneously in a curative masque in **The Soddered Citizen** IV.ii:

> "Softe music, enter 7 Maskers all in Shrowdes, and tread a solemne measure with changes, the whilst Wittworth daunces an antick mockway" (1916-18).

This achieves contrast, and illustrates Wittworth's madness.

In Caroline independent masques, main masques featured songs and dances, whereas antimasques tended to concentrate on dance. This is reflected in the embedded masques, where virtually all the antimasques consist only of dance, and the main masques feature dance as the most common element, often in combination with song. Entry music is almost never specified in the texts of independent Caroline masques, but it does occur in embedded masques, particularly in main masques. It is performed on instruments which are appropriate to the characters concerned through their symbolic

associations. For example, in **The Lady Mother**, the entry of Death and the furies is accompanied by the direction "Florishe Horrid Musike" (V.2474-75), and the entry of Hymen and the lovers is contrasted with this through accompaniment by recorders. The nature of the music was also appropriate. For instance, in **The Antipodes**, Discord and her followers enter to "a most untunable flourish" (V.xi.0.1).

As for songs, there is one linked setting of a lyric from an embedded masque: George Jeffreys' "Say daunce how shall wee goe" (ed. Appendix 2, No. 22), from **The Muses' Looking Glass** I.iv. The masque comprises a song and dance, and Roscius explains that the dance, by the seven deadly sins, is intended to demonstrate "The native fowlnesse and deformitie Of our dear sinne" (I.iv.180-81); this also applies to the song. The masque is designated a Masque of Vices in the musical source for the song, and I shall refer to it as such in the course of discussion. However, although it is also called a masque in the dialogue of the play, it is in fact by nature an antimasque. The Masque of Virtues in V.i, with which it contrasts and to which it acts as a foil, can be seen as the main masque. They are allegorical moral entertainments, and are in the tradition of the Moralities.

As in this Masque of Vices, the Vices of medieval drama sang and danced. However, comparison with contemporary independent masques reveals some differences. There were three types of antimasque in Jacobean and Caroline independent masques (Walls 1975:86), and this Masque of Vices is an example of the 'spectacle of strangeness', which featured malevolent figures, and was rare by Caroline times. (26) It differs in its inclusion of a song, but its dance is characteristic of the type. Compared with songs in all types of antimasque, which were usually of a popular

nature, this song is unusual in its nature and sophistication. Despite this, it does in certain respects fulfil the function of intentional contrast of antimasque songs with the type of songs used in main masques. For, in addition to their sophistication, main masque songs were characterized by their ceremonial dignity, solemnity and nobility (ibid.:85,88), whereas this setting is vigorous and frivolous, and contains some deliberately 'anti-musical' details (such as discords and grotesque leaps).

The setting is of considerable musical interest. It is for three voices: a bass and two trebles or two tenors. The accompaniment is indicated only by an unfigured bass line, but it is possible that the instrumentation was uncourtly, since this was another way in which songs of the antimasque were distinguished from those of the main masque. On the whole, the basso continuo line follows the vocal bass line. The vocal parts contain declamatory gestures. The motivic organization and extensive use of imitation is noticeable; indeed, the treatment is polyphonic. Given the use of polyphony in sacred music, and its retention in the Roman Catholic church of the seventeenth century, this aspect of the setting is interesting in relation to the religious references which precede the song. Mrs Flowr mistakes the word masque for Mass, and urges Bird to fly, for "Idolatry will overtake us" (I.iv.174). Roscius reassures her that it is a masque, presented by the seven deadly sins, and punning follows, with Bird saying, "I tell you It is a masse, a masse, a masse of vile Idolatry" (177-78). It is also interesting when the setting is seen in the context of George Jeffreys' output as a whole, since most of his compositions are for the church. This setting represents an early attempt at the combination of traditional polyphony with the new declamatory techniques which so preoccupied George

Jeffreys. It presents a marked contrast with the many light and straight-forward play-songs.

The short lyric is extended through verbal repetition. Its eight lines are paired in an aabbccdd rhyme scheme, and are also set in pairs. Each of the first three pairs is repeated, using related musical material. The seventh and eighth lines are set only once, but the music to which they are set is marked for repetition. There are further repetitions of text within these larger repetitions. In addition to this exact musical repetition of the final lines, the end of the piece is marked by a lengthening of note values. The rhythms are generally robust. The structure of the setting, which is in duple time throughout, is schematically represented below. The third section is longer than the other three. A range of harmonic nuance is used. There are very effective suspensions, for example at the cadences which conclude each of the four sections (bars 9, 22, 41, 52-55). The use of voices in various combinations and, less commonly, solo, provides variety and contrast. The beginning of the final section with the entry of all three voices together sets it off and unifies it with the beginning of the song. There is interweaving of the structure through overlaps between phrases (as in bar 18).

Line of lyric	Section of music	Bars	Basic use of voices	Voice beginning section	Chords of concluding cadences
					[Begins A minor]
1-2	A	1-5	All 3	All 3	G major
1-2	A'	6-10	All 3	III	C major
3-4	B	11-18	Solos	I	E major
3-4	B'	18-23	All 3	III	G major
5-6	C	23-31	All 3	III	B major
5-6	C'	31-42	All 3	I	A minor
7-8	D [REPEATED]				
7		43-45	All 3	All 3	C major
8		45-55	Short solos, duet, solo, then all 3	I	A minor [presumably with Tierce de Picardie]

This extrovert setting contains bold illustration of words through harmony, use of chromaticism, register and melodic line. For example, there are striking discords on the word "discords" (as in bars 27-29) (the note values also lengthen, to allow the discords to sound), and chromatic movement on the word "disorder" (bars 32-33). The words of the final line, "but highest Trebles Or the Lowest Base", are reflected literally in the music. The two high voices (which often cross over) are contrasted throughout the song with the low voice by virtue of register, but this is taken to an extreme at the end, with a wide separation in pitch between them. The inexorable movement to the extremes of their ranges

is heightened by repetition of the words, with much closer entries the second time (overlapping rather than alternating). The descent of the bass voice continues on a third repetition. As for the melodic line, the setting of the words "that never yet could Keepe a Meane" contains large leaps and is grotesque and clumsy (see bars 13-15), and is obviously a humorous reflection of the words. Indeed, the word painting as a whole is humorous, as is apt for antimasque material.

The high degree of motivic organization is noticeable throughout the setting, with much use of both melodic and rhythmic imitation (see for instance bars 3, 7-8, 13-18, 45-55). The imitation occurs in all three vocal parts, with different combinations of voices imitating each other, and entries at varying degress of closeness. In some cases the imitation is more exact than in others. (For example, the first voice in bars 52-55 has an exact imitation of the third voice in bars 47-50, except that the note values are doubled.) Imitative melodic fragments occur both on the first appearance of words in the three voices and also on repetitions of the same words (see, for example, the first voice in bars 11-12 and the third voice in bars 18-19; the third voice in bars 47-52).

To summarize, the nature of the music is appropriate to the lyric, and contains intentionally anti-musical details which symbolize the Vices' bringing of disorder. As for the dance, the statement in the song lyric that the Vices "never could a Measure Knowe" suggests that it was confused. The description cited earlier suggests it was grotesque. It is described in the dialogue as "simple" and "rude" (I.iv.179,175), presumably meaning rough and in folk style. There is a parallel between this song and dance and those in the allegorical embedded masque in **The Antipodes**. This features a "song in untunable notes" (V.xi.11.1), performed by Discord,

and then a dance by "her disorders" (V.xii.8), Folly, Jealousy, Melancholy and Madness. Presumably this was grotesque and exhibited their characteristics. The dance is broken off by the entry of Harmony, who performs a song which contrasts with that of Discord. Finally, all dance together. Ingram points out that it could be said that here Brome makes music the subject of his masque (1976:238). In both this embedded masque and the masques of Vices and Virtues in **The Muses' Looking Glass**, the symbolic opposition of discord and harmony is presented in musical terms. They illustrate the way in which embedded masques, like independent masques, achieved contrast between antimasque and main masque, partly through musical means. There are parallels to the Masque of Vices in the antimasques of Caroline independent masques (for example, **Coelum Britannicum**).

The play-texts reveal a little about the musical nature of main masque songs. Like songs in independent masques, they could be for several voices (that in **The Shepherds' Holiday** III.iii contrasts solo voices with choruses, that in **The Muses' Looking Glass** V.ii is choral throughout), but in general there is not such elaborate and varied use of vocal combinations as in independent masque songs. Nor is there any evidence as to whether the songs in embedded masques were introduced by symphonies, as were those in independent masques, or whether heroic declamation was used.

Turning to dance, since most of the important points have already been made in Chapter 2, I shall restrict discussion here to dances of the antimasque and the revels. As we saw earlier, antic dances were typically performed by grotesque and comic characters whose characteristics were reflected in their costumes, gesture, and the nature of the dance, its music, and the instrumentation. In this they reflected the antimasque dances of independent masques. The same type of antic

characters occur in both independent and embedded masques; for example, satyrs, Celts and animals. Just as the antimasque dances of independent masques often had a satiric role, so too did those of embedded masques; for instance, in **Love's Hospital** V.vi, where "the shortcomings of suitors are allegorically represented by a dance of beasts" (Funston ed. 1973:xxii). A point of dissimilarity is that the Caroline development of the antimasque in terms of the great number of entries which some independent masques contained (for instance, twenty in **Salmacida Spolia**) is obviously not reflected in the plays; the nearest approach to this occurs in **Love's Hospital** V.vi, which contains a mere three entries. (27)

As for the dances of the revels, which were a characteristic feature of independent Caroline masques, they do appear in the stage imitations, but only very infrequently (28) and then for dramatic reasons (for example, in **King John and Matilda** III.v). They had obvious dramatic potential, with the mixing of disguised participants in the masque and the stage audience. In those embedded masques which do contain revels dances, it is the last dancing in the masque; this was sometimes the case in independent masques (for instance, **Chloridia**), although more often it was followed by the masquers' final dance.

For dramatic and practical reasons, embedded masques are simpler and briefer than independent masques. Their function is, after all, different. The amount of music in embedded masques varies. Several feature a large amount (for instance, that in **Trappolin Creduto Principe** II.ii), and a few contain a particularly large quantity of music, although this is rare (one example is the embedded masque in **Landgartha** III, which is the nearest approach to an independent masque, though smaller scale). In many cases, masques are represented in shorthand by instrumental music, a song and a dance (as

in Massinger's **The Guardian** IV.ii), or just by a dance with or without other elements. Ewbank has noted that the briefer embedded masques generally represent an earlier form of the masque, that of Elizabethan times (1967:409).

There may have been some exact imitation of independent masques by embedded masques through the transfer of musical material from the former to the latter. We know that antimasque material was transferred to plays in pre-Caroline times (see Thorndike 1900, Cutts 1955a and Cutts 1960), and there are various factors which support the suggestion that this continued in our period. The first is the exploitation of something popular: the antimasques, and masque tunes in general. The popularity of the latter is evidenced by their dissemination in manuscript and printed musical sources, and reflected in the reference in **The Fair Maid of the Inn** III.i to a dancer who steals new tunes from masques. Secondly, I argued earlier that much theatre music was probably taken from an existing repertory. What could be more appropriate than to use genuine masque tunes in embedded masques? Thirdly, such a transfer would have been facilitated by the facts that masques and plays often used the same musicians, composers and actors. Even if musical repertory was not transferred, these factors do make it at least likely that the music of embedded masques imitated and was influenced by that of independent masques. Perhaps the occurrence of the same antic figures in embedded masques as in independent masques may reflect the transfer of antimasque musical material to accompany them. Finally, there is one example of the transfer of music from a Jacobean masque to a Caroline play (**The Drinking Academy** III.ii), which at least shows that this did occur, although the ballad concerned is not used in an embedded masque.

Embedded plays

Some embedded plays feature music: not surprisingly, given the subject of this thesis! However, other than the flourishes which accompany the entry of the Prologue and the first entry of actors, (29) very little music is directed in embedded plays; there is only the dance of drunkards in **Leo Armenus** (a) III.ii and the song snatch in **A Jovial Crew** V.i, although admittedly, the readiness of musicians for an embedded play is referred to both in **The Antipodes** II.ii and in **The Bird in a Cage** ("the Musique ha' their part", IV.ii.p.53.1.4). It seems that, other than the use of flourishes, there is no attempt to reflect the use of music in full-scale plays. Music was not a vital part of embedded plays. The dialogue itself was evidently more important. Unlike many embedded masques, embedded plays were not included as vehicles for musical display, but instead fulfilled other roles. (30)

Other shows and entertainments

In these a range of music is used to entertain, for example, song (Massinger's **The Guardian** V.i), instrumental music (**The City Madam** IV.ii) and dance (**Microcosmus** II). These are also combined (as in **Amyntas** III). Sometimes the entertainment is not purely musical, but also involves speech; for example, the show in **The City Match** III.ii, which is worked into the plot more than some of the other entertainments. Here, the show is part of a comic episode of trickery, and features a strange fish, which is in fact the sleeping Timothy. Quartfield, Salewit and others have got him drunk and garbed him as a fish. People then pay to see this 'fish'. A curtain is drawn to reveal it, and a boy sings a burlesque song upon it. This is "Wee show noe monsstrous crockadell", and there is a linked setting by William Lawes (ed. Appendix 2, No. 21).

The song wakes Timothy, and the trick is discovered. Like many of Lawes' declamatory songs, the setting is mediocre and unsubtle. (31) Melodically, it is uninspired, and there is a lack of rhythmic variety. Although Lawes has introduced two changes of time signature (increasing the tempo in bar 18, and then changing to triple time in bar 30), the setting remains stilted and uninteresting. The declamation is clumsy, with numerous examples of verbal misaccentuations (for instance, bars 1, 19 and 20), and particular insensitivity in bars 28-29. Aspects characteristic of William Lawes are the harmonic clarity and the succumbing to the obvious opportunity for word painting on the word "gallop" in bar 12.

Other shows, for instance, that in **The Variety** IV.i, are definitely masque-like in nature. This takes place in a tavern, in a room which Newman announces is "cald the field of Tempe" (758-59). A throne decends to the accompaniment of music referred to as the music of the spheres. It contains a boy, supposed an angel, who sings. Formall receives Bacchus' garland, and he and a whore are 'sent to heaven' in the throne. The satirical nature of this show has been commented on by Butler, who says that it is "an unidealized, disillusioned version of the Whitehall masques" (1984:197). In fact, the distinction between embedded masques and shows is often hard to make.

Pastoral entertainments

Although there are few pastoral masques, there are nearly twenty pastoral entertainments. These are performed by country figures such as shepherds and shepherdesses and swains and maids. Some (such as that in **Argalus and Parthenia** IV.i) feature spoken verses, but they are mostly entirely musical, featuring song, instrumental music and dance, alone and in combination

(for example, a song accompanied by a dance in **Love's Changelings' Change** II.i and a song then music and dance in **The Queen and Concubine** V.iv). The instrumentation is appropriate to the pastoral nature of the entertainments; for example, the "winde musicke" with the pastoral 'presentment' in **The Converted Robber** (176-77) (apparently pipes and cornetts), and the pipes in **Pleasant Dialogues and Dramas, Jupiter and Io.** In **Calisto** the music of entertainment is called for as "your best rurall musick" (I.i.319). The dances too are rural in nature (as in **Argalus and Parthenia** II.ii).

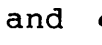
Love and lust

Music was used in serenades, scenes of courtship, seduction and temptation, episodes at bawdy houses, and for the expression of love, lust and thwarted love. The use of music to set these scenes as contexts of love and lust was conventional. Here I shall examine examples which were not included in section 3.2. These scenes ranged from serious to comic, from romantic to ridiculous. Bowden's observation that attempts to induce and express love and lust were stylized song situations (1951:22,27) applies also to instrumental music and dance.

Although love songs have been treated in the past, various points are worth emphasizing. Their musical nature is significant with regard to the context; this is indicated both by descriptive comment in the play-texts, but also by linked settings, of which there are several. These include straightforward types, slight (but still serious) variations on them, and burlesques of them. Looking first at serenades, "O draw your Curtaines and appeare" (Blezzard ed. in Gibbs ed. 1972:294-95) from **Love and Honour** (a) V.i is, as Bowden has observed, "an unconventional serenade performed as a tribute" to the condemned heroines (1951:159). The mood

of sadness which this 'swan song' establishes is redeemed by a reversal in which the revelation of true identities brings about a happy ending.

Burlesques of serenades and comic songs of courtship are sometimes performed for purposes of sarcasm, and sometimes by a ridiculous suitor. Fulgoso in **The Lady's Trial** and Miles in **The Vow Breaker** can be added to the ranks of the foolish singing and dancing suitors cited in the section on Characterizing Music. The former provides a lisping serenade, "What Hoe. Wee Come to be merry" (ed. Appendix 2, No. 14) (IV), which is appropriate to the object of his affections, the lisping Amoretta. Miles' song, beginning "You dainty Dames so finely dek'd" (V), comprises three stanzas from the ballad of Bateman's Tragedy. The ballad, significantly, is based on the same story as the play, and Miles sings it to the unconcerned Ursula as a warning that they may share Bateman and Nan's fate. His serenade has an unexpected consequence: he is banished by her uncle. Another comic scene occurs in **The Drinking Academy,** where Simple apparently sings a love letter to a ballad tune (II.i). This use of a ballad melody for serious words would also have had ironic effect, with the nature of the setting counteracting the words, and would have resulted in a comic parody of a true serenade.

"Pleasures, Beauty, Youth attend thee" (Spink ed. 1977, No. 82) (**The Lady's Trial** II) is a song of seduction. The linked setting, by William Lawes, is in tuneful style; it is light, simple, melodic and of popular character. It is strophic, with four verses, and is for solo voice. The accompaniment is indicated by an unfigured bass line, and was most likely provided by a theorbo lute. The song is in triple time and uses dance rhythms, being a song of the sarabande type; (32) its link with the sarabande is evident in the hemiola rhythm and the characteristic  and  rhythms. Verbal

misaccentuations arise when the natural spoken rhythm of the words does not coincide with the rhythm of the dance (for instance, the weak first syllable of "attend" is accented in bar 3), and the tune is more important than the words. Not all treatment is syllabic. Phrases are regular and balanced, and there is a fairly fixed rhythmic pattern for each line of verse. The general metrical regularity of the lyric relates to this (though there are slight variations in subsequent verses). A well-developed sense of tonality characteristic of William Lawes is evident. In contrast with the harmonic daring of some of his writing for strings, this song uses simple C major harmonies, although there is some chromatic movement in the bass in bars 9 to 12. Other examples of seductive and stimulative songs for which there are linked settings are "Cruell but once againe" (**The Rival Friends**) (Spink ed. 1977, No. 98), "Come my sweet, whiles every strayne" (**The Royal Slave** II.iii) (Spink ed. 1977, No. 44), and "Cupid blushes to behold" and "Fond maydes, take warninge while you may", two of the songs from unidentified plays by 'Sir R. Hatton'.

There is also a linked setting for a conventional love complaint, "Have pitty (Griefe) I can not pay" (Spink ed. 1977, No. 97) (**The Rival Friends** [a] I.iii). This song has comic effect because it tortures a music-hater. Lucius has called on the boy to teach his lute to "give a true relation of my woes" (ibid..61), and references in play-texts support this use of music which was appropriate to the melancholy mood. In **Rhodon and Iris** I.iii, the lute which accompanies the song is called on to "tune forth Thy melancholly notes" (245-46), and the song in **The Arcadia** II is described as "no light aire" (22). Love complaints were also burlesqued (as in **The School of Compliment** [a] V.i). The expression of love in a duet was rare, as Bowden has observed (1951:23), although **Love Crowns the End** ix does include

an example, in which the two lovers symbolically combine in song.

There are several examples of purely instrumental serenades, normally by a consort. Instrumental music was also performed in scenes of seduction (for example, in **Adastra** III.i), and at bawdy houses (as in **Senile Odium** V.iv), where it fulfilled a more literal scene-setting role. A range of dances is used in order to court and seduce.

Sedative, curative and consolatory contexts

We have already seen how the sedative and curative effects of music were exploited to influence the plot. There are many more occasions where such music occurs but does not have great effect on the course of the action; the type of music and instrumentation follow the patterns commented on earlier ('soft' or 'still' music for sedative effect [as in **The Arcadia** III], 'soft music' in the treatment of melancholy and madness [as in **The Broken Heart** III.ii]).

Cordelia's song "Dulcis somne" in **Valetudinarium** (a) IV.ix, for which there is a linked setting (ed. Appendix 2, No. 19), succeeds in calming and inducing sleep in the mad Archiater. It is preceded by Cordelia calling on well-tuned strings to speak the sort of modes that induce sleep, and in the song she calls for the God of Sleep to descend. In the setting, which was apparently accompanied by a lute, the first and second verses are sung to different music by solo treble voice in a rhetorical declamatory style. A four-part choral refrain follows each verse, and the chorus is mostly homophonic, although there is some overlapping of voices. Overall, the style of the setting is dramatic rather than melodic. There is careful word setting. Syllabic treatment is used throughout, declamation is flexible, and the rhythm of the vocal line follows closely the

natural stress of the words, resulting in variety of rhythm. Butler's principle of equating punctuation in the words with rests in the music (quoted in Spink 1959-60:74) is observed, although not strictly, and poetic and musical cadences coincide. Thus the musical phrasing follows the phrasing of the text. The striking opening phrase exploits the drop of a diminished fourth and the harmony of the augmented triad. The overall key is G minor, but the song begins in C minor and there are unexpected progressions, not least in the gently beguiling closing bars of the chorus. As Sabol has previously suggested, the music for this song is of considerable importance for establishing the tone of the scene (1968-69:13), which with its invocation of the God of Sleep creates a sharp contrast with the fooling of Archiater and his light song earlier in the scene.

There is a linked setting by William Lawes for a song which succeeds in inducing sleep, thus bringing some ease, but not in achieving a cure. The song, "Somnus the umble God that dwels" (ed. Appendix 2, No. 13), is performed in response to the Prince's request, "Call in some Musick, I have heard soft airs Can charm our senses, and expel our cares", in **The Sophy** (V.257-58). He has been imprisoned and blinded and is now dying. The lyric is directly relevant to the dramatic situation; it echoes the Prince's complaint that he cannot sleep although the humble can, and calls on the God of Sleep to ensure that he will sleep but also wake again. The choice of G minor as the basic key (although there are some modulations) is significant. This key, as Price has noted, was one of "the most potent emblems of death for the English baroque composer" (1979a:18). Its use represents a musical foreshadowing of the Prince's death, confirming what is merely a suggestion in the final lines of the lyric. The setting would have helped create atmosphere and build up pathos. It is through-

composed, allowing attention to detail in the word-setting. The final nine bars are repeated, for emphasis and to conclude the song. Effective use is made of the declamatory style, for instance in the striking opening two bars, with the fall of a fifth and then upward chromatic progression.

In **The Lady Errant** III.iv, Malthora is troubled over her husband's absence, and Lucasia performs "Wake my Adonis, do not dye" in order to soothe her and "divert This anxious fear" (1028-29). In the song, Venus laments her lost Adonis, and it is in fact more likely to have reinforced Malthora's fear than calmed it. (See also the song in **The Floating Island** IV.xiv.) The reference in the second stanza to seeing the ghost of the dead Adonis is particularly inappropriate for consoling her, given her dream of her husband's death, and the song creates suspense. The linked setting (Spink ed. 1977, No. 68), by Charles Coleman, presents an impressive range of emotion, and is a most effective dramatic setting. It is in declamatory style and common time, apart from a brief final dance-like triple section. In the setting, each of the three stanzas concludes with a perfect cadence. The lyric itself is not quite regular; it concludes with two extra lines which stress the moral, and it is these which are set in contrasting triple time. I agree with Spink (1986:117) that this section somewhat mars the effect previously gained, although I would point out that it does act as a sort of coda.

Venus' emotions and their fluctuations are dramatized in the setting, and it contains many subtle expressive details, reflecting the emotional content of the lyric. For example, Venus' first pathetic plea is sensitively set, and her demand "Where are thy looks, thy wiles, Thy fears, thy frowns, thy smiles?" is presented in an impassioned manner, with an angular melodic line and effective harmony, including an augmented fourth and

false relation (bars 6-9). The beginning of the second stanza is especially arresting: after the long final note of the preceding stanza, it introduces more rapid movement, particularly noticeable in the bass, and there is an octave leap up to top G in the voice. It presents a heightening of dramatic intensity, as Venus becomes more disturbed. The vocal line contains several other wide leaps, of a seventh as well as an octave, and these stress the drama (for example, in bar 40 on "grieve"). Expressive use is made of other intervals too; for example, the ascending minor sixth in bar 15, on the word "Death", and the diminished fourth to which "Alas" is set in bars 9 to 10, this interval being conventional in passages portraying strong emotion. Other details of note are the setting of the word "thundering" to a melismatic scalic passage covering an octave (bar 23) and the use of suspension for emphasis in bar 41.

Unusually, this song was performed by a woman. It demands a wide vocal range (an eleventh), and makes use of all parts of it. The play-text indicates that Lucasia accompanied herself on a lute. Unusually for a song of this time, and exceptionally among the linked play-songs, Coleman supplies a well-figured bass; in fact, this was common in his songs (Spink 1986:116). The interest is concentrated in the vocal line, but the figures reveal an effective passage in bars 43 to 46, where the accompaniment moves in thirds with the vocal line, underpinned by a sustained dominant, as she reaches some sort of acceptance of her situation, determining to love her sorrow in place of Adonis.

The several printings of this song indicate that it was popular at the time, and deservedly so. Spink rates it highly, observing that "What is so remarkable about this song is the range of tragic feeling it displays, and for its time it may only be compared with Lanier's Hero and Leander, though it is much shorter and the

style rather different" (1986:117).

Sometimes the convention of curative song is satirized (as in **The Court Beggar** IV.ii). There are also songs to console (**The English Moor** IV.ii) and comfort (**The Cruel Brother** [a] V.i). Occasionally the convention of curative and consoling music is played on by music which works against the expected effect (for instance, in **The Politician** II.i and **Aglaura** IV.iv). Dances intended to cure and cheer tend to be lively by nature (a lusty hornpipe in **The Great Duke of Florence** IV.ii, "Country Figaries, a nimble dance" in **The Bird in a Cage** [III.iii.p.41.20]).

3.3.3 Other atmospheric music

The emotive power of music was much utilized in the theatre for establishing atmosphere. In this section, I shall concentrate on music whose primary role was creating or reinforcing emotional atmosphere. This functions in a more abstract way than scene-setting music. It helps to express emotions and set the emotional tone for more abstract dramatic contexts and concepts (for instance, death and reconciliation). It intensifies the emotional impact of a scene and thereby the dramatic situation, and it underlines changes of mood too. Such music is intended to affect the audience, and helps them empathize. It is an economical means of evoking mood and assisting the audience in grasping the situation. The use of instrumental music for atmospheric purposes is particularly noticeable, and here an observation by Sternfeld is relevant: "Because there is no text, instrumental music has a quick suggestiveness and poignancy that speaks eloquently to the emotions and the imagination" (1963:4).

Much of this music fulfils an affective function. (33) Chan has observed that this "purely emotional use of music" was first evident in the plays of Marston, and

that it was developed by Fletcher (1979a:121). She comments elsewhere: "By the way in which 'expressive' music directly addresses the audience, these examples of Marston's use of music, and later uses of theatre music which may have developed from these, are related to operatic techniques and assumptions" (1980:37). I agree with this view. Furthermore, I can substantiate her speculative comment that later uses may have developed from Marston's. This section contains examples of such later uses. Indeed, there was increased use of atmospheric and affective music in the Caroline period, something which has been almost completely overlooked.

Sometimes the atmospheric music in Caroline plays is heard by both the characters and the audience, but sometimes only by the audience. The latter music is undeniably there for its effect on the audience, and is purely atmospheric. The existence of music heard by the audience alone has been overlooked and indeed actively denied, (34) although, exceptionally, Chan has recognized that it occurred in Elizabethan and Jacobean plays (1980). Atmospheric music heard by the audience alone is not part of the dramatic illusion, whereas that heard by both characters and audience may be incorporated within the dramatic illusion (for example, supernatural music). In the latter case, it can be harder to identify whether the music does indeed function atmospherically.

The music room would have been an ideal location for the performance of atmospheric music. Using the curtains to keep the musicians invisible would mean the music need not be assimilated in a naturalistic way into the dramatic illusion and an affective function for dramatic music was possible. There is some direct evidence of the association of a sense of mystery and the supernatural with music performed 'above', presumably by invisible musicians (for example, in **The Cruel Brother** [a] V.i and

The Unfortunate Lovers [a] V.i). Sometimes the music is described as being 'in the air' (as in **The Late Lancashire Witches** IV), and this too could have been played by musicians concealed in the music room. (35) Apparently the performers of atmospheric music were normally invisible and anonymous, even when they were not in the music room. The 'heavenly' music and song in **Love in Its Ecstasy** III.iv are heard, unusually, from "below ground" (4.1), supposedly from a cave, and it is partly this which, together with the nature of the music, leads Bermudo to mistake the singer for the goddess Diana.

Atmospheric music is consistently used in certain contexts, where its use can be described as conventional. The extent to which the recorder is used is notable. Much of the music used for atmospheric purposes is conventional rather than naturalistic. I discuss below the two main contexts in which atmospheric music appears (music and the supernatural, and music and death, mourning and sadness), along with the use of music as a heightened background to speech. Reference should also be made to the categories 'supernatural', 'death/mourning/sadness', 'background to speech' and 'sedative/curative/consolatory' in Appendices 3 and 4.

The supernatural

Music was a vital ingredient in the presentation onstage of the supernatural. Its use in this context reflects contemporary beliefs about the supernatural and the role of music in it, including belief in the Platonic concept of the divine harmony of the heavens. Music provides essential emotional support in helping create a supernatural atmosphere, and in making supernatural episodes convincing. It helps stress their qualities of mystery and strangeness, and assists in achieving a sense of unreality, particularly in episodes

of dumb-show. Dumb-shows were a common means of bringing the supernatural onto the stage, and at the same time clearly distinguishing it from the rest of the play (Mehl 1965:25). The presentation of the supernatural was often an occasion for the introduction of spectacular stage effects (indeed, it may sometimes have been included for this very reason), and here again the music played an important supportive role. The extent to which the convention of music and the supernatural was accepted is reflected in the number of occasions on which music is used to aid and make more credible the presentation of the quasi-supernatural.

For the purposes of discussion, a division has been made into two broad categories: music used in visions and music used to depict the magical powers of witches and magicians. Although I use the term 'vision', I consider here not only supernatural apparitions but also some audible though invisible manifestations of the supernatural.

The most obvious thing about the use of music in visions is that it almost always accompanies the approach and appearance of figures in them (for instance, "a sweet solemne Musicke of Recorders" accompanies an angel's entry in **Landgartha** [V.390.1]). Perhaps the explanation for this practice lies in the reliance on music not merely to set off the visions as supernatural, but also to signal the supernatural. As for the visions themselves, there are a few cases in which it is known that instrumental music or song continue throughout; for example, in **The Wizard** IV.i, 'music' plays during the raising and entry of supposed spirits, accompanies their presence, and ceases only when they have exited. Other visions involve music but it is not specified that it plays throughout, although this remains a possibility, and indeed a likelihood in examples like the vision in **The Roman Actor** V.i. In some

visions, supernatural support is expressed through music for characters and their course of action. The singing angels in **Zeno sive Ambitio Infelix** (a) IV.iv tell the entranced Pelagius that his prayers are heard, and he is made strong through divine influence.

Most of the visions, however, foreshadow the future, and thus can be integral to the plot and can also create suspense. Most of them are in fact dreams, and sedative music is frequently associated with them. Music is often involved in the presentation of omens. The messages of the visions in **Love Crowns the End** and **The Jews' Tragedy** IV are conveyed through songs, and the visions are entirely musical. Dumb-show, speech and music are combined to present a foreshadowing of the future in the vision in **The Rebellion** III.i and, in the vision in **The Queen and Concubine** III.ii, an exposition of past events. (36)

There are five examples of prophetic visions which are proper dumb-shows, with no speech, but involving song, instrumental music and dance. The lack of dialogue would have contributed to their unnaturalness. In many respects the supernatural can more easily be presented without speech. Of the five dumb-shows, that in **Messalina** V.i is of particular note. (37) It is a premonition to Messalina of her imminent death. "Horrid Musicke" presages the appearance of two spirits, who "dreadfully enter and (to the Treble Violin and Lute) sing a song of despaire" (467.1,470.1-70.2). This combination of instruments is unusual, as the bass viol would normally partner the lute. Indeed, such careful specification is rare, which suggests that a particular effect was required. In the song, the two spirits alternate, and exhort her to die; they then exit, and the ghosts of Messalina's victims enter. This vision appears at the concluding climax of the play, and provokes Messalina's admission of guilt and her suicide.

It is ironic that it is music which helps finally bring about her repentance, when she has relied so heavily on music earlier in the play to subvert others to her will. Although somewhat melodramatic, the vision would have been of great importance atmospherically, and this makes the indication that the song was omitted because "there was none could sing in Parts" (490.2) all the more interesting. Here we have insight into a practical problem connected with music which would have detracted from the dramatic climax of a play. Presumably the dumb-show was accompanied by music even though it is not specified.

The powers of good and evil are represented and distinguished musically. 'Strange music' and 'horrid music' are associated with the malevolent supernatural. Such music would have aroused a certain amount of fear in the audience, in whom belief in witchcraft and the supernatural was still very prevalent. There was probably deliberate symbolism too, with these types of music suggesting discord and the overthrow of harmony. Effects such as strangeness may have been achieved by the location of the performers, by the nature of the music, and by the instrumentation.

The one linked setting of a supernatural song is associated with the malevolent supernatural. The song is "You Fiends and Furies" from **The Unfortunate Lovers** (a) V.i (Blezzard ed. in Gibbs ed. 1972:298-302), set by William Lawes. The villainous king Heildebrand is awaiting a lady when "strange musicke is heard above" (214-15). He thinks it must be preparative music, "although The sound's not very amorous" (215-16). This is ironic since the following song proves to be preparative in a different sense: it is a supernatural foreshadowing of his imminent doom. (38) The song thus creates suspense, and establishes and heightens an atmosphere of grim foreboding.

The 'strange music' which preceded the song was presumably an introduction, and probably also provided the accompaniment. There is no indication of instrumentation, but we do know that the performers were 'above' (probably concealed), and this would have contributed to the effect of strangeness. A stage direction states that the song is "to a horrid tune" (216.1), which makes examination of the surviving setting particularly interesting, in order to see how this requirement was met in musical terms. The key chosen for the setting would have helped make it 'horrid' in seventeenth-century terms: it is in G minor, which is apt for a musical foreshadowing of Heildebrand's impending death. Another emblem of death was the use of a stepwise descending bass line, and thus the descending bass here in bars 12-14 is probably intentional; significantly, it appears with the words "that in our hollow Hell did Bake, many'a thousand thousand years". There is an exact imitation of the bass line in the vocal part in bars 13-14, at a distance of a minim. The use of a bass voice would also have reinforced the ominous atmosphere. As for the tune or melody itself, there is nothing as extreme as the description 'horrid' might lead one to expect. Perhaps the most notable feature is the use of a very extensive range (almost two octaves), with some large leaps (an eleventh in bars 29-30), and the use of the interval of a diminished fifth in the penultimate bar, on the words "he'l ravish her". Possibly ornamentation would have been used to help create the effect (indeed, see the melisma in bar 43).

This impressive setting is in declamatory style and is through-composed. The common time changes to triple at the beginning of the second stanza, but then common time returns. The conclusion of the two common-time and the triple-time sections is marked by the use of verbal

repetition. The contrasting triple-time section is much more tuneful and regular than the framing common-time sections. Great attention is given to effective musical representation of verbal quantities, and rhythmic variety results. The second common-time section introduces the use of semiquavers for the first time, which adds a feeling of urgency (as in bars 37-38). The third stanza is marked for repetition, which would have intensified the atmosphere and sense of impending doom.

As regards music associated with the benevolent supernatural, a conventional association of recorders has been observed (Manifold 1948:382); possibly this derived from the traditional association of the pipe with magic belief (Ellis 1974:115). While there are examples of this in Caroline plays, instrumentation is not restricted to recorders; for example, 'soft music' occurs too.

A related issue is that of the theatrical representation of the music of the spheres and the instrumentation employed for it. (39) There are several examples in Caroline plays where performed music is used to represent a concept from speculative music, that of celestial harmony. This has been almost completely overlooked. Although elsewhere heavenly music referred to in the dialogue was not actually performed (Sternfeld 1963:247), in these Caroline instances stage directions positively indicate that it was. As a supernatural phenomenon, it is associated especially with the appearance or presence of angels, but also of a supposed goddess, and to represent a soul ascending. There are no stage directions specifying 'music of the spheres', but there are references in the dialogue referring to the music of strings and of recorders as 'heavenly' (for example, **Landgartha** V and **I St Patrick for Ireland** V.iii), and likening it to the music of the spheres (for example, **The Queen's Exchange** III.i). Strings were the

more normal instrumentation. The recorder, because of its other associations, could broaden the atmosphere established, for instance in **The Cruel Brother** (a) V.i, where its link with religion is played on too. The symbolic potential of heavenly music is exploited; for example, the description of the 'soft music' in **I St Patrick for Ireland** V.iii as 'heavenly' relates to the symbolic harmony.

Let us now turn to the second broad category, the use of music to illustrate the magical powers of witches and magicians. Most often, they demonstrate their powers by summoning up music. In **The Fair Maid of the Inn** IV.i, Forobosco conjures up 'music', and then "Enter 4. Boyes shap't like Frogs, and dance" (625.2). He now succeeds in coercing the resistant Clown into joining them in the dance. (He has previously told the Clown that he will make him dance "a new dance calld leap-frog" [622], so presumably this is what is performed.) This has comic effect, and succeeds in convincing others of Forobosco's supposed powers. A similar demonstration of pretended magical powers occurs in **The Chances** V.iii. Magical music summons spirits or supposed spirits in **The Fool Would be a Favourite** IV. In **The Seven Champions of Christendom** III, the enchanter Ormandine provides a spectacular musical display, whereby he succeeds in seducing David. There is 'sweet music', followed by 'soft music', and then figures representing the temptations enter and dance. They next embrace David "to a lazy tune" (632.4) and carry him away. Sometimes the music merely accompanies the exercising of magical powers, and here it is perhaps more obviously atmospheric. For example, in **Pleasant Dialogues and Dramas, Apollo and Daphne,** "Sudden Musicke" accompanies the turning of Daphne into a laurel tree (334.1).

Finally, supernatural powers are sometimes shown by the effect they have on music. **The Late Lancashire**

Witches III contains a very effective episode exhibiting the disruptive powers of witchcraft in the context of wedding celebrations. The first indication of the witches' intervention is when the wedding bells peal in reverse order. This warned the parish of an emergency, and is thus ironic here, and functions as an omen of the troubles to beset their marriage. Next, although the fiddlers who accompany the wedding party are requested to play "The sack of Troy", the stage direction indicates that they instead play "the battle" (40) (a piece of music rather than the signal of the same name - see Appendix 1 concerning surviving music). Barber has claimed that the use of such music to indicate the occurrence of a battle onstage grew into a convention, which meant this type of music could be used, as here, to accompany any noisy and confused activity (ed. 1979:200). He has also observed that it foreshadows the later marital conflicts between Lawrence and Parnell; hence this is an example of music as a symbolic resource.

The fiddlers then enter again, playing the banquet to the table, and a spirit appears "over the doore" (1120). While the dancing is being planned, they play "Selengers Round", and then play it again as the dancing begins. However, they now "play another tune, then fall into many" (1386-87). The dancers protest, and call for the fiddlers to begin the tune again, but this time they play "Every one a severall tune" (1393). The choice of "Selengers Round" here is important dramatically, since the witches' interference with the music would be clearly evident to the audience with such a well-known tune. Its initial play-through would have impressed it on the audience's minds and achieved a more audible shock when it went wrong. The next intervention by the witches is preventing the fiddlers from being heard, although they play "as loud as we can possibly" (1427),

and the wedding party can see them trying to play. A strange piper is then called in and they dance a hornpipe, but this too is disrupted. This extended episode of witchery concludes with the piper vanishing after the dancing, thus showing that he too was part of the witchery, despite Whetstone's statement that "no Witchcraft can take hold of a Lancashire Bag-pipe, for it selfe is able to charme the Divell" (1443-45). In fact, it has been shown that, contrary to Whetstone's claim, the bagpipe was used "as the instrument par excellence for infernal music" (Ross 1966:122). **The Late Lancashire Witches** was based on a sensational and topical true story; in view of the belief in witchcraft at the time, it is interesting that it is treated here in a light and amusing manner. Possibly beliefs about the supernatural and music's role in it were still so strong that playwrights tended to avoid a more serious treatment because of its potentially disturbing effect.

Death, mourning and sadness

Music was used to emphasize the doleful atmosphere in scenes of preparation for death, to accompany death itself, and to heighten sombre entries and exits with dead bodies. There are several examples of songs before death; for instance, Eulinus' soliloquy song in **Fuimus Troes** V.iii and Athenais' "sad song ... to a sad tune" in **The Emperor of the East** (V.iii.0.1,15). Notably, both songs appear at the beginning of scenes, which is significant in view of their role in establishing atmosphere for what follows. (41)

The song "Com heavy Soules, Oppressed with the weight" from **The Floating Island** V.vii is described as a prelude to death but is followed by a reversal, and there is a linked setting of it by Henry Lawes (ed. Appendix 2, No. 25). Its character is most unusual for the banquet context in which it appears, and this

relates to the nature of the banquet itself: at it, Despair has provided the means for the guests to dispatch themselves, and he calls for a hymn before their death. The song is performed by an attendant, and encourages the courtiers to meet their death, calling on them to "Drink healthes from poysoned Bowles" (a sinister and ironic reversal of the concept of drinking a health). After the song, the characters are snatched from the jaws of death, and it thus appears at the turning-point of the action, and has suspensive as well as atmospheric qualities.

The setting projects effectively the gloomy and oppressive mood. Appropriately for the melancholy occasion, it is for a bass voice. The declamatory setting is in C minor. The diminished fourth in bar 2 helps to establish the 'heavy' mood. The setting is notable for its free declamation, which is reflected in the uneven rhythms of the vocal line. An example of the flexible treatment of verbal rhythms and stresses is the subtle setting of "Coole death's a Salve". Henry Lawes makes use of 'sighing' rests, for instance, in bars 26-29. These also contain a build-up, reaching the highest note in the vocal part, and then an effective setting of the word "Groane" with a descending semitone. Lawes' free treatment of dissonance is evident in bar 28, and there is further use of dissonant clashes between voice and bass line on the next appearance of "groane" in bar 30.

The Broken Heart contains two songs which actually accompany deaths. The first, from 'within' (IV.iii), helps prepare the audience emotionally for Penthea's death. It is subsequently revealed that she called for this "funeral song" on her deathbed (IV.iv.7), and died during "this deathful air" (IV.iii.155). It is accompanied by "Soft sad music" (IV.iii.141.1), played by a lute. The second song occurs near the end of

Calantha's death scene (which is also the climax of the play [V.iii]), and heightens the pathos considerably. She calls for "the song I fitted for my end" (79-80), and dies during it, from a broken heart. In contrast with Penthea's song, it is performed by male voices, solo and in chorus.

Instrumental music is used in similar ways. On some occasions it sets the mood for death scenes. In **The Fatal Contract**, "Sad solemn musick" (III.ii.78) accompanies the arrival of a procession preparatory to the execution of Aphelia. Two nuns then sing a dirge for her. This establishes a grave atmosphere, preparing for a reversal. (See too **Love in its Ecstasy** V.ii.) The instrumentation is not indicated, but it is likely to have been recorders, since their conventional association with funerals and hearses extended to a more general association with death and mourning (see Appendix 3). (42) Their mournful tone made them an appropriate instrument for establishing this type of atmosphere. This association was specific to the stage.

Recorders play "Sadly" during the death of the dishonoured Corsa in **The Cruel Brother** ([a] V.i.149). Instrumental music heightens the solemn atmosphere in exits with dead bodies; sometimes recorders are specified (**Revenge for Honour** V.ii), and the keynote of sadness is again stressed (**The Unnatural Combat** II.i). In **Love's Sacrifice** V, "A sad sound of soft musicke" (373) accompanies the discovery of a tomb and a dumb-show of ceremonial mourning.

An atmosphere of mourning and sorrow over somebody's death is established and reinforced not only through the abstract medium of instrumental music, but also through songs of mourning, as in **The Cyprian Conqueror** III.ii. Music was also used in broader contexts of mourning and sadness, where again 'sad' music (**Love's Mistress** I.i) and the use of recorders (**The Queen and Concubine**

V.viii) predominate. This music also fulfils a characterizing role, since it reflects state of mind.

Music as a background to speech

It is often natural that scene-setting music continues during the dialogue. Sometimes the speech is unrelated to the music, but on other occasions it contains comment on the music (for example, in **The Chances** IV.iii). Although the primary role of such music is one of scene-setting, it does also help create atmosphere. In some cases it is hard or even impossible to identify which is the more important function of the music. For example, in Cartwright's **The Siege** II.vi, 'soft music' (which has "sad Accents" [ibid..901]) presages the arrival of the virgins to conduct Leucasia to be 'sacrificed', continues during her speech, and then accompanies her departure; it could be described as scene-setting in that it is music to accompany a ritual procession, but it is evidently also very important in reflecting the melancholy mood and eliciting the audience's sympathy for her. On other occasions, however, it is obvious that the music is primarily atmospheric. It can reflect the thoughts and emotions of speakers, or the general atmosphere of the scene. The fact that music was used in this way has been little commented on.

Atmospheric music accompanies speech in scenes of reconciliation, love, cure, death and the supernatural. Harmonious music playing in the background during scenes of reunion and reconciliation underlines and indeed symbolizes the achievement of harmony (the 'soft music' near the end of **The Just Italian** V.i and in **The Northern Lass** V.ii). The use of music for serenades and seduction extends to a convention whereby it provides atmosphere in love scenes. This more abstract use of music is evident in **Messalina**, where it is directed that "solemne

Musicke playes during his [Montanus'] speech" (III.i.230.3-30.5). (This is unique, as it is generally only implied that music continues during dialogue, though occasionally this is revealed by a direction after some dialogue that music ceases.) Although this music functions within the dramatic illusion as music for seduction, it is particularly important in reflecting Montanus' mood. (See also **Messalina** V.i and **Microcosmus** III.) The conventions whereby music is associated with scenes of love and lust and with sleep are played on ironically in **The Fatal Contract** V.ii, where "the waits play softly" (0.1) while the sleeping lovers are discovered, and the music continues during the Eunuch's denunciation, providing a jarring contrast to what he says. A soft dynamic level is obviously important in order that the speech be heard. The music stops when the Queen and Landrey wake.

Music in scenes of cure also often functions on an atmospheric level, and again the moment when it is directed that the music ceases is often significant. The recorders stop at the waking and recovery of the entranced Alinda in **The Queen and Concubine** V.ix. Finally, there are several examples of music providing a background to speech in scenes of the supernatural. In an episode involving the quasi-supernatural in **The Wizard** IV.i, music (likened to that of the spheres) plays throughout Antonio's conjurations to raise supposed spirits and during their presence.

3.4 Technically supportive music

By technically supportive music is meant music which was directly related to the practicalities of staging. It helped sustain the illusion by masking the intrusion of practical theatrical matters, and it assisted the smooth performance of plays. It was used to achieve ends which in later periods were attained or aided by the use of devices more commonly described as technical (such as lighting and curtains). It also helped with technical problems which were later relieved, for example by the adoption of more sophisticated stage machinery. Knowledge of the technical resources and limitations of Caroline playhouses is important when looking for evidence of technically supportive music. Such evidence is relatively rare, and speculation is involved. However, the occurrence of music in the very situations where we know that practical problems of staging did exist makes it a strong likelihood that this music was intended as a solution to them, although it fulfilled other functions simultaneously, and it is not possible to say which, if any, was intended as the primary function. Indeed, the boundaries of technically supportive music are not easily defined. For instance, it could be contended that scene-setting and atmospheric music are to some extent technically supportive. (A specific example is music which concentrates the audience's attention on the entry and exit of characters.) Here, however, I concentrate on two other categories.

Music covering setting of props, discovery of scenes and noise of stage machinery

The first of these categories consists of music used to assist with mechanical problems of staging which resulted from the technical limitations of Caroline

theatres. In addition to its technical role, such music was assimilated into the dramatic illusion and utilized for dramatic effect, and fulfilled important atmospheric and characterizing functions.

This category may be subdivided into three types of usage. The first subdivision embraces music to cover the setting of props onstage in view of the audience, as indicated by this stage direction from **The Wedding**: "Music. A table set forth with two tapers" (IV.iv.0.1). It was apparently common for even the largest of props to be carried onstage rather than discovered (see Gurr 1980:172), and music could distract the audience from this. Here it also creates a funereal atmosphere.

Music which accompanied the discovery of scenes is the second type of usage which I have defined as technically supportive, since it could have covered any noise there may have been from stage machinery, and filled the time during which the scene was revealed. There are only a few examples in the plays, partly because of the rarity with which scenery was used. Let us first consider the élite and popular theatres. It is now generally agreed that perspective scenery was not utilized in them during this period, even for those plays performed with scenery at court and then transferred to an élite playhouse (see Richards 1968, King 1975, Gurr 1980:162,185). The stages were basically bare and neutral, and settings were unlocalized. However, there are stage directions in **Microcosmus** which suggest that, unusually, there may have been some use of scenery, albeit limited, in its performance at the Salisbury Court theatre, although on the other hand they may reflect the author's intentions when writing with another stage in mind. (43) If indeed some scenery was used, it is significant for our argument that the play-text also directs music to accompany the discovery of three of the scenes. This music obviously also had an

important atmospheric and scene-setting role.

As for court and amateur performances, it is known that some of them definitely did use scenery, (44) and there is an example where we also know the mechanism by which the scenes were revealed: shutters drawn in grooves. They must have been large since they closed off a rear and an upper stage; they were used in the performance of **Florimene.** (45) Unfortunately, the hypothesis that music was used to accompany the discovery of scenes and mask the noise made by the shutters is not substantiated by evidence from the text of **Florimene**, mainly as a consequence of the nature of that text: only the 'Argument' and a description of the scenes and intermedia survive. However, the speculation may be strengthened by the known use of music to cover the noise of scene changes in masques. (For example, there are two 'Symphonies of Musicke' with scene changes in **A Presentation For the Prince**; see too Freehafer 1973:105 and Sabol ed. 1978:20.) The use of scenery in a play performed under academic auspices, **The Converted Robber**, could be suggested by a stage direction reading "The Sceane is opend" (I.i.97). If so, this is an example of music accompanying the discovery of a scene, as 'soft music' plays and two boys sing while the scene is revealed.

In all these examples, caution is necessary in claiming a technical role for the music, firstly because we do not know whether or not stage machinery was indeed noisy, and secondly because the usages of music can all be explained as underlining a spectacular effect. The same caveats apply to the third (and related) technical use of music: its employment to cover the noise of the stage machinery used for special effects such as descents. Again, it is hypothetical that music was intended to perform this technical function; what we do know is that music accompanied descents (there are five

stage directions in Caroline plays indicating this), that at least some of these descents were achieved by means of a throne, (46) and that in 1598 at least, such thrones could be noisy. This is shown by Jonson's reference in **Every Man in His Humour** (1598) to the "creaking throne" which comes down (Prologue.16). The music certainly has an atmospheric role in all my examples, and the spectacular nature of these five descents, all of deities and angels, would have dictated music as part of the spectacle; indeed, the music would have helped focus the audience's attention on the special effect. However, there may have been a technical and eminently practical reason for the music too: to distract the audience from any noise made by the stage machinery used (for example, pulleys, or perhaps movable staircases).

Once more, the hypothesis may be strengthened by comparison with masques, in which music was also utilized with descents (for example, Mercury descends with 'loud music' near the beginning of **Coelum Britannicum**). Moreover, there is evidence relating to a pre-Caroline masque which seems to make it explicit that the music covers the noise of machinery. Jonson's account of the production of **The Mask of Queens** (1609) contains the observation that "Here the throne ... sodaynely chang'd, and in the place of it appeared Fama bona ... She, after the musique had done, which wayted on the turning of the machine, call'd from thence to Vertue ..." (Cunningham ed. 1842:88). Again, however, the music could be because the turning was momentous, not because it was noisy.

The music might not totally disguise any noise there may have been, since in four out of my five examples the music is not by nature especially loud ('soft music' in **The Rebellion** III.i, a song in **Microcosmus** II, 'soft music' and a song in **The Cyprian Conqueror** V.ii and

recorders in **Love's Mistress** III.i). The instruments specified are appropriate to the figures involved and to the dramatic context, and presumably the music itself was suitably solemn.

Music indicating passage of dramatic time

The second category of technically supportive music is somewhat different in nature. It still deals with a practical problem of staging, but one which is less a mechanical problem concerned with physical matters than a dramatic one. This is music whose function is to indicate the passage of time, when some indication of a lapse of time is necessary for dramatic realism. An example occurs in **Plutopthalmia Plutogamia**, where music represents time passing between the exit of Chremylus and Carion at the end of one scene and their re-entry at the beginning of the next (I.i-I.ii). As we shall see, inter-act as well as inter-scene music was put to this use, although it seems likely that (particularly when it occurred between scenes) such music was fairly brief in duration.

3.5 Music to amuse

The intrinsic appeal of music is an important factor underlying its inclusion in plays. This can, however, be taken to an extreme, with the introduction of music which has no purpose but to amuse, and is included purely as something to be appreciated for its own sake. It performs no dramatic or technical role. Although it is justified by the dramatic action, the pretext can be purely cursory or even illogical. Displays of music which has been introduced solely for its entertainment value can be obtrusive and create a hiatus in the drama; they are literally non-dramatic.

In the past, much of the music in Caroline plays has been dismissed as extraneous, that is to say, merely to amuse. For example, Cowling (1913:93,97) and Wright (1927) hold most songs to be extraneous entertainment and little more. Cowling takes a particularly extreme stance on instrumental music, stating that "drama should be stark enough to stand alone, without the help of musical stimulants" (1913:73). The generalization that music was mostly extraneous has been contradicted (for instance, by Reed [ed. 1925]), although sometimes this has been taken to an extreme. Bowden, for example, attributes dramatic importance to virtually all the play-songs of the Jacobean and Caroline period (1951).

Much music has previously been mistakenly dismissed as extraneous because of different ideas as to what constitutes a dramatic role for music. A proper appreciation of the musical conventions and theatre of the period is vital in any attempt to identify music which has no purpose but to amuse, and this has been lacking in the past.

Judgement has often been made on the basis of dismissing any music not integral to the plot as extraneous, and Cowling classes as extraneous what I

define as emotionally supportive music. The argument that music which is necessary to the drama if not to the plot performs a dramatic role leads us to classify as potentially dramatic any music which creates dramatic effects such as irony, contrast or suspense, and which prepares for a reversal. Music used for comic ends in particular has been classed as extraneous, and the potential dramatic importance of such effects has been undervalued. For instance, Wright's examples of extraneous Caroline songs are all comic songs, but as Bowden pointed out (1951:83), the matter of public demand for comedy should not be allowed to cloud the fact that such songs are functional in producing a comic effect, and it should be remembered that comedy is the end and song only the means. Music was also used to provide relief from the spoken dialogue, and moments of repose, like episodes of comic relief, can be important to the drama. Although they may halt the action, they can also provide a necessary pause. On these grounds alone, it can be argued that much music which might otherwise be dismissed as extraneous is not.

Even after a definition of music intended purely to amuse has been established, difficulties remain. Much is dependent on dramatic analysis and interpretation, especially in the case of the dramatic effects described above. It is often difficult to distinguish between music which creates a dramatic effect or which only amuses, and one cannot be certain of the dramatist's intentions. Even introductory formulae in the dialogue which might seem to signal music merely to amuse are not always a sure guide. Some dramatic explanation can be found for most music, but this can be taken too far.

It is my contention that there are some occasions when it is patently obvious that music has no purpose but to amuse, but this is relatively rare, and certainly much less common than has previously been claimed. Much

more often, it is a matter of degree, and music can be described as relatively or quite extraneous, rather than positively so. In my examples I shall present some of the arguments involved in establishing the most appropriate classification of music's role. (47)

The existence of conventions whereby music was associated with particular dramatic contexts meant that these conventions were sometimes exploited for the introduction of music which was not absolutely vital to the drama. Amusing music is often ostensibly to entertain characters in the play, but actually to entertain the audience, with this pretext being used as an opportunity for display of song, instrumental music and dance. Some embedded masques contain examples of music to amuse (for instance, in **The Converted Robber**), as do some entertainments and shows; for instance, the dance of moors laid on to entertain Roxane, the supposed Amazon, in **The Amorous War** III.ii. The moors dance "after the ancient AEthiopian manner" (78.1-78.2), the dance representing them adoring their gods before they go to battle, and their lavish and fantastic costumes are described in great detail. The occasion is used as a pretext for the presentation of this exotic antic-type dance, although the dance is justified as suitable for Roxane by virtue of both it and her being warlike, and it is also appropriate to the overall military bias of the play.

Music is also performed only for its own sake in rural entertainments; for example, the two songs in **Calisto** I.i. The second is introduced by the stage direction "A songe Iff you will" (320.1-20.2), which in itself suggests extraneity. (See also the music and dance which follow the rural song in **The Queen and Concubine** I.iv.) Shepherds' revels in **Love's Changelings' Change** II.i appear as an entertainment for royalty, and comprise a song which is danced to. (48) I

would argue that this is relatively extraneous, although, given the fact that one of the singers is a prince disguised as a shepherd, it could be seen as helping with his disguise. The song is a pastoral dialogue, and its appearance in this play, which Schoenbaum dates at 1635, is interesting, given the fashion at court for pastoral dialogues, especially during the 1630s. (49) **Microcosmus** II contains an example of a dance which is introduced as one to entertain but should not be described as extraneous. During the dance, which is of emblematic and antic type, the complexions "expresse themselves in their differences" (222.1-22.2). The good and bad genii, Bonus Genius and Malus Genius, are, symbolically, "alwaies opposite in the figure" (222.2-22.3). The temptation of Physander by Malus Genius takes place during the dance, and this is action important to the plot, since he is afterwards enticed away.

The music which was used to accompany banquets and entertain the guests there functions as scene-setting music, but sometimes seems to be there merely to amuse; for example, in **The Launching of the Mary** I.i. Some of the music introduced as entertainment for the drinkers in tavern scenes can be seen as extraneous, although it is particularly hard to make such distinctions in this context, since it can always be argued that the music is for scene-setting (as in **Tottenham Court** III.ii). Such scenes are often exploited for purposes of comedy, which frequently centres on a dance, which may at first appear extraneous but is then used as a basis for humour (for example, in **The Lady Mother** II; and see **The Fine Companion** IV.i). **The Variety** IV.i features an episode which is set in a tavern and punctuated with songs. The quantity of music is significant to the argument here: there is a total of seven songs, which is excessive. Perhaps one or even two of them could be justified as

helping with scene-setting and supplying comedy, but they are certainly not all necessary for this purpose, and hence one concludes that most of them were included purely to amuse. Although some (particularly the final one) are better worked in than others, the overall effect is rather like a song recital linked by dialogue, with the songs only loosely justified.

Recreation and amusement of characters, and filling the time for them, are also occasionally used as justification for introducing music intended to amuse the audience. For instance, in **Eumorphus sive Cupido Adultus** II.i Charissa calls for lyres ("citharas" [42]) to "beguile the time with alluring music" (46). This music can, however, be claimed to possess some dramatic effect, since it emphasizes the lack of allure of the braggart soldier suitor who arrives subsequently. (See too the song in **The Duke's Mistress** I and the dance in **The Sparagus Garden** III.vi.) Another example occurs in **The New Academy** III.ii, where the dancing is supposedly to stir the appetite. The setting is a supposed academy for the teaching of music, dancing, fashion and compliment after the French manner, run by Strigood, a fraud. In III.ii, he is not put out when two supposed Frenchmen arrive, and allows them to choose the dances from a selection he names. The ensuing dances presumably include several of these, most of which have French (or pseudo-French) names (such as "Le Marquesse" and "La Miniard"). This evidently represents a pretext for the display of fashionable dances. The dancing lesson in **The Ball** II.ii is exploited for the introduction of several dances, but these are better worked in, and the scene also provides comedy, primarily through the figure of Le Friske, the French dancing master. Again a stress on the qualities of novelty and fashionableness in the dances displayed is noticeable, and there is emphasis on French dances.

Celebratory contexts are also sometimes exploited for extraneous music; for instance, the celebratory dances in **Argalus and Parthenia** III.i and **Love's Mistress** V.i. Celebratory music is, however, often important in establishing emotional tone. An unusual example is the dance of devils in **I St Patrick for Ireland** III.ii, which apparently celebrates a forthcoming rape. This dance (which is of antic type) emphasizes the wickedness of Corybreus' action, and also, more importantly, brings the act to a close and provides an opportunity for entertaining the spectators.

These are the most common occasions on which music to amuse is introduced, but there are examples in other contexts. Music used in courtship is sometimes extraneous. The scene in **The Variety** IV.i which has already been discussed is immediately preceded by an episode of wooing which also contains much singing. On the face of it, these songs appear to be merely a long string of ballad snatches, (50) but closer examination reveals that they are worked into the plot and help achieve a comic scene. The situation is that Simpleton is putting into practice his plan to woo Lucy using the same method by which Manly earlier won round her mother, namely dressing in the clothing of earlier times and singing ballads of those days. This episode thus parallels the one with Manly in Act III. It creates comedy, with the backfiring of his scheme. Manly jeers at Simpleton after the first of his six bursts of singing, and compares him to ballad figures: "Have we got Adam Bell, and Clim o'th'Clough?" (385-86). Simpleton now starts singing "Have you felt the wooll of Beaver?", thereby introducing a change of tone: this parodies the third stanza of Jonson's famous lyric "See the chariot at hand" (see Appendix 1). Simpleton follows the original very closely, but Manly, who sings every other line, supplies the parody, lowering the tone and

taking off Simpleton. Eventually it degenerates into Manly singing that Simpleton is "Such a knave", and Simpleton at last either realizes or acknowledges what Manly is doing, and sings in return "Such a knave is he". The comic effect of this song would be heightened in performance, particularly if, as seems likely, it was performed to Robert Johnson's original music, since the verbal parody (and especially these final sung lines) would be thrown into greater relief by contrast with this music. In response to being called a knave, Manly threatens to draw. What is effectively a duel of ballads is now about to turn into an actual duel. The result is that Lucy's mother transfers her favour from Manly to Simpleton, as Manly has punctured his image by the above performance. Simpleton now starts wooing the mother instead of Lucy, singing more ballad snatches. These are apt to the situation and provoke repartee and then the departure of the jealous Manly and the disgusted Lucy. Simpleton now exits singing a final ballad snatch, which is again relevant to the situation ("Back agen, back agen quoth the Pindar").

The Floating Island contains a song which Evans has dismissed as not having an integral relation to the story and not contributing to the interpretation of the character who sings it (1941:124). Indeed, the dialogue with which it is introduced leads one to expect that it might be extraneous: Hilario calls, "Boy, fill up the Time with noise" (II.iv.14). However, the song, "Hayle thou great Queene", is not in fact included merely to amuse. A coronation procession enters during it, with various of the passions bearing ensigns of state, and it thus fulfils a ceremonial role and helps create atmosphere, enhancing the dramatic situation. The solemnity of the procession is lightened by the fact that the humours bring various crowns, having previously argued over who will bear the crown; indeed, this is

symbolic of Phancy being queen of various humours. The lyric is relevant to the situation. There is some irony, for instance in the fact that the passions claim to be "steady and true", whereas they are not necessarily, just because she has given them licence to indulge in their humours. This is reflected in the linked setting (ed. Appendix 2, No. 26); for example, bars 3-4, in which the words "some loveinge harts some raginge Tumours" are set, contain wavering between B natural and B flat. (The interval of an augmented fifth between voice and bass on the words "harts" could be seen as ironic.)

My final example illustrates how sometimes, even though music achieves effects such as suspense or irony, its inclusion in the play is not sufficiently rationalized by theatrical convention or justified dramatically for it to be convincing, and despite the effect, the music has to be classed as music to amuse. The song "Come my Daphne, come away" comes from **The Cardinal** V.iii, and there is a linked setting (Jesson ed. 1964:26-28). The situation is that the Cardinal intends to wreak his revenge on the Duchess by raping then murdering her. Prior to this, he is supposedly dining with her offstage, and provides the song "Come my Daphne", which is performed 'within'. It is presumably intended as stimulative music, but is presented as curative music since she is mad. It is a pastoral dialogue, an amorous exchange between Strephon and Daphne, the former impatient for the latter to follow him. In other words, this pretext for its introduction is unconvincing and it is light, frivolous and completely incongruous in the dramatic context. It is, however, horribly ironic in effect, given the Cardinal's savage intentions. There are also ironies within the lyric, given the circumstances; for example, in the line "We'l laugh and leave the world behind", and in the fact

that the woman succumbs willingly to the man. The song can also be interpreted as providing the audience with some relief from the tragic events and creating some suspense, as the Cardinal's evil course is awaited, and as Hernando waits to discover whether the Duchess has given him away. On the other hand, it can be argued that it holds up the action, and I support this analysis. It is followed by the entry of the Cardinal and the Duchess, the Cardinal's attempt to seduce her, and the final dénouement and deaths.

It has been aptly observed that the "gaily amorous style" of William Lawes' setting would have sharpened for a contemporary audience the irony of the lyric (Forker ed. 1964:121). Although the dialogue form is inherently full of dramatic possibilities, these are not here exploited to any great extent; rather, a conversation is represented, but with no great dramatic interaction between characters. The two voices alternate with solos, then combine at the end in a brief duet ('Chorus') in note-against-note style. Overall, the solos are melodious rather than declamatory, Daphne's first entry being the most declamatory. However, from bar 17 on, the music becomes noticeably more regular and tuneful; in other words, there is some differentiation in style here, which hints at the recitative-air distinction. In their solos, the two voices are characterized and contrasted by register (a bass and a treble voice), pace and declamation (particularly in bars 1-5, with the sustained notes of Daphne's entry creating effective contrast), and occasionally key (Daphne's first solo ends in G minor, whereas Strephon's following entry begins in B flat major; and in bar 5, where one ends and the other begins, there is a false relation). Rests punctuate the solos until the transition to the more melodic section (bars 16-17), and sometimes they are also separated by long notes (bars 9

and 16). At the beginning of the song, as dictated by the lyric, the voices do not have equal numbers of lines, and this helps achieve a sense of movement, although this is not maintained in the subsequent regular alternation of pairs of lines. (51) The song is preceded by lute music, which possibly constitutes an introduction, and presumably the dialogue is accompanied by lute. Characteristically of William Lawes' vocal writing, the harmonies are diatonic.

Overall, this is an attractive setting, but when we return to its dramatic context, it is basically too incongruous for even the irony it achieves to justify its inclusion on dramatic grounds. I believe it was included for purposes of display, and suspect that the primary motivation behind its inclusion was an appeal to the audience by exploiting the popularity of the dialogue, something of which we have already seen one example. At the time of this play (1641), the dialogue had been popular for some years. Composition by William Lawes is also likely to be significant, since he was the most popular of the dialogue composers (Lefkowitz 1960:169). A related factor, given the popularity of the dialogue at court, is that this play was first produced at the Blackfriars, which was a playhouse attended by courtiers. I suggest that the placing of this song in the final act of the play may be significant, and will return to this later.

3.6 Music as structural articulation

In the Caroline theatre, music provided the framework within which a play was enacted. It was used to define the structure of plays in performance; in marking the beginning and end of a play and filling breaks between the acts, music articulated both the literary structure of a play and the theatrical performance itself.

3.6.1 Music before plays

Types, functions and position of music before plays

In the Praeludium which was specially written for the revival of **The Careless Shepherdess** (1619) at the Salisbury Court, probably in 1638, Spruce enquires, "How oft has't sounded?", and Bolt replies, "Thrice an't please you Sir" (Praeludium.36)."What meanes this flourish? have you a play in hand?" enquires Manly in **The Variety** (III.i.353-54). These and references in other Caroline plays (52) suggest that the earlier practice of three trumpet blasts or 'soundings' before the beginning of a play (53) continued during the Caroline period, right up to 1641 (the year from which **The Variety** dates). There is also evidence to suggest that Caroline plays continued the use of soundings to announce the Induction and the entry of the Prologue (as in the embedded plays in **The City Wit** [V.383.1] and **A Jovial Crew** [V.i.299.1]). (In earlier plays, it was normally the second sounding which introduced the Induction and the third, the Prologue.)

Soundings were normally performed on trumpets, but they could be replaced by cornetts, and in the example from **A Jovial Crew** the sounding is, most unusually, played on shawms:

> "A flourish of shalms.
> **Clack**. Hark! the beggars' hautboys. Now they begin.
> **Oldrents**. See, a most solemn Prologue.
> Enter Poet for Prologue" (V.i.299.1-301.1).

One possible explanation for this is that this embedded play is supposedly being performed by strolling players, and shawms were connected with outdoor musicians. In **Hierarchomachia** the sounding before the Prologue might have been intended for cornetts. Therulus concludes the Introduction by saying, "But now the music sounds, the prologue comes" (Introduction.299). The term 'music' excluded trumpets at this time, but could refer to cornetts and to a flourish on them. (54) Alternatively, 'music' could be used in a more general sense, or to mean musicians, which would suggest consort music. This seems to be the case with the "Musique" which introduces the Prologue to the embedded play in **The Bird in a Cage** (IV.ii.p.53.7-8). The last two examples provide evidence that something other than a sounding, and possibly more elaborate, perhaps consort music, could have preceded the Prologue. (55) There are also some other examples, although overall this evidence is much more limited and less firm than that for soundings. In the Praeludium to **The Careless Shepherdess**, "Loud Musique sounds" to signal the Prologue's entry (223.1-24); hautboys or cornetts, alone or possibly with trumpets, could have played here. The Landlord's subsequent comment stresses the music's role of summoning the audience and alerting them to the start of the play: "Now it chimes All in, to the Play" (ibid..224-25). In **Necromantes**, musical signals might have been used to help set the scene of a sea-fight before the Prologue. Finally, a song in the praise of Ceres precedes her delivery of the Prologue in **The Benefice** (a). However, this is an exceptional case, in that the Prologue appears at the very end of Act I, which itself acts as a sort of Induction to the play proper.

Music also occurred during the Induction and Prologue. (56) Unfortunately it is impossible to say how frequently this occurred; I suspect that, as in pre-Caroline times, it was occasional rather than usual. The only Caroline evidence for music within a Prologue is found in a

reference by Burney to the 1633 court revival of **The Faithful Shepherdess** (1608). He observed that the play had "a kind of prelude, or prologue, which was set to Music" (ed. 1957:II,300). As for the possibility of music in the Induction, there are two Caroline examples. The Induction of **The Bloody Banquet** is a dumb-show and, despite the lack of musical stage directions, it would have been accompanied by music, since this was traditional.

With the other example we are on firmer ground: not only does the play-text of **The Rival Friends** specify that the Induction (here called the Introduction) is sung, but moreover there is a linked setting ("Drowsie Phaebus come away") (Spink ed. 1977, No. 96). This is in fact the only extant example of music which appeared before a Caroline play. It consists of a sung dialogue between two trebles and a bass (Venus, Thetis and Phoebus), interspersed with speech by Phoebus. In the first part, which is entirely sung, Venus calls for day to come and for Phoebus to arise. Despite Thetis' objection, Phoebus complies with this request. He then breaks into speech as he sees the King and Queen, and the rest of the Introduction consists of compliment to them and Venus' command to Phoebus to entertain them. Most of this section consists of speech by Phoebus, the only singing being done by Venus, apart from a brief final Chorus as Phoebus exits. The sung and spoken portions of text are distinguished by the respective existence and lack of a rhyme scheme. They are set off from each other in performance by the repetition in the setting of the final line or lines of each sung section.

George Jeffreys' musical setting is a fine example of the declamatory style, and shows Italian influence. Aston has aptly observed that it displays "a real understanding of the principles of declamatory song tempered by a natural feeling for melodic lyricism" (1980:584). Effective details include the sudden move from notes of

varying lengths to regular quaver movement on the words "I must away" (bar 63), introducing a sense of urgency; the harmonic contrast which supports the opposing pleas for Phoebus to stay or to rise (bars 39-42); and the word painting on "flowing" (bar 52) and chromatic ascent on "the rising sun" (bars 68-69 and 71-73). Contrast in register is successfully exploited, with the two antagonists being represented by the treble voices, and Phoebus, the object of their disagreement, by the bass voice. His first entry (bar 45) is particularly striking by virtue of register. Variety is achieved by the alternation of solo voices, and then of a sung and a spoken voice; the conclusion is emphasized by the introduction of a five-part chorus, which sings the final two lines spoken by Phoebus. The second of these is repeated in the setting, and the brief Chorus (which contains both note-against-note and imitative writing) is itself marked for repetition, which again stresses that this is the conclusion. Overall, the Introduction can be described as operatic, and it is unique in nature amongst all surviving music associated with Caroline plays. It should be stressed that the play is outside the tradition of the professional theatre, as it was performed before the King and Queen at Queens' College, Cambridge; this may explain the elaborate nature of the Introduction.

Let us now move on to consider the function of the music which occurs in some play-texts between the Prologue and the start of Act I. Here the evidence is particularly ambiguous, and especial reliance on possible parallels in pre-Caroline plays is necessary. I suggest this music falls into three categories: music which concludes the Prologue, music 'for the Act', and music for the entrance of characters. However, not all types of music necessarily took place, and there is overlap between the second and third, and often ambiguity as to whether music is intended to fulfil one or both functions.

There are no Caroline examples of music concluding

the Prologue, but I believe that it existed in earlier times (commentators seem to have overlooked it or misinterpreted its function). This raises the possibility that it might still have been used during the Caroline period. **The Two Noble Kinsmen** (1613) has a flourish which marks the end of the Prologue and possibly the exit of the speaker of the Prologue. That this is not music for entrance is evident from the fact that separate music accompanies the subsequent entry. Manifold seems to suggest that both this flourish and that at the start of the Prologue together represent the third sounding (1956:12). I disagree, and think this one fulfils a separate function. Another example is the march on cornetts after the Prologue in **The Wonder of Women, or Sophonisba** (1605).

Turning to music 'for the Act', the term is taken from the stage direction which opens **What You Will** (1601):

> "Before the Musicke sounds for the Acte: Enter Atticus, Doricus, and Phylomuse, they sit a good while on the Stage before the Can-dles are lighted, talking together" (Induction.0.1-0.3).

Comparing this direction with "Whil'st the Musicke for the first Act soundes" (**The Wonder of Women, or Sophonisba** II.i.0.1) and "the cornets sounding for the Acte" (**Antonio's Revenge** [1600] III.i.0.1) suggests to me that music 'for the Act' had a similar function to inter-act music, though in this case preludial, and a function distinct from that of entry music. (57) Unfortunately the **What You Will** direction is the only one where the term 'for the Act' is applied to preliminary music. Moreover, it does not identify the location of the music in the sequence of events: whether before or during the Induction, or before or after the Prologue. However, I suggest it was most likely performed after the Prologue, immediately before the play proper began, and the phrase 'for the Act' supports this.

Although there are no Caroline examples of music specified as being 'for the Act', there are two examples

of music which I think fulfils this function, and both of these occur after the Prologue. In **Filli di Sciro** Night delivers the Prologue, and near the end of it says that now the night is done and lights should be put out "whilst Sweet pleasing Musick fills the courteous ears, Of all these beautifull Spectators here" (Prologue.222-24). I think this is music 'for the Act'. It entertains the spectators and lets the audience know that the play is about to begin. While **Filli di Sciro** is a 'closet' play, actual practice may well be reflected, as in the second example, which is from an embedded play in **Leo Armenus**. "Musica" separates the Prologue from the start of the dialogue ([a] III.ii.7.1), and I believe this too could represent music 'for the Act', perhaps performed by a consort.

In addition, there are three occasions in Caroline plays when music accompanies a dumb-show at the beginning of the play, and this could be seen as music 'for the Act', or a special case of it. In **Florimene** the dumb-show precedes the start of the play, and in **Necromantes** and **The Distracted State** it appears at the opening of Act I. (Here there arises the difficulty of distinguishing between music before and music at the start of the play.) If these three examples are seen as representing music 'for the Act', they reflect a broader role for this music, as instead of being independent music, performed for the entertainment of the audience, this music fulfils a more dramatic role. In all three cases it is linked with the action and helps to establish atmosphere and set the scene.

The final category of music occuring between the Prologue and Act I is music for the entrance of characters at the beginning of this act. The flourish which marks the first entry of actors in embedded plays in **The Antipodes** (II.v.37) and **A Jovial Crew** (V.i.312.1) presumably reflects theatrical practice. That the use of music to accompany the first entrance of characters was

seen as a function in its own right is made explicit in the pre-Caroline play **Antonio and Mellida** (1599), where Galeatzo says, "Come sirs, come! the music will sound straight for entrance" (Induction.1). (Presumably the music referred to is that directed with Antonio's entry at the beginning of Act I.) However, although this and the **What You Will** reference indicate two distinct functions, the same music could on occasion have fulfilled both roles.

So music heralded in and punctuated the various items which might come before the plays proper. It announced that the play was due to begin (allowing the audience time to enter and take their seats), announced the Induction and Prologue, entertained the audience before the play began, and signalled the start of the play proper and the entrance of the characters. It could also establish atmosphere. The sequence of events proposed below represents what the 'running order' for music before the play might have been at its fullest; sometimes there may have been alterations to the order. It is based on evidence concerning Caroline plays, supplemented by evidence from pre-Caroline plays (shown in square brackets), which illustrates what may still have been the case during the Caroline period. (58)

1st sounding
2nd sounding [or 'music']
   Induction (could involve music)
3rd sounding or music
   Prologue (could involve music)
[Music to conclude Prologue]
Music 'for the Act' (N.B.: Location of this uncertain)
Music for entrance of characters
   I.i

Practices in plays performed under different auspices

When trying to establish Caroline practices in different auspices, it is helpful to review pre-Caroline evidence, as it does seem that in general the use of music before plays was similar to that in Elizabethan and Jacobean times. The received view is that mere trumpet

soundings were usual in popular theatres, whereas in élite theatres a concert of music took place. (59) The existence of soundings in élite-theatre plays has largely been overlooked, though Chambers does suggest that "probably the trumpets were here replaced by more elaborate music" (1923:II,542). I suggest that where soundings are directed (in plays such as **Cynthia's Revels** [1601], they were performed on cornetts. There probably was more elaborate music before élite-theatre plays, but fulfilling functions other than replacing the soundings.

There are some examples of popular-theatre plays containing 'music' rather than soundings before the play, such as **The Scottish History of James IV** (1590), in which music introduces the Induction and possibly occurs within it too, and **Hamlet** (1601), in which hautboys accompany the dumb-show before the Prologue (though here in an embedded play). None of my pre-Caroline examples of music to conclude the Prologue, 'for the Act' and for the entrance of characters is from a popular-theatre play. Although this could suggest that the music before plays in popular theatres was put to less sophisticated and less extensive use than elsewhere, the haphazard survival of evidence must again be borne in mind.

It is difficult to establish Caroline practice in plays performed under particular auspices, partly because the amount of evidence is very limited. In addition, most of the evidence from the texts of élite-theatre plays comes from embedded plays or textual references, and is hence, in a discussion of auspices, of limited value compared with evidence relating to the play itself. However, it is still of interest, since it presumably reflects those practices which persisted in professional theatres, whether élite or popular, during Caroline times. Overall, it is likely that the earlier practices concerning music before plays in popular and élite theatres continued during the Caroline period, but that they also developed, in quantity, sophistication and function, particularly at the élite theatres. Although

the latter may have used soundings performed on trumpets (which were now heard in the indoor theatres), these were probably frequently replaced by consort music (as in **The Bird in a Cage**). In particular, I believe music 'for the Act' may have developed. These observations are supported by the rest of the evidence from Caroline plays.

Turning to plays performed elsewhere than in the public theatres, I think it is significant that the three plays which effectively have a musical prelude (**The Rival Friends** and **Florimene** with their sung Introductions, and the revived **Faithful Shepherdess** with its Prologue set to music) were performed before the court. Courtly performances were more elaborate, tended to involve more music, and experimentation and variation from the norm were more likely. **The Benefice**, with its song before the Prologue, was probably an academic play, and **Leo Armenus**, with its possible music 'for the Act', was performed at St Omers school.

The extent of the practice

Although we do not know how common music before plays was, audiences' evident familiarity with soundings and other conventions discussed here suggests that the small amount of extant evidence gives a glimpse of a much broader practice. This familiarity is clear from the figures of speech and passing references I have cited from play-texts: they rely on audiences' knowledge. It seems that playwrights did not usually mention such music unless it was an important part of the Induction or Prologue, or unless it related to or was worked into the action of their plays; where it was independent of the play, it would not be specified, and current theatrical practice and conventions in particular theatres would determine what took place. I believe it is significant that many of the examples come from embedded plays. Here the playwright was concerned to create verisimilitude but could not depend on theatrical convention to supply the

necessary musical cues, so had to notate them himself. He would indicate the music which he thought necessary to make the embedded play dramatically convincing; often only an abbreviated representation of normal practice.

Preliminary music probably increased in importance and quantity during the Caroline period. There are arguments in favour of this which add to the evidence in the play-texts. Firstly, professional musicians were employed in Caroline theatres, and it seems likely that they were used for more than the musical cues within the plays, and that they also provided music before the plays and between the acts. Secondly, both popular and élite theatres had special music rooms by now, and it has been suggested that these came about because of the adoption of the practice of inter-act music. I think this explanation can be extended to include their use for the provision of music before the play.

These two factors suggest the provision of more elaborate and perhaps more substantial preliminary music, and a type of overture or music 'for the Act' would have represented a good opportunity for this. Here it is relevant to consider evidence dating from earlier and later periods. We have seen how music 'for the Act', meaning preliminary music, is referred to in a play dating from 1601. The Restoration overture can be seen as equivalent. This would suggest that there was a continuing tradition, and that music 'for the Act' also existed during the Caroline period, despite the fact that I have found so few examples of it. Indeed, I would speculate that music 'for the Act' began to be established as a convention, whatever other elements came before the play. The regularized use of an overture from the beginning of the Restoration suggests that this may already have become fairly standardized in Caroline times.

Concerts before plays

There remains the question of whether there may have been a sort of concert before some Caroline plays, distinct from music 'for the Act'. There is no allusion to this in Caroline play-texts, but there is evidence in Gerschow's journal of its occurrence in the élite Blackfriars theatre in 1602:

> "For a whole hour before the play begins, one listens to charming instrumental music played on organs, lutes, pandorins, mandolins, violins, and flutes; as, indeed, on this occasion, a boy sang cum voce tremula to the accompaniment of a bass viol, so delightfully that, if the Nuns at Milan did not excel him, we had not heard his equal in our travels"
> (quoted in Lefkowitz 1960:190).

There are four other pieces of evidence which may refer to the custom of music before performances, though it is unclear whether to a concert of the above type or to music 'for the Act'. The first two are again both pre-Caroline in date. They are a much disputed passage in the Induction to **The Malcontent** (1604) and a note by William Percy; both may also refer to inter-act music, and the latter is discussed in the next section. The **Malcontent** reference probably means that there was a custom of music before plays in the Blackfriars theatre but not in the popular Globe theatre. (60) The other two pieces of evidence date from Caroline times. One is a reference in Francis Quarles' **Divine Fancies** (1632):

> "Our Life's a Tragedy: Those secret Roomes
> Wherein we tyre us, are our Mothers Wombes;
> The Musicke ush'ring in the Play, is Mirth
> To see a Manchild brought upon the Earth" (ibid.:4).

It must be stressed that this is only an allusion.

The final piece of evidence again refers to an élite theatre. It comprises a description by Bulstrode Whitelocke in 1634 of how the musicians of the Blackfriars played a composition by him whenever he visited that theatre:

> "I was so conversant with the musitians, and so willing to gaine their favour, especially at this time, that I composed an Aier myself, with the assistance of Mr. Ives, and called it Whitelocke's Coranto; which being cried up, was first played

> publiquely, by the Blackefryar's Musicke, who were then esteemed the best of common musitians in London. Whenever I came to that house (as I did sometimes in those dayes), though not often, to see a play, the musitians would presently play Whitelocke's Coranto, and it was so often called for, that they would have it played twice or thrice in an afternoon"
> (quoted in Burney ed. 1957:II,290).

As Smith observes, their playing of this composition "perhaps suggests that the concert before the play, inaugurated by the [Chapel-Revels] Children, was being continued thirty years later by the King's Men" (1964:237). I would add the suggestions that "Whitelocke's Coranto" could also have comprised part of the music 'for the Act', and that the reference "twice or thrice" suggests it was also played between the acts.

Dent claims that before the Civil War, "the play was habitually preceded by a concert" (1928:7). He does not cite his evidence for this statement, and it is unclear whether he might have taken Gerschow's isolated report as evidence of a general practice, or whether he was thinking of other evidence. I have come across no evidence for a 'habitual' concert before plays, or indeed anything other than Gerschow's account which positively suggests a concert as distinct from music 'for the Act'. All the rest of my evidence may refer to either. Another (less likely) possibility is that Dent meant the music 'for the Act', in which case I would feel more inclined to agree with his statement.

Quarles' and Whitelocke's references leave open the possibility of concerts before plays, and suggest that the practice evidenced by Gerschow's report may certainly have continued during the Caroline period, though perhaps now in popular as well as élite theatres. The arguments presented earlier concerning the professional musicians and music rooms in Caroline theatres could suggest the provision of a type of concert before plays as well as of music 'for the Act'. Also, a concert would provide more extended entertainment for the audience before the play began. In those days, before the rise of the public

concert, music performed by professionals would have provided a great attraction, and presumably helped to draw audiences.

3.6.2 Music between the acts

Inter-act music was apparently common during Caroline times. Some of the evidence occurs independently of play-texts. For example, **Masquerade du Ciel** is a closet 'Mask' of 1640, and its text describes a scene "which in a Plebeian Comedy, might well have made an Interlude, and have spared Musick between the Acts" (501-2). **The Actors Remonstrance** talks of "Puppit-plays, which are not so much valuable as the very musique betweene each Act at ours" (1643:5), and Quarles, in his passage in **Divine Fancies** on how "Our Life's a Tragedy", says that "False hopes, true feares, vaine joyes, and fierce distracts Are like the Musicke that divides the Acts" (1632:5). Finally, Prynne says in **Histrio-mastix** that

> "By our owne moderne experience, there being nothing more frequent, in all our Stage-playes (as all our Play-haunters can abundantly testifie;) then amorous Pastorals, or obscene lascivious Love-songs, most melodiously chanted out upon the Stage betweene each several Action; both to supply that Chasme or vacant Interim which the Tyring-house takes up, in changing the Actors robes, to fit them for some other part in the ensuing Scene: ... as likewise to please the itching eares, if not to inflame the outragious lusts of lewde Spectators" (1633:262).

Some exaggeration should be allowed for here.

Play-texts themselves contain further evidence of inter-act music. The Prologue to **Hannibal and Scipio** describes what happens "as the musick playes Betwixt the acts" (17-18), and **The Amorous War** contains a reference which may refer to inter-act music:

> "The Souldiers tooke Directions how to fight
> From Harpes and Lutes, which play'd betweene the battles,
> As betweene Acts and Entrances" (II.vii.42-44).

We now turn to consider the term 'the Act', which occurs in stage directions in two plays. Thirty lines before the end of Act IV of **The City Madam**, there is the marginal

inscription, "Whil'st the Act Plays, the Foot-step, little Table, and Arras hung up for the Musicians" (IV.iv.131-38) (a playhouse addition); and the direction "While the Act is playing" appears at the beginning of Act II of **Sicily and Naples** (II.i.0.3). Long believes that in the first example, 'Act' designates the interval between acts (1976:429). However, I think that in both these instances, 'the Act' refers to inter-act music, and this is supported by comparing the **Sicily and Naples** direction with one from **The Witty Fair One**: "While the Musicke is playing enter Breynes" (III.i.p.28.14). As in the Restoration, though, the term 'act' can also refer to the interval between two acts. (61) This occurs in **Believe as You List**, where the directions "Act:2:Long" and "long Act:4" appear at the beginning of the second and fourth acts, suggesting intervals of some duration, probably musical.

Other evidence consists of stage directions for music and music implied by the dialogue at the beginnings or ends of acts. Luys says, "Now fiddles do your worst" at the end of Act II of **The Brothers** (II.514). In making this overt reference to inter-act music, he is stepping out of the illusion of the play. Therulus is still plainer when he concludes the Grex (chorus) after Act II of **Hierarchomachia** by saying that "the music now makes way for the third Act" (ibid..1247).

Intelligent deduction can reveal further evidence which may suggest the use of inter-act music. For example, in **Love's Cure**, the text requires the exit of a character at the end of Act IV and his immediate re-entry at the beginning of Act V, supposedly after the passing of six hours. This would be meaningless unless an interval intervened, and evidently a break was intended. It can be speculated that this interval contained music, and this hypothesis is substantiated by evidence from **The Witty Fair One** and **Sicily and Naples**. In both of these there is exit and re-entry of the same characters from

act to act after dramatic time has passed, and stage directions for inter-act music appear (both quoted previously). Sixty-three Caroline plays contain eighty-eight such exits and re-entries of characters, and this constitutes a substantial body of evidence to add to the specified examples of inter-act music.

The problem of ascertaining the use of inter-act music, particularly in view of the frequent lack of indication of such music in play-texts, is closely bound up with the question of continuous and semi-continuous performance and of act divisions in the printed play-text. It should be stressed that the division of a play-text into acts cannot necessarily be taken to imply that breaks were made between the acts in performance: it could also be mere literary convention (Smith 1964:223). However, a reasonably direct correlation between the two has often been assumed, and used as a basis for theories regarding inter-act music in pre-Caroline theatres. From my observation, most Caroline plays are clearly divided, and this may suggest act breaks, in which case this could represent further evidence for inter-act music. Certainly act-breaks, if not music in them, are implied by the Dedication to **The New Inn**, which refers to the audience "rising between the Actes" (ibid..11), and by the Preface to **The Staple of News**, which mentions gossiping between the acts.

Types and nature of inter-act music

Songs, instrumental music and dances were used between the acts of Caroline plays; I shall look first at examples of song. In **The Rival Friends** (a), songs are specified at the ends of Acts I, II, III and IV, and in each case the song-lyric is given. This also occurs in **L'Artenice**, **The Shepherd's Paradise** (e) and **Paria** (a). Sometimes there is more extended music: between each of the acts of **Fuimus Troes** there are two songs, and between those of **Florimene**, an "Intermedium", consisting of song

and dance. The foregoing are the only plays where songs are specified between all five acts. There are, however, some plays which contain songs between certain of the acts; for instance, after Act IV of **The Benefice** (a) and Act II of **The Muses' Looking Glass** (a).

Instrumental inter-act music was probably commonly performed by consort. Luys' call for fiddles at the end of Act II of **The Brothers** (II.514) suggests a consort, and one is specifically called for after the first three acts of **Necromantes** (a), with the direction "Here They knockt up the consort" (I.iv.171.1). In **Zeno sive Ambitio Infelix** (a), the direction "Chorus Musicorum, vel interludium" appears between each of the acts, and this 'chorus of musicians' may have been an instrumental consort. It seems likely that 'the music' referred to in the examples above from **The Witty Fair One** and **Hierarchomachia** was instrumental.

As for dancing between the acts, only **Florimene** explicitly calls for this. However, the following dialogue suggests that it possibly took place in **II The Fair Maid of the West**. Mullisheg ends Act I by saying, "In wild moriscos we will lead the bride" (I.i.388). Clem then says at the beginning of Act II,

> "I am so tir'd with dancing with these same black she chimney sweepers that I can scarce set the best leg for-
> ward; they have so tir'd me with their moriscos, and I have
> so tickled them with our country dances, Sellenger's round
> and Tom Tiler. We have so fiddled it!" (II.i.6-10).

Bonavent's reference to "Musicke and revelles?" in the opening line of Act II of **Hyde Park** (II.i.p.17.26) suggests that dance music is audible, and this could be a continuation of inter-act music, as well as representing the wedding celebrations. Here too perhaps there was dancing between the acts rather than just dance music.

In some plays an act finishes with a dance and this could represent inter-act dancing, worked into the action of the play (for instance, **I St Patrick for Ireland**

III.ii). Act IV of **The Duke's Mistress** opens with dancing, and this might have been inter-act dancing which extended into the subsequent act. Dancing between the acts was common in pre-Caroline plays (for instance, after Acts I and III in **The Knight of the Burning Pestle** [1607]), in the élite and probably also the popular theatres, and suggests that some at least of the examples cited above were indeed inter-act dancing. Less certain are the cases where exit is indicated after the dance; for example, Act III of **Argalus and Parthenia** ends with the direction "Dance and Exeunt" (III.i.436). Here separate inter-act music is perhaps more likely, and this was dancing to conclude an act. Indeed, the distinction between music to begin or end an act (often music for entry or exit), and music deliberately intended as inter-act music, is not always an easy one to make (partly because playwrights were rarely explicit), and sometimes music can fulfil both functions.

I think that, on the whole, popular instrumental tunes, dances and songs were performed. There is Caroline and earlier evidence which suggests this; for instance, the previous quotation from **II The Fair Maid of the West**, which implies that the country dances "Sellenger's Round" and "Tom Tiler", and moriscos, may have been performed between Acts I and II. When the musicians play after Act II in **The Knight of the Burning Pestle** (1607), the citizen calls for "Baloo", and his wife for "Lachrimae" - again popular tunes. This hypothesis may be strengthened by the fact that I have not discovered any music from this period bearing an ascription such as 'act tune' (something which does exist in Restoration times), although other factors must also be taken into consideration here. As regards extant inter-act music, the shortage of named tunes has inhibited success in locating it; in fact, the only tunes named in a play-text are those in **II The Fair Maid of the West**. However, "Whitelocke's Coranto", the only definite example of an

inter-act tune identified by name, but in a source other than a play-text, does survive in musical sources. It may indicate that dances common at this time were also a popular form of inter-act music.

There is some evidence, however, that occasionally the music was specially written, and that sometimes its nature, its instrumentation and character were carefully chosen, for dramatic reasons or (at times) because of the auspices of performance. The linked settings of the four inter-act songs in **The Rival Friends** (one of which is edited in Appendix 2 [No.17]) illustrate the latter point. They are for between one and four solo voices with five-part chorus and, like "Drowsie Phaebus", are in declamatory style and show Italian influence. Their highly elaborate nature presumably relates to the fact that this university play was performed before the monarch. In other cases, too, lyrics, and presumably music, were specially written for inter-act songs, and dialogues and choral songs were fairly common; this is significant in view of the fact that they are mostly for university and courtly plays.

Inter-act choruses and dumb-shows

Music could also be involved in the choruses which appear between the acts of some Caroline plays. (62) Following classical tradition, these usually comment on the action; for example, those in **Hierarchomachia**, and some of those in **Fuimus Troes**. The latter is the only play in which it is specified that the inter-act choruses are sung, but a source which is not a play-text contains further evidence of this: Carew's **Poems** of 1640 include the lyrics of "Foure Songs by way of Chorus to a play". (63) The content of the lyrics suggests that the songs were relevant to the action of the play. Possibly these examples could suggest that the inter-act choruses in other plays may have been sung too; for instance, those in **Imperiale** (a). Here their italic typeface, use of

rhymes, and division into stanzas may support the possibility, though their length may not. In other plays, such as **Aminta**, the extreme length of the choruses does suggest they were not sung. The range of meanings of the term 'chorus' creates ambiguities.

Probably choruses were more often not sung; this is supported by pre-Caroline practices. Moreover, there are two Caroline plays which make it clear that inter-act music took place after the chorus: **The Jews' Tragedy**, where the Chorus calls, "Let pleasing musick charm the time away" (II.i.520), and **Hierarchomachia**, where the Grex says after Act II that "the music now makes way for the third Act" (Grex after II.1247). In the preface to the 1648 edition of **Zeno sive Ambitio Infelix** (a), Simons states explicitly that the musical interludes between the acts replace the chorus. (64)

One play, **Love's Mistress**, features an unusual type of inter-act chorus, involving what is effectively a series of musical shows. Midas and Apuleus are identified as the chorus in the Dramatis Personae, and speak together after each act. Under the slight pretext that Midas does not like the main play, dances are introduced to divert him. These dances are linked only very loosely to the action of the play. Presumably they would have had a musical accompaniment; they are danced by figures reminiscent of antimasque characters (for instance, the first chorus includes seven dances of symbolic asses).

Dumb-shows appear between the acts of a few Caroline plays, and these would have involved music. In earlier times the device had been used after each act to summarize in mime the plot of the subsequent act (for example, in **Gorboduc** [1562]). Well before Caroline times this was considered an archaic device (Gurr 1980:174), but there are Caroline examples of inter-act dumb-shows, albeit rare. These do not summarize an entire act, but two in particular are full of action. In the first of them, that after Act II of **The Bloody Banquet** (which

dates from as late as 1639), music is not specified, but it is in the second, which occurs after Act IV of **A Maidenhead Well Lost** and presents an important piece of plot. There is another dumb-show before Act IV, which involves less plot. While no music is specified, music suitable for a wedding seems likely. **The Launching of the Mary** contains a smaller-scale inter-act dumb-show, with which music is directed. It represents a continuation of the action of the play, and is enacted after Act III. The drunken women apparently remain onstage asleep for part of the act interval, then:

> "Enter the drawer, hastily wakinge the women./ who startinge up, and layinge hold on the Musick bottome of the basketts, out falls the bricke batt, and the peecs of painted Clothes./ which they (as yf no body sawe them) put up agayne./ exeunt. then enter boye agayne takes bush and all awaye. perfumes the roome. - exit./." (III.ii.2012-19).

The four masque-like Intermedia of **Florimene** represent the four seasons, with symbolic choice of characters who sing and dance, and appropriate scenery and costumes, and presumably some musical accompaniment. The most extended of them is the last, which, in addition to a song and four dances of antic characters, contains mimed action; however, it is not relevant to the main action.

Functions of inter-act music

As well as accompanying chorus or dumb-show, inter-act music fulfilled other functions. Most obviously, it articulated the structure of the play, and provided musical relief from the spoken dialogue. The role of diversion is suggested by the words of the Chorus which conclude Act II of **The Jews' Tragedy**: "mean time we pray Let pleasing musick charm the time away" (II.i.519-20). The function of a song implied at the end of Act II of **The Muses' Looking Glass** (a) is identified as being similar: its purpose is to entertain the audience and supply relief. Roscius says to the others onstage,

> "Goe in with me to recreate your spirits,
> As Musique theirs, with some retreating song,

Whose patience our rude Scene hath held too long"
(II.iv.154-56).

In addition to this function, the first intermedium in **Florimene** and the inter-act songs in **The Rival Friends** make compliment to the royal audience. In these examples, the inter-act music is not directly related to the plot of the play.

Inter-act music is important for technical reasons in **The City Madam**, where, as we have seen, it passes the time while props are prepared and the arras hung up for the musicians. Another practical use to which it can be put is alluded to in the quotation from **Histrio-mastix**: providing time for costume changes. Inter-act music would also have allowed time for the tending of the candles which provided the lighting in the indoor theatres (cf. Smith 1964:230 and Gurr 1980:160).

Reliance was placed on the audience's imagination as to what took place between the acts; for instance, they might have to imagine that the locality had changed or a battle had taken place during the inter-act music. This is illustrated by setting in context the previous quotation from **Hannibal and Scipio**:

"The places sometimes chang'd too for the Scene, (65)
Which is translated as the musick playes
Betwixt the acts: wherein he [the author] likewise prayes
You will conceive his battailes done"
(Prologue.16-19).

The location changes between Acts IV and V of **The Unfortunate Mother**, and the interval between Acts III and IV of **The Chances** represents an imaginary journey.

On other occasions, inter-act music is worked into the action. Sometimes it is related to the plot: for example, the inter-act music implied in the dialogue at the end of Act I of **The Royal Slave**. The king, Arsamnes, has said that Cratander, the virtuous mock king, must not perform the actions he intends. As one of the trials of Cratander's strength, he calls for music to weaken him: "there Is one way left; Musicke may subtly creepe And rocke his senses, so that all may sleepe" (I.v.339-41).

More often, the inter-act music is merely drawn into the dramatic illusion under some pretext. Instances occur in the examples from **Hyde Park** and **II The Fair Maid of the West**, and also in **The Sisters**, where Paulina calls at the end of Act II, "Let me have Musick, This talk has made me Melancholy" (II.344-45).

Breynes enters while the music between Acts II and III of **The Witty Fair One** is still playing, and this music establishes an atmosphere of darkness and stealth, which is important for his entry. The creation of atmosphere is an important function of inter-act music, and one more common than that of forming part of the action of the play. The symbolic associations of particular instruments are utilized in the establishment of atmosphere; for example, the 'still music' in **The Partial Law** could be inter-act music which also represents lamentation over an estranged mistress, the recorders on which 'still music' was performed being associated with mourning. Descriptive terms also indicate the use of inter-act music to establish a suitable atmosphere; for instance, the 'sad music' for the carrying out of Paris' body in **The Roman Actor**.

Covering the passage of dramatic time is an important and common function of inter-act music, as will be clear from the earlier discussion of exit and re-entry. The intervals between acts could represent the passing of varying amounts of dramatic time; for instance, the passing of night in **The Gamester** III-IV, and time for Dorcas and Warehouse to wed in **The City Match** IV-V.

Smith claims that splitting a play into five acts "robbed the plot of continuity, diverted the thoughts of the spectators from the drama to extraneous trivia, and forced the actors to recapture the audience's attention when the next act began" (1964:230). It is hoped that the above discussion provides a basis from which to challenge such a view with respect to Caroline plays, even if perhaps on occasion it could be at least partially

justified. Music in act breaks could be and was put to dramatic use. It could add to the plot rather than robbing it, and be dramatically important. It could mark pauses in the story and provide structural articulation. Admittedly there are instances when the convention is justified by relating it to the action on what may be a fairly slight pretext, but nevertheless this drew it into the dramatic illusion. Finally, some respite from the dramatic action would have been welcome to the audience, and music to divert should not necessarily be dismissed as 'extraneous trivia'. Even if diversion is its sole function, that can still be a valid role, and one important to the theatrical experience. Quite apart from this, it should be remembered that inter-act music was often necessary for technical and practical reasons of which there is no tangible documentary evidence, and thus music dismissed as merely diverting might well have been theatrically vital.

Practices in plays performed under different auspices

It is generally accepted that pre-Caroline inter-act music was at first confined to the élite theatres, but it later also existed in the popular theatres. (66) There is Caroline evidence for definite or probable inter-act music in all three of London's élite theatres, and the Werburgh Street theatre in Dublin. There is a great dearth of evidence for the popular theatres, but the **Masquerade du Ciel** reference quoted earlier is very revealing, and as far as I can discover has previously been completely overlooked. I think it implies that interludes rather than music might appear between the acts in popular plays by 1640. The scene which "might well have made an Interlude" includes antic elements, and the statement that it would have "spared Musick between the Acts" indicates that it was dramatic in nature. (67) However, there is an interesting parallel example in which what can be described as inter-act interludes are

again equated with popular taste, but this time they are musical in nature. Although the play itself, **Love's Mistress**, was performed at an élite theatre, the following speech with which Apuleus introduces the dance of Vulcan and his Cyclops may well refer to a popular audience:

> "by the leave of these spectators heere,
> Ile suite mee to thy low capacitie;
> Of Vulcans Ciclopps Ile so much intreate,
> That thou shalt see them on their Anvile beate;
> 'Tis musicke fitting thee, for who but knowes,
> The Vulgar are best pleas'd with noyse and shewes?"
> (IV.i.364-69).

The many King's Men plays (nearly forty) featuring exit and re-entry, and hence probably inter-act music, should also be considered here, as should the two with textual references to inter-act music (**The City Madam** and **The Brothers**). Although texts may claim performance at the Blackfriars, the plays were probably also acted at the Globe (Gurr 1980:203), and the question arises as to whether adjustments were made. Smith proposes, "Either the Globe was called upon to provide an unaccustomed act intermission, or the play was modified so as to make an intermission unnecessary. We have no information on this point" (1964:228). There is, however, evidence which counters his latter claim. **News from Plymouth** is a King's play which was licensed for the popular theatre: it was licensed in August, when the Globe was playing, not the Blackfriars (Bentley 1941-68:III,210). It features exit and re-entry between Acts I and II, so here an interval was presumably intended. This may suggest that other King's plays, when transferred, did retain their act-breaks. I suggest that by the Caroline period, act-breaks were no longer so 'unaccustomed' at the Globe. They may sometimes have featured dramatic 'interludes' rather than music.

There was also inter-act music in Caroline plays performed at court (for example, **Florimene**), at university (for instance, **Paria** at Trinity College, Cambridge) and at school (**Zeno sive Ambitio Infelix** at St

Omers). Earlier university plays had also featured inter-act music. Its use at St Omers represents a continuation of the sixteenth-century practice of choral songs separating the acts in humanist school productions on the continent (Shapiro 1977:250). The texts which indicate songs or instrumental music between all the acts are all either courtly or academic plays. It is naive to think that this could suggest that only in these auspices was there music between all acts, but it does raise the issue of whether in other venues music was necessarily provided between all acts. Courtly and academic performances were certainly often more elaborate and involved more music, and it seems that the inter-act music too was more extensive and elaborate.

Finally, let us look at two other matters which the auspices might influence. The first of these is the duration of inter-act music. There is no Caroline evidence relating this to venue in the way that an earlier reference does. This (quoted in Chambers 1923:II,21) is by William Percy, and suggests that in the Paul's boys' theatre at least, the length of the inter-act music (68) was adjusted in accordance with the length of the play in order to adhere to a two-hour limit on performance here. This raises the question of whether inter-act music was omitted, or at least tailored in length, in longer plays (and plays did become longer in terms of lines in the seventeenth-century; see Gurr 1980:161). This argument could be suggested by the theory of a two-hour restriction on plays. However, this theory has been disputed, and so cannot be used as an argument against inter-act music. (69) In any case, there is evidence that even those Caroline plays which were said to be performed in two hours did use inter-act music. References in the Prologues to **The Duke's Mistress** and **The Brothers** suggest that their performances lasted only two hours, but inter-act music still occurred in the latter play, and apparently in the former too. Perhaps

here, and in other cases, inter-act music was briefer, or even between only some acts.

Performance of plays in venues other than the public theatres could mean less stringent limitations on length, and this might have been reflected in the amount of inter-act music as well as the number of lines. This may provide a partial explanation for the extensive provision of inter-act music in university plays such as **The Rival Friends**. This play lasted for seven hours (Feil 1958:108). It should be mentioned too that the duration of inter-act music could also be determined by dramatic and technical requirements, as in **Believe as You List**, where the directions "Act:2:Long" and "long Act:4" appear.

The second issue which may be influenced by auspices is that of directions for inter-act music. The frequent indication of music between all the acts in courtly and academic plays may partly relate to the nature of the texts, which could in some cases have been intended to provide more of a record of performance, and thus contain more detail. It may also be because the largely amateur performers could not be relied on to the same extent as professionals to follow conventions. Here we come to what I think is the main explanation behind the casual, erratic and overall limited reference to inter-act music: namely, that such music was conventional and generally provided as a matter of routine (depending on the theatre concerned), and required mention only if it was in some way linked with the action of the play. It might also be mentioned if it was important for a technical reason.

3.6.3 Music after plays

A distinction should be made between music to end a play and music coming after one. While the former practice was common in Caroline times, evidence for music after plays is limited, and consists mostly of references to jiggs, which characteristically involved music. Music

after a play, whether part of a jigg or not, provided structural articulation by virtue of coming at the end and concluding the performance, entertained the audience, and accompanied their dispersal.

Jiggs

The term 'jigg' can be defined in various ways, and this can lead to confusion. (70) "In their fullest form they were offered as end-pieces after the plays were finished, an item of entertainment quite separate from the play" (Gurr 1980:157). Independent jiggs could also appear between the acts, and brief songs or dances interpolated into a play have also been described as jiggs (see Lawrence 1927:96-97). Only jiggs as after-pieces are under consideration here, and the term is used in this sense from now on, unless otherwise qualified. The standard form of the jigg, as reached by the middle of the sixteenth century, was "a short burlesque comedy for two to five characters, sung in verse to one or more well-known tunes, interspersed with much lively dancing and performed by a team of professional comedians" (Dart and Tilmouth 1980:649). The history of jiggs during Caroline times is relatively obscure, but references indicate that they still existed throughout this period. Even though there is little evidence concerning their nature, there is some suggestion that conventions may have changed and that there might have been different forms from that characteristic in the sixteenth century.

Obviously there was still a demand for jiggs in 1626, when Massinger observed in the Dedication to **The Roman Actor** that his play would be condemned by "<u>such as are onely affected with Jigges, and ribaldrie</u>" (16). His association of jiggs with popular taste is notable, and is also evident in Fletcher's Prologue to **The Fair Maid of the Inn**, dating from the same year and for the same Blackfriars audience:

"<u>A worthy story, howsoever writ</u>
<u>For Language, Modest Mirth, Conceit or Wit,</u>

Meets oftentimes with the sweet commendation
Of 'hang't, 'tis scurvy,' when for approbation
A Jigg shall be clapt at, and every rhime
Prais'd and applauded by a clamorous chime.
Let ignorance and laughter dwell together;
They are beneath the Muses pity. Hither
Come nobler Judgements, and to those the strain
Of our invention is not bent in vain" (5-14).

In other words, Fletcher is rejoicing that members of the Blackfriars audience have "nobler judgements" than those who give a better reception to jiggs than to worthy plays. There are two pieces of evidence which make it explicit that jiggs were performed at popular theatres during the Caroline period. Henry Chapman introduced the appendix to his **Thermae Redivivae: The City of Bath Described** (1673) as follows: "THE APPENDIX, Without which a Pamphlet now a dayes, find as as (sic) small acceptance as a Comedy did formerly, at the Fortune Play-house, without a Jig of Andrew Kein's into the bargain". Andrew Kein or Cane was a popular clown during Caroline times and this Restoration reference illustrates how long the attraction of his jiggs at the Fortune was remembered (see Bentley 1941-68: II,398-401). The Praeludium written for the revival of **The Careless Shepherdess** (1619) at the Salisbury Court, probably in 1638, illustrates the performance of jiggs at the Bull as well as the Fortune, and satirizes the taste of the citizen who wants his money back so he can go to one of these theatres instead of staying at an élite theatre. Thrift says,

"I will hasten to the money Box,
And take my shilling out again ...
I'le go to th'Bull, or Fortune, and there see
A Play for two pense, with a Jig to boot. Exit"
(248-49, 251-52).

In this connection, a reference from the Prologue to **The Unfortunate Lovers** (a) is interesting. This is a King's play which also dates from 1638, and whose text states it was performed at the Blackfriars. Davenant, speaking of 'ancestors', says, "Good easie judging soules, with what delight They would expect a jigge or Target fight" (27-28). However, despite this reference to

earlier theatre-goers expecting a jigg, the **Careless Shepherdess** quotation shows that in this very year, jiggs were evidently still being performed. Two other Caroline Prologues contain references with a similar association of ideas and may refer to jiggs, although not mentioning them by name. If so, they too reveal jiggs as attributes demanded by popular taste. In the Prologue to **The Doubtful Heir** (1638), Shirley apologizes for the presentation at the Globe of a play which should have been presented at the Blackfriars; it is for this reason that the play contains "No shews, no dance, and what you most delight in, Grave understanders, here's no target fighting" (7-8). Davenant's **News from Plymouth** (1635) was performed at the Globe during vacation, and the Prologue observes that "This House, and season, does more promise shewes, Dancing, and Buckler Fights, then Art, or Witt" (6-7). (71)

So it seems that jiggs were used in popular rather than élite theatres in Caroline as in earlier times. Their bawdy nature might partially account for this. The disturbances provoked by jiggs and the undesirable type of audience they attracted had caused the Middlesex Justices of the Peace to issue an order in 1612 suppressing jiggs at the end of plays. This prohibition has been brought into consideration by commentators examining a potentially misleading reference in a Caroline play of 1632, **Changes**. Caperwit and a Dancer are planning a masque.

"**Caperwit**. You understand my purpose, you shall make
The Dance, let me alone to write the songs.
Dancer. A Maske will be delightfull to the Ladies.
Caperwit. Oh Sir, what Playes are taking without these
Pretty devices? Many Gentlemen
Are not, as in the dayes of understanding,
Now satisfied without a Jigge, which since
They cannot, with their honour, call for, after
The play, they looke to be serv'd up ith middle:
Your dance is the best language of some Comedies,

And footing runnes away with all"
(IV.i.p.51.32-37, p.52.1-5).

Some commentators have proposed the interpretation that this reference, taken in conjunction with the prohibition, suggests that after the 1612 order, jiggs were removed from the end of plays to between the acts. (72) However, I think that when the allusion is seen in the fuller context I have quoted above, it is obvious that the second sense in which 'jigg' is used here is to refer to the masque which Caperwit and the Dancer are planning - an interpolated jigg - and not to an inter-act jigg. (This is not to say that I disagree with the suggestion that jiggs were temporarily moved to between the acts, just that I do not believe this reference provides evidence of it.) Interestingly, this masque takes place in the final scene of the play, so in **Changes**, "ith middle" evidently means 'within the course of the play' rather than something more literal. The demand for jiggs at this time, whether after or within the play, is evident from the reference. In the allusion, the emphasis is on the fact that honorable gentlemen cannot call for jiggs after plays. Perhaps this relates to the practice in élite theatres (this is a Salisbury Court play), meaning that there, jiggs had to be "ith middle" in order to be acceptable. It could also be explained by the 1612 prohibition and the nature of jiggs after plays at the time. The reference could imply that there were still jiggs after plays in popular theatres, and indeed there is evidence that jiggs reverted to this position after the 1612 order.

The quotation from Henry Chapman implies that Andrew Cane's jiggs formed an appendix to plays at the Fortune, and a pamphlet dating from the same year as **Changes**, Donald Lupton's **London and the Countrey Carbonadoed,** says, "most commonly when the play is done, you shal have a Jigge or dance of al trads, they [the players] mean to put their legs to it, as well as their tongs" (1632:81). The location of jiggs after plays is also supported by

later examples. In **The Lady Mother**, dating from 1635, a dance and music are called for. Suckett requests

> "some country Igg or soe, oh those
> playes that I have seene of youre with their Jiggs
> ith
> tayles of him like your french forces. death I am a
> rorging
> boy, but come stirr your Shanks nimbly or Ile hough
> ye
> strike up there. Daunce" (II.702-6). (73)

I have come across more definite evidence in the form of an actual jigg which is designed to be performed after what Butler terms a 'playlet'. The piece concerned, **Canterbury His Change of Diet** (1641), is listed by Schoenbaum as 'closet', but Butler believes it is "almost certain to have achieved stage realization" (1984:240). This is the only direction for and text of a jigg (here identified as a 'gig') to appear in the entire corpus of Caroline play-texts; the jigg is evidently another example of an item which it was not deemed necessary to specify. This jigg is a short sung rhymed dialogue, in which a Paritor (one of Archbishop Laud's proctors) and a Fool alternate then sing together. Lupton's comment suggests that it would have been danced as well as sung, although this is not directed. The jigg is political and satirical, though not dramatic. It may represent a type of jigg current at this time. Elements common to earlier jiggs are the song-and-dance involving a clown and the satirical dialogue. The use of the old popular refrain "Wellady" is also worth noting, given the use of popular material in earlier jiggs. (Baskervill cites references for a tune called the "Parrator" and ballads of the same name [not extant], which may be related to this jigg [1929:59].) This may illustrate a reversion to a simpler form, more of a song-and-dance act. The idea of a jigg as consisting mainly of song accompanied by dance may also be suggested by an earlier Caroline allusion: the Lupton quotation. Earlier still, the association of ideas in a passage in **The Jews' Tragedy** (1626) may suggest popular song and dance as the main elements in jiggs, although

other interpretations of the term 'jigg' here are also possible. Eleazer sings a popular snatch, then says, "Methinkes it were a rare thing to be a Jig-maker. Come, shall wee dance" (V.379-80).

Butler has commented on how the jigg may have developed by the end of the Caroline period. **Canterbury His Change of Diet** is one of several playlets whose existence he has observed amongst the many pamphlets which appeared before the playhouses closed in 1642. He thinks that some may be survivals of performances that "could actually have taken place ... at the outdoor theatres in these last months", and believes that "it seems quite possible that these playlets represent a further development of the jig" (1984:238). He further observes that at least five pamphlet-plays in addition to **Canterbury** themselves include "embedded jigs" of a political nature (ibid.:239). (74)

Another item of interest is Townshend's **Anti-Masques** (listed by Schoenbaum as **A Pastoral Mask**), which has been described as "a courtly version of an English jig" (Orgel 1971:137). It served as a small comic epilogue to conclude the performance by the Queen's Maids at court of the French play **Florimene** in 1635 (ibid.). The text includes entries and speeches of four sets of antimasque characters and a song, and then a description of "the Subject of the Masque". Presumably there was also dancing, although there is no reference to it. It shared some basic features with the jigg in public theatres, in that it was a brief comic after-piece involving song (and probably dance). Its main function would also have been similar: to conclude in a lively manner the more serious main performance, in this case an elegant pastoral. (75)

The appeal of jiggs was based on their combination of popular elements: drama, music and dance. Baskervill notes that they were very popular "to the end of the reign of James I or even later" (1929:3). The evidence above shows that they were in demand and persisted to the

closure of the theatres. Although little is known about them, it seems that different forms may have developed. The suggestion that some jiggs were simply popular song and dance agrees with Dart and Tilmouth's claim that one way in which the jigg became transformed was into "a more formal song-and-dance act" (1980:649). They note that this was occurring by 1625, partly through the influence of the court masque (ibid.). The relation discussed between **A Pastoral Mask** and the jigg is interesting in the context of this observation of masque influence, as is the fact that masques interpolated into plays were sometimes referred to as jiggs (as in **Changes**), though here the term is being used in a different sense. The other way in which the jigg was becoming transformed was into "a prose farce or 'droll'" (ibid.).

No discussion of jiggs would be complete without consideration of the tunes to which they were performed. There are difficulties in locating these (ibid.). Some of the Caroline examples I have discussed support the use of popular tunes. There is one other Caroline instance of actual tunes being specified, but its relevance is dependent on whether Butler's examples of pamphlet-plays were indeed a development of the jigg. The embedded jiggs in one of them, **Vox Borealis or the Northern Discoverie**, do indicate tunes, again popular in nature: there is a song to the tune of "John Dorry", and singing and dancing to a "Scots jig". Commentators have listed some of the known popular tunes to which jiggs were set (see Dart and Tilmouth ibid. and Baskervill 1929:139-40), and it seems that there were favourite tunes to which jiggs were performed (Lawrence 1927:99).

Other music after plays

There is some evidence that there could be music after plays other than that involved in jiggs. The Lupton quotation suggests a dance as an alternative to a jigg. The patent granted to Davenant in 1639 to build a theatre

could suggest performances of music and dancing of some length after plays had ended. (76) In these two examples, as in jiggs, the music and dancing were probably independent of the play. However, on other occasions, music after the play could be connected with it. For example, **Amyntas** has a song after the Epilogue which is used to intensify the mood of happiness and rejoicing in the final scenes. Such usage may have been more common than the surviving evidence indicates. A closer connection with the action was possible in those plays whose final act is followed by a chorus, if indeed any of these choruses were sung.

Some plays contain music within the Epilogue, and here too it was related to the play. The last few lines of the Epilogue of **Love's Riddle** are sung, and have particular significance. Alupis, who performs the Epilogue, has been established during the play as a merry character by his frequent singing of one song or snatches of it, and the Epilogue concludes with the twenty-sixth performance of a snatch from it, altered to make it relevant. The manuscript text of **The Sophister** (b) has what is apparently a sung Epilogue, performed by Conclusion, (77) and there may have been piping and singing in the Epilogue of **Candy Restored**.

Finally there is the question of the relation between music after and within plays. I find convincing the argument that in the popular theatres, most of the music was concentrated in independent jiggs, which were exploited as an opportunity for music-making, whereas the élite theatres tended to include their music between the acts and within the play itself (see, for example, Lawrence 1927:97-98); music at the end of the play and integrated into the action was common. Assuming one accepts Orgel's argument that **A Pastoral Mask** followed **Florimene**, this provides evidence of inter-act music as well as a 'jigg', since **Florimene** itself has a sung Introduction and four Intermedia involving song and dance

(as well as song in the final scene). However, it must be remembered that this is a courtly example. Possibly the temporary relocation of the jigg from the end of the play resulted in more music within the play, as the **Changes** reference suggests. Certainly the jigg has been credited with increasing the popular demand for song and dance onstage (Baskervill 1929:163).

3.7 Musical conventions

The evidence I have presented establishes that music was a highly conventionalized dramatic and theatrical device. There are three issues relating to the conventional use of music which merit an overview.

Conventions regarding instrumental music and dance

Conventions regarding instrumental music and dance have previously been neglected in favour of song conventions, as has the extent to which they paralleled song conventions. About half the music directed or implied in plays is instrumental, (78) just over a third is song, and the rest is dance. I have shown that the use of instrumental music and dance in certain situations is conventional in Caroline drama. Just as there were definite conventions in the use of song, so were there too regarding instrumental music and dance. These conventions were basically very similar, although there were some differences. Like song, instrumental music and dance were used for specific dramatic and theatrical purposes, and were important as a dramatic and theatrical expedient. Although there was no lyric, they were still a powerful means of communication with the audience. Like song, they were used for their emotional power. The previously observed use of song to achieve dramatic effects such as reversal, contrast, dramatic irony and comedy extends to instrumental music and dance. They were all used for purposes of achieving realism and for symbolism.

Instrumental music and dance were put to the same broad uses as song, but the three types are directed to different extents in specific contexts and in the performance of certain dramatic roles. For instance, all were apparently believed to possess a sedative effect, but song is much more commonly used for this purpose

than instrumental music, and dance is rarely used thus. Songs are also more prevalent in scenes of serenade and seduction than either instrumental music or dance. Dance is more common in embedded masques than song and instrumental music, but is excluded from the scene-setting music for processions, religious scenes and funerals. Atmospheric music is commonly instrumental, and instrumental music predominates before plays, in embedded plays, in military and hunting scenes, and accompanying entries and exits and providing other signals.

It is possible to draw up some broad statistics of the contexts in which instrumental music and dance most frequently appear. A helpful distinction may be drawn between instrumental music as a sound effect for the action, and as music in its own right. I have called music in the former category 'signals', and include in it musical signals such as those for entry and exit, military signals, and hunting calls. Music in the latter category, which I have termed 'independent' instrumental music, is of a more extended nature. Approximately 40% of instrumental music is independent, and 60% is signals. About three-quarters of these signals accompany entry and exit, and about a fifth of them are expository (in military and hunting contexts). Independent instrumental music most commonly occurs in contexts of weddings, hospitality (where there are almost seven times as many examples as of dance), love, entertainments and masques, and the supernatural (where there are over twice as many examples as of dance). Roughly a quarter of all instrumental music is military. By far the most frequent context in which dance appears is that of entertainments, masques and shows; in fact, there are almost three times as many examples of dance in this context as there are of instrumental music. Dance is also common in the depiction of weddings, in

scenes of love and lust, and for characterization.

Both instrumental music and dance were used 'naturalistically', but it was principally instrumental music, with its more abstract nature, which was used conventionally or in a purely theatrical way. The action virtually always stopped for the performance of song, but although this was usually also the case with dance and independent instrumental music, dialogue could and occasionally did continue during it, particularly the latter.

Conventional types

Conventional types have already been mentioned in connection with instrumental music, but if the definition is kept broad (including such types as 'music suitable for banquet scenes'), the convention can also be seen to apply to dance and song. The system of conventional types can be seen as a complementary extension of the convention relying on the symbolic associations of instruments. These systems acted as a type of theatrical shorthand through the meaning they had for audiences of the time. There is evidence that conventional types were a general theatrical device in Caroline times, (79) used in plays performed under all auspices.

It is notably those conventional types of a more specific melodic nature and those denoted by technical terms for which there is positive evidence, and these occur in dramatic contexts of a narrower definition. However, combining circumstantial evidence and those pieces of solid evidence which do survive, I am convinced of the likelihood that conventional types were widely utilized, including in the more general situations. The particularly large number of examples of military signals and flourishes suggests a widespread convention. The existence of more general conventional

types may be suggested by the known existence of the more specific types. In addition, there are patterns evident and sufficient consistency in various aspects of the music used in the more general situations to support the speculation that indeed conventional types were used here too. The existence of conventional types is supported by the occurrence of music which is evidently unconventional or a parody. The examples I have given of satire which results from working against convention and using unsuitable music establish that there were certain types of music considered appropriate for certain circumstances.

The particular lack of firm evidence for many of those more general conventional types which I proposed may relate partly to the corresponding dramatic situations being less prescribed. There may be less consistency evident in many of these more general dramatic contexts because there was sufficient flexibility within the system of conventional types to allow the music to reflect variety within the particular dramatic situation. I hypothesize that there was no one single type of music associated with each general type of situation or characteristic, but rather a range of types, which were less narrowly defined and allowed an appropriate choice. For instrumental music and dance, and to a certain extent song too, there would have been repertories composed of particular types of music which were regarded as suitable for, and were conventional in, particular dramatic situations. These repertories would have allowed for a range (for example, there might be several tunes from which music appropriate for wedding scenes could be drawn). Presumably repertories overlapped to a certain extent. The instrumental repertory would have included specific melodic calls such as the military signals, and calls such as the flourish which were identified by their general nature.

I suggest these repertories were largely composed of music which occurred in the same contexts in real life.

There are a range of musical features by which conventional types might be defined. (80) Particular musical forms and types of dance occur consistently in specific dramatic situations. Conventional types might also be distinguished by origin in the popular or art repertory; for example, popular country dances were associated with rustic scenes and characters, and the stage direction "Sellingers round, or the like" in **The Court Beggar** (V.ii.181-81.1) is significant in that it suggests that the tune itself is not especially important, rather its origin in the popular repertory. The descriptive terms used in directions for instrumental music (such as 'solemn' and 'horrid') suggest types of music believed to be suitable for particular occasions and to set the appropriate emotional tone. Presumably the nature and character of the music is referred to, although instrumentation undoubtedly also contributed to the effect. Taking 'sad' music as an example, it is unfortunately very difficult to say today how the quality of sadness was achieved in Caroline times. Presumably devices such as expressive intervals and the overall speed helped attain the effect. It is not possible to claim in this period a correlation with minor keys. (81)

The use of stereotyped and recognizable connotations of particular ballads and popular tunes is part of the system of conventional types. The reliance on the associations of particular tunes rather than general types relates to that on melodically distinct calls. The lyrics of songs were obviously significant, and indeed stage directions suggest the classification of songs according to conventional types (a "song of pleasure" [**The Picture** III.v.25.1], "a shorte song of joey" [**Claracilla** V.x.77-78]).

'Missing' stage directions

Having established that the use of music was conventional in certain dramatic and theatrical situations, we should consider again the matter of the use of music where it is not directed or implied in the play-text, but where the conventions might lead one to expect it. (82) The very fact that music is used so consistently in certain dramatic contexts, as we know from directions and implications in the text, leads one to suppose that music was also used in similar situations where it is not indicated. It is unlikely, given the body of evidence, that it was used as little as it is directed in some texts. This suggests that there are 'missing' stage directions. We know that stage directions for music were not always included from the fact that sometimes a stage direction duplicates a call for music which is already present in the dialogue, whereas on other occasions we know of the music only from the dialogue. It would seem to be a logical extension of this argument to suggest that sometimes music was performed which is neither directed nor implied in the dialogue. The case for 'missing' stage directions is supported by the fact that sometimes music is not directed where it would be expected, but where occasionally a direction appears in another version of the text: another copy of the same edition (as occurs with the quarto of **Changes**), a manuscript version of a printed play (for example, **The Shepherd's Paradise**), or a later edition (although caution is necessary here, since this could reflect a later performance). As we have seen, there is also a limited amount of evidence from sources other than play-texts which reveals a greater extent of certain types of usage (such as inter-act music) than that indicated by the stage directions.

Having established that indeed there were 'missing' stage directions, we wonder why some were 'missing' but

others were present. Unfortunately, there is no definite answer, but a number of suggestions can be advanced. One is that the decisions when to play and what types of music to perform were often left to the discretion of the musicians.

The issue is perhaps best approached by considering the opposite issue, that of why music was given stage directions and by whom, and why it was done so haphazardly. Perhaps some directions were included by a playwright, because he felt the music was of special importance, whether integral to the plot, thematically important, or necessary in achieving or heightening a particular dramatic or theatrical effect he envisaged, or achieving a pause in the action. Perhaps a playwright felt music needed direction because it was unconventional (although conventional music was evidently often directed too). There are many directions which may have been included as a result of the whim or personal inclination of the playwright; for some reason it occurred to him to include music, or music featured as part of his conception of the play. Perhaps unnecessary detail was included because the playwright or the musicians were inexperienced. Perhaps directions were supplied by a prompter, as a practical reminder, given a particular practical difficulty. Other directions may have been added by an actor, musician, printer, or adaptor, perhaps later. What should be remembered is that the play-texts, and even the promptbooks, were not designed as a complete record of performance; reliance was placed on conventional usage. The existence of the conventions is very probably one of the reasons why stage directions were 'omitted'.

There is certainly a good case for the use of more music than is directed or implied, but it is impossible to ascertain the extent to which this occurred, and it would be unwise to assume that music was invariably used

in every dramatic situation with which it was conventionally associated.

CHAPTER 4

THE IMPORTANCE OF MUSIC IN CAROLINE PLAYS: ITS DRAMATIC AND THEATRICAL SIGNIFICANCE, ITS ARTISTIC QUALITY, AND ITS HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

4.1 Evaluation of the dramatic and theatrical importance of the music

> "A Strange Play you are like to have, for know,
> We use no Drum, not Trumpet, nor Dumbe show;
> No Combate, Marriage, not so much to-day,
> As Song, Dance, Masque, to bumbaste out a Play;
> Yet these all good, and still in frequent use
> With our best Poets."

This assertion, made by Thomas Heywood in the Prologue to his Caroline play **The English Traveller** (1-6), indicates that music is remarkable in its absence, and suggests that music was customary in the theatre and played an important part. Admittedly the play dates from 1625, but it continued to be unusual throughout the Caroline period for a play to have no music, and the many musical elements listed by Heywood continued to appear.

Direct contemporary comment on music in Caroline plays is very limited, and Heywood is the only Caroline playwright who made in his own voice an explicit statement of any length concerning music and Caroline plays. There is, however, another piece of contemporary testimony which suggests the extent of usage of music in the theatre. This is William Prynne's notorious **Histrio-mastix** of 1633, an attack on stage plays. In it, he lists song, instrumental music and dance as three of the four "unlawful Concomitant[s] of Stage-playes" which he condemns as major vices (the fourth being laughter and applause) (1633:261), which suggests the extent to which they were an established part of performances of plays. He comments separately on the frequency with which each

element occurs. For instance, he says of instrumental music that "Playes are alwayes accompanied with most effeminate, amorous, lust-provoking Musicke" (ibid.:290). However, the dubious reliability of Prynne as a witness should be borne in mind, (1) and his comments treated with caution. (This said, it seems more likely that they contain exaggeration than invention.)

The quantity of music in plays

One way in which the music in Caroline plays is important is in terms of sheer quantity. The play-texts indicate that performances involved a large amount of music, and overall there was an increasing amount of music in plays during the Caroline period. (2) The quantity reflects both the public demand for music, and also the reliance placed on music and its emotive and signalling properties in the theatre. Some plays contain a particularly large amount of it (for example, **Love's Mistress, Love's Changelings' Change** and **The Variety**). The amount of music in particular plays was influenced by factors such as the auspices of performance and the playwright himself. Caution is necessary in speaking of a playwright's use of music (since stage directions may not derive from him). Brome is exceptional among Caroline playwrights for the extent to which his plays are infused with music (particularly **The Court Beggar**). Other authors notable for the large amount of music they include (although none is comparable to Brome in this respect) are Shirley (for example, **I St Patrick for Ireland** and **The School of Compliment**) and, to a lesser extent, Ford (**The Broken Heart** and **The Lover's Melancholy**), Heywood (**Love's Mistress** and **Calisto**), Massinger (**The Unnatural Combat** and **The Picture**) and Nabbes (**Hannibal and Scipio** and **Microcosmus**).

The amount of music can also be affected by the subject matter of a play. For instance, the texts of

Fuimus Troes and **The Jews' Tragedy** contain many instances of directed and implied music, most of which are military music. (The text of the former in fact contains more indications of performed music than that of any other Caroline play.) **The Late Lancashire Witches** and **The Seven Champions of Christendom** are also unusual for the very large amount of music they contain, and here the involvement of the supernatural in their subject matter is significant.

Musical episodes

Another indication of the extent to which music permeated the drama and a reflection of its importance in plays is the incidence of occasions when music is concentrated into 'musical episodes'. Although most musical directions occur in isolation from other indications of music, there are still many occasions on which two or more occurrences of music are involved in a particular episode, which I have described as a 'musical episode'. (These episodes involve dialogue too, and scenes such as that of the sham coronation in **The Fairy Knight** IV.vi, which comprises music throughout and no dialogue, are most unusual.) About a quarter of these musical episodes are more extended, containing four or more instances of music; the most extended one occurs in **The Variety** IV.i, and has nine directions for music. (3) Some plays have several large-scale musical episodes (for example, **The Chances** and **A Jovial Crew**). Most commonly, musical episodes combine different types of music, but some combine music of the same type, such as the succession of five songs in **Brennoralt** II.ii, of seven dances in **Love's Mistress** I, and the six successive directions for instrumental music in **The Tale of a Tub** V.x. The combined effect of the music in an episode serves to sustain and heighten the drama, and the music can be more closely bound to the action than

elsewhere, although there are examples of scenes where a musical episode is provided purely for the audience's amusement.

Extended musical episodes occur by far the most frequently in embedded masques (for example, in **Messalina** V.i). After this, they are most common in tavern and drinking scenes (**The Lady Mother** II) and in nuptial contexts (**The City Wit** V); then in contexts involving the supernatural (**Amyntas** III.iv), and serenade and seduction (**Confessor** III.vi). This pattern is exactly mirrored by the circumstances in which smaller-scale musical episodes occur.

The placing of music within the plays

Music can perform an important role in the structure of plays, and patterns are again revealed by a study of its placing, the use of music to end a play being particularly noticeable. (I mean by this music which is part of the play itself, as distinct from music which occurs after a play.) Earlier plays had featured concluding music, and in Caroline times this device constituted a convention. About a fifth of Caroline plays have music indicated at or near the end of Act V. In nearly half of these instances, the concluding music is part of a larger musical episode, which could on occasion be described as a musical finale.

Concluding music fulfils a variety of roles. It is often of thematic importance, and sets the tone for the conclusion of the play, enhancing the sense of resolution and heightening the mood of the final scene. Though there are examples of song and instrumental music concluding plays, dance occurs most frequently. Dances provided a lively conclusion and were often introduced on the pretext of a wedding celebration (as in **The Seven Champions of Christendom** V); songs also frequently occurred in nuptial contexts (for example, in **Florimene**

V.viii). The music emphasizes the dramatic situation, celebrating the unions. The achievement of harmony in the sense of reconciliation is also symbolized by music and dances at the end of plays. In the dialogue song with which **The Example** ends (V), the conjunction of the voices in duet symbolizes the attainment of new harmony between Sir and Lady Plott, and this is reinforced by the following dance. Unity is also symbolized by the harmonious music which appears at the end of **The Floating Island**, apparently accompanying a tableau representing visually the reconciliation of the passions. (See also **Fuimus Troes** V.vii and **The Young Admiral** V.iv.) The concluding music in some plays is religious or semi-religious (**The Conspiracy** [a] V.i), and it is also used to emphasize tragic resolutions to plays (**The Broken Heart** V.iii).

Another role of music at the end of a play was to accompany the actors' final exit. Songs were used (**The New Inn** V.v), and there are seven examples of the use of flourishes (as in **The Roman Actor** V.ii). (4) Although this is not a large number, the same use of flourishes does occur in some earlier plays (for example, **Macbeth** [1606] V.viii), and it is possible that these directions are all that survives to indicate a convention. The final stage direction in **A Revenge for Honour** reveals another function of music placed at or near the end of plays, namely purely to signify that the end is indeed nigh: a signal additional to the final rhyming couplet. The direction reads "Recorders Exeunt omnes. Flourish" (V.ii.376.1-76.2), and I think that here the recorders accompany the exit of the funeral procession, while the flourish, whose function is in this case distinguished, marks the end of the play.

Sometimes music at the end of a play functioned solely to supply a rousing or entertaining conclusion, and was integrated into the action on a very slight

pretext (for instance, the dance in **Covent Garden** V.v [5]). However, it could be an integral part of the action and indeed the climax of the play (as in **The Royal Slave** [V.vii]), and here embedded masques should be mentioned. An examination of the placing of these reveals that more occur in Act V, and then near the end of this act, than anywhere else. This relates to their dramatic role. It is an indication partly of their use as a device for dénouement (as in **The Lady Mother** V and **The Converted Robber**), and partly of their use as a vehicle for a concluding show of song and dance (as in **Love's Hospital** V.viii). In both cases, they act as a musical finale.

Music at the beginnings of plays is indicated far less commonly than music at their ends. It is important in setting tone, and is often also of thematic significance. Songs are extremely rare; the song of victory which accompanies the triumphant processional entry at the beginning of **Necromantes** ([a] I.i) is one of very few examples. Instrumental music is more popular, and this is often military in nature and constitutes an arresting opening, supplying immediate evocation of a setting of conflict or fighting (as in **The Amorous War** I.i). **Microcosmus** opens with the stage direction "After a confused noyse and Musicke out of tune, Nature enters as amaz'd at it" (I.0.1-0.2). (6) This music represents the rebel mutiny against Nature, and the note it establishes is continued by the entry soon after of the four Elements and their creatures "playing on antique instruments out of tune" (I.42.3). This represents their dissentient state of mind. The chaos of the elements is subsequently symbolized in the dance which they perform, "a confused dance to their owne antique musicke: in which they seeme to fight with one another: and so goe forth confusedly" (ibid..113.1-13.3). Here we see the influence of the antimasque, and

symbolic use of the nature of music and of the choreography of dance. (7)

To a certain extent, this use of music at the beginning and end of plays is reflected by the use of music at the beginning and end of acts, of which there are a number of instances. It can be difficult to distinguish between this and inter-act music. Music at the beginning of acts functions to accompany entry, and to set the scene and emotional tone. The ends of acts were indicated by the exit of all the characters, by the use of the rhyming couplet, and, on occasion, by music, which also functioned to accompany exit. In several plays, dances appear near the end of acts, and this placing can be explained by their dramatic role: they are included primarily to entertain the audience, and are presumably positioned here so as not to delay the action (for instance, dances in **The New Academy** III.ii and IV.ii).

Another important issue is the concentration of music in particular acts, of which one indication is the location of musical episodes. They occur predominantly in Acts III, IV and V, particularly the latter; the same pattern is evident in the placing of embedded masques. The most extended musical episodes (those with five or more directions for music) are concentrated in Act V, and after that in Act III, with Act I being the least popular. Although various factors are at work here, this pattern of concentrating musical episodes towards the end of the play, and particularly in the final act, does suggest that they may often have been postponed in order to provide a musical entertainment towards the end of the play, perhaps even to give the music more prominence. On some occasions this may have been so as not to hinder the flow of the action too much, but it should be repeated that in other plays the music (and embedded masques) in Act V are an important part of the

action.

The frequency of larger musical episodes in Acts III and IV indicates that musical diversion contained within the play more was also acceptable. Here it could function partly to provide respite from the spoken word and temporary relief of tension prior to the climax of the play. However, here the distinction should be made between supplying musical relief and inhibiting the dramatic flow. The relative rarity of musical episodes in Acts I and II suggests playwrights' realization that they could have an undesirable effect on the flow of the action, potentially creating a static hiatus early in the play (as indeed occurs in **Calisto** I.i). However, a skilful playwright could work music effectively into any of the acts.

Another role of music was to punctuate and reinforce the structure of the play. In some plays, a balance of musical elements is evident, with musical episodes which both parallel and contrast with each other, are important to the plot, and help unify the play. Sometimes the musical episodes are embedded masques, and there are several examples in which masques are balanced within a play (for instance, **The English Moor**). **Zeno sive Ambitio Infelix** (a) contains two theatrically effective musical episodes which are important to the action of the play and also contribute to its dramatic structure, paralleling each other. In the first of these (in III.ii), Zeno utilizes the dance under the leadership of Mars as a means of entrapping Harmatius, by accusing him of attempting to murder Zeno during it. The second musical episode (the 'Scena muta' between V.viii and V.ix), which occurs during the drinking scene which includes the play's climax, could be described as a Bacchic masque. It contains a Bacchic song, a dance of Ethiopians, and then one of satyrs. After it, Harmatius' ghost appears to Zeno with a warning of his imminent

doom.

Music is sometimes used to follow and highlight the sequence of action. This is illustrated in **Hannibal and Scipio**, where the military song and dance "expressing a fight" in IV.v (109.1) contrast with the amorous song in I.iii. The parallel is heightened by the latter's use of the imagery of war. This song describes the pleasures of Venus' wars, and represents the Carthaginians' attitude. The soldiers' 'solemnity' in IV.v is primarily to celebrate Scipio's victory, but also Massanissa's recovery, his reconciliation with Scipio, and a lady's nuptials. It is, significantly, performed by both Carthaginian and Roman soldiers. The victory of the Romans is thus emphasized musically (and indeed, re-enacted in song and dance). These musical episodes also help to characterize the two sides, and underline the contrast between them.

Sometimes the same type of music is used in different circumstances, for ironic effect or to make thematic links. For instance, in **The Bloody Banquet**, the contrasting 'loud' and 'soft music' in V.ii provide an ironic echo of III.iii, where such music also played. In both scenes the 'loud music' accompanies the entry of a banquet and the 'soft music' the entry of the Queen, but in very different circumstances: then for her seduction of Tymethes, whereas here for the tyrant tormenting her by laying Tymethes' body before her. Finally, it should not be overlooked that music plays a role in articulating the emotional climaxes of some plays, being used to underscore climactic scenes.

Assessment of the dramatic and theatrical importance of the music

Music played a significant role in Caroline plays performed under all auspices and in the different genres of play. (8) The extent to which the different types of

musical usage occur gives us some indication of their relative importance. Broadly speaking, music which fulfils a role integral to the development of the plot and music which is included primarily to amuse the audience occur far less commonly than that which supplies emotional support. As for music outside the drama, this was probably fairly common, but again not nearly so prevalent as emotionally supportive music.

Arguments have been put forward in the preceding chapters to show that all the music in Caroline plays was important, although in differing ways, according to the differing functions of the music. The type of music most open to a charge of extraneity is obviously that included purely to entertain the audience, but I would argue that this too fulfilled a valid part of the theatrical experience of the day, of the performance as a whole, even though it might be inessential in dramatic terms. In Caroline times, there were no public concerts, and theatres were important as a forum for the performance of music; indeed it has been claimed that music in the theatres can be regarded as London's earliest concerts (Scott 1936:446). The crux is whether one assesses the importance of the music merely from a dramatic standpoint or, as I do, from a broader theatrical stance.

The statement that all Caroline theatre music is important should be qualified by a rider that the success of its use was dependent on the skill of the playwright, and it must be acknowledged that there were qualitative differences in usage. Insofar as one can speak of the use of music by particular playwrights, some of them, most notably Brome and Ford, made skilful, imaginative and subtle use of music, binding it closely to the drama and utilizing it to great dramatic and theatrical effect, whereas others (such as Carlell) made uninspired and trite use of conventions. What should be

remembered is that music held great potential as a tool for the enhancement of both the drama and the theatrical experience as a whole, and that there are examples of the successful realization of this potential.

Heywood's identification in the Prologue to **The English Traveller** of the function of the musical elements he lists as being "to bumbaste out a Play" is somewhat disparaging, and attributes less significance to the music than I have claimed for it, since to 'bumbaste' means "to stuff, swell out, inflate" (**O.E.D.**). In fact, examination of Heywood's use of music in his Caroline plays suggests that perhaps this comment was intended more as a cynical criticism of others' output than as a statement of his own belief. Admittedly the attitude to music as padding is reflected to a certain extent in the way in which he utilizes music in some of his plays (for example, **Calisto**), but in most of them he more fully exploits its dramatic potential. For instance, the only music directed in **The English Traveller** itself is a horn signal which is integral to the plot; and, in other plays, in addition to other integral music, he makes use of music for scene-setting and atmospheric purposes. Nevertheless, even where music does have an integral dramatic function, he is not always adept at assimilating it convincingly (as in **A Maidenhead Well Lost**). Although he was an experienced professional playwright, who "not only knew his craft well but also knew his theatre from the inside, both its potential and its limits" (Dessen 1985:17), and knew the musical conventions, he lacked the sure touch in the handling of music which is so noticeable in Brome. Notably, the play on which he collaborated with Brome, **The Late Lancashire Witches**, does exhibit a skilful use of music.

Music was included in dramatic performances not only because of its role in the play but also because it was

popular with the audience; public taste and theatrical conditions at the time influenced the musical content of plays. Disappointingly, I have discovered no Caroline comment revealing the relative importance attached by the audience to the music and to the play, but Ben Jonson did express his opinion in 1610, and this is worth citing, since he continued writing plays into the Caroline period. In the Preface to **The Alchemist**, he criticized the attention given by the audience to dances and other musical elements at the expense of the play: "the Concupiscence of Daunces, and Antickes so raigneth, as to runne away from Nature, and be afraid of her, is the onely point of art that tickles the Spectators" (6-8). Significantly, such elements are conspicuously absent from the six plays by him which date from Caroline times (only **The Sad Shepherd** includes a dance). However, there is a statement dating from 1634 which suggests the value of music and the quality of theatre musicians as a draw, namely Bulstrode Whitelocke's tribute to the Blackfriars Music.

The use of music capitalized on the audience demand, and utilized it for dramatic and theatrical purposes. Professional theatre, for example, was a highly competitive venture, and companies were primarily concerned with making money. They required commercial plays which would please their audiences, and music was included because of its proven value as a successful element of this popular appeal. The professional playwrights were aware of what audiences wanted, and tried to please them. Those such as Shirley and Brome who were regularly attached to the leading companies produced an average of two plays a year, and, under pressure to produce this output, they pragmatically utilized certain stock themes, characters and situations which had been proved successful. It has been largely overlooked by dramatic commentators that they also

included stock uses of music. The potential for originality lay in the use made of the conventions, and is exhibited in Brome's refreshing and effective uses of music.

The audience's demand for music in plays is evident from the very quantity of it. It is also suggested by Caperwit's comment in **Changes**, which is worth repeating here, although it may include a certain amount of exaggeration and cannot be taken as positive evidence. The talk has been of masques, and Caperwit says,

> "Oh Sir, what Playes are taking without these
> Pretty devices? Many Gentlemen
> Are not, as in the dayes of understanding
> Now satisfied without a Jigge which since
> They can't, with their honour, call for, after
> The Play, They look to be serv'd up ith middle"
> (IV.i.p.51.35-37,p.52.1-3).

That music was considered a draw is illustrated too by the addition of songs to plays revived during the Caroline period. For instance, Shirley added two extra songs to his play **The Careless Shepherdess** (1619) for later productions (Bentley 1941-68:IV,501), and similarly many songs were added to **The Rape of Lucrece** (1607). (9) Furthermore, we know that Richard Brome was required to write songs as part of the contract he made with the management of the Salisbury Court in July 1635 (Bentley 1941-68:I,226-27,295), and some at least of these may well have been for the revisions of old plays which he was also contracted to write.

The addition of music in revivals satisfied not only a demand for more music, but also one for new music. In cases such as those listed above, entirely new songs were provided; in others, only the music was new - a lyric already in the play was provided with a new setting. For example, William Lawes composed settings of "Still to be neat, still to be dressed" from **Epicoene** (1609), probably for one of the court performances in 1636; of "Lovers rejoyce" from **Cupid's Revenge** (1608),

probably for the 1637 court performance; and of "Come Shepheards come" and "Sing his praises that doth keepe" from **The Faithful Shepherdess** (1608), probably for the 1633 court revival. John Wilson also wrote for the latter a setting of "Doe not feare to putt thy feet". (10)

Variety was another ingredient which helped satisfy the audience, as Suckling comments in **Aglaura**: "Playes are like Feasts, and everie Act should bee Another Course, and still varietie" (Epilogue.1-2). Again music contributed. Indeed, in the Dedication to **The Bird in a Cage**, Shirley actually classes music, song and dance as 'varieties'.

Statements such as the above about audiences' taste are obviously very general. Of course there were differences in what different audiences wanted, and this is partly reflected in what we have seen of the music and musical practices in plays performed under different auspices (for instance, the tendency to include more elaborate art-songs in university plays, and the general use of more music in courtly and academic performances). It is noticeable that all the new settings listed above were probably for court performances, and this could suggest more desire there for novelty and up-to-date musical styles. However, although Suckling is the archetypal courtier playwright, his prescription for variety is met musically by plays performed under all auspices.

We have additional evidence specifically concerning popular theatres. There is the testimony of playwrights (presented in section 3.6.3) which reveals musical (and other) elements which were associated with popular taste: jiggs (Dedication to **The Roman Actor**, Prologue to **The Fair Maid of the Inn**), and shows, dance and target or buckler fighting, rather than art or wit (Prologues to **The Doubtful Heir** and **News from Plymouth**). In fact,

as we have seen, shows and dances appeared in élite-theatre plays too. A passage in an élite-theatre play, **The Noble Stranger**, bemoans productions which attempt to please everybody, and I believe it is a satire of popular taste. Pupillus says he pities the playwright, having to meet the audience's demands for such things as high language, obscenity, and a satyr, "and yet the poor Poet must find waies to please 'hem all" (IV.288-89). He says that the audience

> "come to feed on the Offalls of wit, have nothing for their money but a Drumme, a Fooles Coat, and Gun-powder; see Comedies, more ridiculous than a Morrice dance; and for their Tragedies, a bout at Cudgells were a brave Battalia to 'hem" (IV.291-95).

Although some differences are evident, it is possible to say that the same basic musical conventions were followed at all venues. Standardization of procedures in music, as in other aspects of staging, would have been important in assisting with adaptability when plays transferred between venues.

The extent to which music was used suggests that it was considered not merely a draw but a necessary ingredient for success. Heywood explicitly designated his omission of music from **The English Traveller** as part of an experiment, apparently to discover whether a play without music could be successful. The passage quoted earlier, in which he says he has omitted music, continues,

> "nor is this excuse
> Made by our Author, as if want of skill
> Caus'd this defect; it's rather his selfe will:
> Will you the reason know? There have so many
> Beene in that kind, that Hee desires not any
> At this time in His Sceane, no helpe, no straine,
> Or flash that's borrowed from an others braine;
> Nor speaks Hee this that Hee would have you feare it,
> He onely tries if once bare Lines will beare it;
> Yet may't afford, so please you silent sit,
> Some Mirth, some Matter, and perhaps some wit"
> (Prologue.6-16).

Unfortunately, I have discovered no reference to the play's success or otherwise, but it may be significant that Heywood did not repeat the experiment in his subsequent plays. On the contrary, two of these (**Calisto** and **Love's Mistress**) feature an unusually large amount of music. The comments in the Prologue to **The Country Girl** suggest that song was seen as an important factor in attracting audiences and achieving success. The playwright ('T. B.') lists several elements of appeal which the play does not possess, then continues,

> "None of these?
> Alas poore Girle, where's then, thy hope to please?
> What can she sing? and, like the Northerne Lasse,
> (That brave blithe Girle) hope to procure a passe?"
> (Prologue.13-16).

This is a reference to the singing heroine of the very successful play **The Northern Lass** of three years earlier.

The inclusion of music did not necessarily guarantee the contemporary success of a play; this ultimately depended on the play itself. This is well illustrated by the reception of **The Floating Island** and **The Royal Slave**, which were presented before the King and Queen during their 1636 visit to Oxford. Both had music by Henry Lawes. The performance of **The Floating Island** was a failure. Significantly, "All the blame was laid on the play" (Blakemore Evans ed. 1951:172), which was found too grave and moral, "fitter for scholars than a court" (George Gerrard, quoted in Bentley 1941-68:V,1190). Strode had evidently misjudged the taste of the court audience. Music and spectacle were evidently not enough to ensure success, although some at least of the music must have been popular, since two of the songs were subsequently published. By contrast, **The Royal Slave**, which was performed the next evening, was a huge success, and the Queen commanded a performance at Hampton Court, an unprecedented invitation (Blakemore Evans ed. 1951:171). Anthony à Wood commented that **The**

Royal Slave "contained much more variety" than **The Floating Island** (ed. 1796:411-12); presumably this helped account for its success.

Another example is the reception of two plays presented during the 1632 royal visit to Cambridge. **The Rival Friends**, although it featured many songs, is described in the music manuscript as an "unfortunate Comedy" (GB-Lbl MS Add. 10338, f. 51), and the playwright Hausted himself admitted that it was disliked. However, **The Jealous Lovers**, in which much less music is specified, was well received. A final example is **I St Patrick of Ireland.** This was probably Shirley's last-ditch attempt to attract audiences to the new theatrical venture in Dublin (Turner ed. 1979:37-38). Despite his efforts, including featuring stage spectacle and many musical effects calculated to appeal, the play was apparently not very successful (for example, it does not seem to have been licensed for production in London). It seems that Shirley had misjudged Dublin tastes.

4.2 Evaluation of the artistic quality of the music

As we have seen, the linked settings are mixed in quality, ranging from skilful to proficient, to decidedly inferior and inept. While it cannot be claimed that, taken together, they represent a body of uniformly impressive music, the fact remains that most of them are at the least effective and pleasant settings of reasonable quality, and many are to be more highly rated.

The best settings include some which are relatively ambitious and elaborate, and others which are light but effective miniatures. Contemporary styles and forms are evident; for instance, "Drowsie Phaebus" exhibits effective declamatory style, "Come my Daphne" is an attractive example of a dialogue, and "A Health to the Notherne lasse" is a good example of a vigorous drinking part-song. In some of the settings (such as the impressive "Wake my Adonis" and "Drowsie Phaebus"), musical experimentation and developments are evident, and the settings are thus of significance when looking ahead to Restoration theatre music and experiments in opera. There are examples of songs by the major song-writers of the Caroline period, illustrating aspects of their individual styles.

When evaluating the musical worth of these settings, it is vital to remember their dramatic role and the context in which they appear, since this influences their musical nature. For example, a crude setting should not necessarily be dismissed on the grounds of its lack of musical worth; its lack of sophistication may be deliberate, and dictated by its dramatic function or context (as may be the case with "A bony bony bird"). Other examples of details which might be thought of as 'unmusical' but which have a dramatic explanation are the frequent large and disjoint leaps in the vocal line

of "My Limbs I will flinge", which help express character, and the striking use of discords and other grotesque features in "Say daunce how shall wee goe", which are intentional and symbolize the Vices' bringing of disorder.

Of course, there remain settings which are undeniably inferior from a musical point of view, and where there is no dramatic explanation or justification for this. However, all settings, even the more mediocre, deserve attention because, as I have argued, all music has dramatic and theatrical importance. The important point is that settings can be dramatically and theatrically effective even if they are not great music. On the other hand, one must acknowledge that some of the settings are disappointing as music in their own right, and that perhaps on occasion this could have detracted from the dramatic effect of the song. An example is "Wher did you borrow that last sigh" (ed. Appendix 2, No. 1), a type of love complaint, which is set dully and unsubtly by William Lawes, with insensitive word-setting. His superficial treatment detracts from the lyric and its dramatic role. Dangerous though it is to attempt judgment from a twentieth-century perspective, I imagine that even for the seventeenth-century spectator it would have failed to evoke the prevailing mood.

There is little by which one can judge the opinion of play-songs in their day, but it seems that in general they were well thought of. Their contemporary popularity is reflected by their dissemination in commonplace books and printed volumes. Prynne's comment that spectators were "oft-time ravished" by inter-act songs (1633:262) primarily acknowledges the effect of the songs, but may also reflect their quality. As styles went out of fashion, the music was judged by different criteria, and found wanting. This continued into the twentieth century, but recently revaluation of seventeenth-century

song has begun, most notably in the work of Spink and Jones.

Assessment of the artistic quality of the instrumental music based on extant music in arrangements known to have been used in play performances is obviously impossible. Our knowledge is confined entirely to those few contemporary references which can be gleaned from writings on theatre music. The reference in **The Actors Remonstrance** (1643) to "our Musike that was held so delectable and precious" presumably reflects partly what the Caroline élite-theatre musicians played, as well as how they played. Prynne particularly emphasized the 'lust-provoking' aspects of theatre music, but did also refer to its "delicate" nature (1633:273). Hawkins' comments in the eighteenth century supply an interesting note on which to conclude. He was disparaging about instrumental music in the theatre of the Jacobean and Caroline period: "The music was seldom better than that of a few wretched fiddles, hautboys, or cornets; and to soothe those affections which tragedy is calculated to excite, that of flutes was also made use of: but the music of these several classes of instruments when associated being in the unison, the performance was far different from what we understand by concert and symphony; and upon the whole mean and despicable" (ed. 1963:II,685). This can be interpreted as referring to the quality of performance or to the style of composition. Certainly we can again see the assessment of music by different criteria. The evidence on which he based his comments is unknown, but the reference to 'wretched' fiddles contradicts the implication of the **Actors Remonstrance** reference.

4.3 Historical assessment

4.3.1 Introduction

The Caroline period is fascinating in dramatic and theatrical terms, because of its historical position: it came "at the end of a long theatrical tradition and on the eve of a moment of major political upheaval" (Butler 1984:ix), and was followed by the closing of the theatres for eighteen years. Patterns in musical usage should be seen against the background of the major changes in drama and theatres which took place during this time.

Given that music in Caroline plays has been accorded very little consideration in its own right, it is not surprising that there has so far been virtually no attempt to set it into historical context. It is outside the scope of this study to make a full and definitive analysis but by making some detailed comparison of specific musical practices, it is possible to illustrate trends within the Caroline period itself and the relationship with music in earlier and later plays. (11) In order to avoid distortion, it is vital that these comparisons be made in light of the repudiation of several major and pervasive misconceptions concerning the seventeenth-century theatre. The historical significance of musical practices can only be properly interpreted when charted against the new historical perspective proposed by Butler in his convincing revaluation of Caroline drama (1984).

Comparison with earlier traditions has been extended back as far as 1580, since this is often taken as the beginning of the Elizabethan dramatic period, and I believe it useful to set music in Caroline plays in the context of that in Elizabethan and Jacobean plays. Just as the Caroline theatre has so often been subsumed into the Elizabethan, so too has the issue of music in the

plays. Traditionally a relation between music in Caroline plays and Elizabethan and Jacobean traditions has been assumed, and not even explicitly acknowledged, to such an extent that they have been largely treated as identical. In fact, though there were indeed many similarities, traditions were by no means static.

Another common misconception whose correction is important to this study is that plays were not performed during the Commonwealth period. One might expect a break in the continuity of musical traditions after the 1642 order suppressing plays, and indeed the almost complete dearth of attention accorded this period in terms of possible continuity may well reflect the prevalence of this assumption. Chan's observation of links (1979a) is exceptional. In fact, I suggest that at least some of these traditions did continue during the Commonwealth period, in various types of dramatic performance.

The relation between Caroline theatre music practices and those of the Restoration has been accorded very little attention. Writers on the earlier period in particular have been bound almost completely by the terminal date of 1642; those few who have looked ahead have done so only glancingly. (12) True, certain commentators on music in Restoration plays, notably Price and Noyes, have acknowledged the debt to earlier conventions; however, this has been only in generalizations, and they have explored it little. In fact, there are remarkable similarities in usage. Evidently there were musical tendencies which were sufficiently vigorous to survive the eighteen-year virtual closure of the theatres. In addition, the extent of usage or prefiguring of Restoration conventions during the Caroline period has been underestimated. Caroline theatre music is an important precursor of later seventeenth-century theatre music.

4.3.2 Comparison with music in Elizabethan and Jacobean plays, and developments during the Caroline period

In a period of sixty-two years, one would expect change, and certainly between 1580 and 1642 there were changes in taste, in plays, and in theatre music itself. However (although the conventions and traditions were not static, and developments and experimentation occurred), what is noticeable is the extent to which the dramatic and theatrical uses of music remained the same.

Most of the Elizabethan and Jacobean conventions continued in Caroline plays, and indeed, as earlier chapters have shown, some of the conventions often thought to have died out persisted to a significant extent; for instance, dumb-shows and jiggs. I believe that many of the differences between the periods lie in the extent of usage of particular practices. The usage of certain practices increased during the Caroline period itself; examples are the increased use of atmospheric music and an increasing tendency for music between the acts and before plays, both of which are related to the development of the music room. Another example is that of extended musical scenes at or near the end of Act V, which became more common during the Caroline period, especially in the late 1630s.

Embedded masques and masque influences

Another convention which increased in usage during the Caroline period was the embedded masque. These became much more common from 1629 on, being particularly frequent during the early to mid 1630s, though the number dropped off in 1641 and 1642. An important reason for their increase is the fact that they allowed the introduction of music and spectacle.

However, in addition to being 'pretty devices', they were "one of the most central, most fruitful and most

useful dramatic devices open to the Elizabethan, Jacobean or Caroline dramatist" (Ewbank 1967:448). Although there is no clear chronological development in the use of the embedded masque, some trends have been observed; for example, McLuskie and Ewbank note that allegorical masques became more frequent in later plays, particularly during the 1630s (1972:304, 1967:422). Ewbank believes that overall the use of the masque deteriorated, and that by the end of the Caroline period, it had "often become a mere spectacular device" (1967:447-48). This statement is open to challenge. Some Caroline masques are 'a mere spectacular device', but more often they perform a significant dramatic role, as indeed does the music in them. We have seen examples where they, and their music, advance the plot, or, more often, perform an allegorical and symbolic role. They can contribute to theme, tone and atmosphere (Sutherland 1978:5), and are usually plausible and integrated with the play. Few are solely spectacle, although the dramatic effects they achieve are not necessarily all integral to the plot. Obviously the embedded masque could suffer from its own popularity, but there are fine examples of exciting exploitation of its dramatic possibilities (as in **The English Moor**).

Masque influences in more general terms were important. Brome's Prologue to **The Antipodes** of 1638 reads,

> "Opinion, which our author cannot court
> (For the dear daintiness of it), has of late
> From the old way of plays possess'd a sort
> Only to run to those that carry state
> In scene magnificent and language high,
> And clothes worth all the rest, except the action.
> And such are only good, those leaders cry;
> And into that belief draw on a faction
> That must despise all sportive, merry wit,
> Because some such great play had none in it" (1-10).

Brome was apparently referring to the productions of **Aglaura** in 1638, and was attacking the increasing

popularity of court plays, with their lavish scenery and costumes, both of which were influenced by masques. Other masque influences were apparent in the use of machinery, the appearance of gods and goddesses, pageantry, and, importantly for this discussion, singing and dancing.

In some plays there is experimentation in combining play and masque (Ingram 1955:298-309). Sometimes the elements are kept fairly distinct; for instance, in both **Microcosmus** (13) and **Love's Mistress**, where the lavish masque elements are concentrated at the end of the acts. Other plays were themselves masque-like, **The Royal Slave** and **The Floating Island** being good examples. Such developments were not entirely new to the Caroline period (ibid.:293,306-307; Mehl 1965:167), but are particularly noticeable later in this period, in university and court plays (Ingram 1955:260,266). The nature of the masque influence in these cases is harder to define. Points which have been identified are that it is partly a matter of mood and atmosphere (which Ingram observes in Cartwright's **The Siege** and in **The Rival Friends** [1955:309]), and partly one of dramatic structure ("a general loosening of dramatic structure" in **The Queen and Concubine** and **The Lovesick Court** [Mehl 1965:167]) and of tempo (which was "radically altered" in **The Royal Slave**, according to Blakemore Evans [ed. 1951:173]). Ingram has related this tendency to changes in the nature of plays, claiming that in the Caroline period there were plays which were "particularly susceptible to masque-like treatment" (1955:315).

Development in symbolic associations of instruments

In Caroline, as in Elizabethan and Jacobean times, it seems that instruments and their sonority were more important than the music they played. Most of the specific symbolic associations remained basically the

same. However, there are some differences, which have previously been overlooked. Typical is the treatment of the recorder. There are Caroline examples of the use of the recorder in the basic range of contexts identified by Manifold (1948 and 1956). (14) He commented that the unifying element is "the idea of another world; the supernatural; benevolent deities" (1956:71), and correctly observed that contexts "overlap and interlink", and that recorders have a "complex and unusual series of emotional overtones" (ibid.). However, he overlooked the development of this during the Caroline period, when there was an extension in the use of the recorder. For example, its association with mourning extends to its association with melancholy (**Landgartha** I), and with forsaken lovers (**Hyde Park** V.ii). The superimposition of associations is evident on two occasions in **The Ladies' Privilege.** In Act IV, the recorders are said to 'presage a harmonious omen', and indeed they do: they accompany the entry of virgins, one of whom saves Doria's life. The associations of recorders with melancholy are also played on here, reflecting Doria's state of mind, since he wants to die because his mistress will not save him. The recorders in Act V parallel their previous appearance: they again, on the most obvious level, accompany the entry of virgins, and they are another good omen; but they also reflect Doria's melancholy mood.

The benevolent supernatural, which Manifold suggested as an underlying linking element, becomes more significantly overt in Caroline plays. Recorders are associated with magical powers and enchantment, often connected with the suggestion of heavenly music, as in **Changes** V.v. In **Love's Mistress** II.i they are a manifestation of a god's magical powers. In **Microcosmus** II, the association of recorders with gods is extended: they accompany the discovery of Bellanima in clouds,

between Love and Nature, and there are again heavenly associations. The recorders in these examples are important in establishing atmosphere.

This expanded range of associations does seem to represent a development in conventional usage. The extensions in use, with instruments associated with more contexts, allowed a more complex range of overtones on which the dramatist could draw, creating a potentially more sophisticated system of symbolism.

Quantity and overall role of music in plays

Direct comparison of the quantity of music with the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods is impossible since comparable figures have not been published. However, not only is there generally a large amount of music in Caroline plays; there is also a slight overall increase discernible in the amount of music directed or implied per play, and of course, increased inter-act music meant more music in performances. What is more noticeable is the growing tendency, especially from the mid 1630s on, whereby certain plays contain noticeably more music than others. In other words, there were - partly because of the enterprise of particular playwrights - more plays with more music.

The received view concerning Elizabethan and Jacobean plays is that the children's companies were the first to include a lot of music and experiment with its role in drama, but that, somewhere around the end of the first decade of the seventeenth century, this trend transferred to the adult companies, who continued to follow developments established by the choirboy companies. Specific comment on general trends in the use of music in Caroline plays in relation to those in earlier plays is virtually non-existent. Where it does exist, the attitude is generally dismissive. Ingram and Bowden, the authors of the two most significant studies

explicitly concerned with music in Jacobean and Caroline plays, and hence one would suppose in a good position to comment, both perceived a decline.

Underlying Ingram's criticisms is a belief that there was an increase in the extraneous use of music. He claims that "the conventions are used dully as excuses for empty displays of music and spectacle and the music became non-dramatic, though it is still cheaply theatrical" (1955:312). Bowden does not so baldly claim extraneity, and says that songs "continue to fulfill some of the old dramatic functions" (1951:130); however, I think it significant that he does also say that dramatists "set them up as showpieces" (ibid.). The main point he emphasizes to support his claim of a change in the use of song is a loss of spontaneity and of "the core of genuine emotion" (ibid.:131), and an increase in formality and artificiality. The distinction between his criticism and Ingram's seems to be that he believes the conventions were less well used, but still to some dramatic purpose, whereas Ingram believes that they were exploited purely as a pretext for musical display.

The generalization that there was an overall decline in the use of music must be refuted. The picture is more complicated than that presented by Ingram and Bowden, and although the criticisms of both are true in some cases, I believe both overlook more significant trends which apply to the majority of cases. Looking first at the charge of increasing extraneity, I have already argued that purely extraneous music is relatively rare. Indeed, there was less music included primarily to amuse the audience than there was emotionally supportive and integral music, so this was proportionately not an especially significant use of music. Nor can I discern a trend towards the increased use of extraneous music during the Caroline period; rather, I would say that there are isolated examples throughout the period (as

indeed there had been in the children's plays).

It is important to understand that though music was introduced in response to audience demand, such music need not be extraneous. It far more often performs a valid dramatic role. Admittedly there is a tendency in some Caroline plays for music to be more obviously included for its musical appeal; nevertheless it was usually still justified dramatically. Another facet of the extraneity issue is the argument that songs were included to display a performer's musical skill. I believe that in most cases, even if this was a motivation for the inclusion of a song, the song itself was then integrated convincingly into the play (for example, this is the case with Thomas Holmes' "Newly from a Poatcht Toad" in **The Rival Friends**, which definitely performs a dramatic function).

A further criticism levelled by Ingram, and one linked to the issue of extraneity, is that "the musical scenes became obtrusive and visibly a separate part of the play" (1955:329). Again, this is true only to a limited degree. An example with which this charge can be countered is the embedded masque. Ingram observed a tendency to resort to the masque for the introduction of music, and not integrate it effectively with the play (ibid.:266,288). On the contrary, more often than not, Caroline embedded masques do perform an important dramatic role and are integrated with the play (though this is not to deny that they were also utilized for the introduction of music). Ingram also observes that this detachment from the play occurred "when the speed of the drama slowed down" (ibid.:329), and, as I interpret it, he seems to make a link between plays with a slower pace and those influenced by masques. I would state that firstly there are few extreme examples of such plays, and secondly, it is not always true of the 'masque-plays' which he cites, particularly in the case of **The**

Royal Slave, in which all the music is integrated, and is indeed a vital part of the action in the climactic final scene of the play. (I would, however, allow that there are some examples, for instance in **Calisto.**)

To consider Bowden's basic criticism, which concerns the quality of use of conventions: although there are some examples of songs of the formal nature Bowden decribes, there are still many examples of vital and spontaneous song, and examination of linked settings, which Bowden neglected, supports this view. It is the range of song which is striking. There is still extensive use of snatches and of ballads, and even when formal songs do occur, they are often integrated within a dramatic context which is itself formal in nature.

I believe that, when making their generalizations of a decline in musical practices, Ingram and Bowden were misled by the popular belief that Caroline drama declined and was 'decadent'. Indeed, both make an explicit link between the changing role of music and changes in the drama. This is an example of what Butler has described as "deep-rooted convictions about the inevitability of the decline of Caroline drama" interfering "radically with criticism of the plays" (1984:8-9). Bowden and Ingram looked to what has traditionally been perceived as the major tradition in Caroline times - the courtly tradition - when making their generalizations, which led them to a mistaken analysis. Significantly, Bowden specifically excluded Brome in particular, and also to some extent Ford, Shirley and Davenant, from his generalization. They are the major professional playwrights of the Caroline period, and as such represent what Butler has convincingly established was the dominant tradition of the period.

Other developments

When the preconceptions inherent in the erroneous historical perspective are avoided, it becomes clear that there was not a general decline in the way music was used. A variety of usages should be allowed for. I do not believe it is possible to claim that there was a change overall in the balance between music and drama; rather, there was a continuing line of experimentation and development in some plays and in the work of individual playwrights. Brome, and to a lesser extent Ford, continued experiments in the combination of music and drama, as had Marston, Shakespeare and Fletcher before them. (15) Notably, Brome's effective and skilful uses of music were "based on established forms and persisting conventions" (Ingram 1976:219). The important point here is that experimentation in the dramatic combination of action, words and music could take place through the medium of stock conventions. Other trends, such as the increased use of atmospheric and affective music, were forward-looking, and relied on the development of preexisting but so far less exploited conventions. Further experimentation could be described as taking place outside the stock conventions (for instance, the sung Introduction to **The Rival Friends** and the masque plays). Such experimentation was fairly limited, and occurred mostly in plays acted before the court (such as **Love's Mistress**).

Davenant's intentions in his ambitious theatre project of 1639 are significant to the study of music in the Caroline theatre, even though the project was not realized at the time. In the patent for this "revolutionary new theater" (Freehafer 1968-69:370), he was authorized "from time to time, to act Plays in such House ... , and exercise Musick, musical Presentments, Scenes, Dancing or other the like, at the same, or other hours or times, or after Plays are ended" (quoted in

Bentley 1941-68:VI,305). Although the wording in the patent is ambiguous, and it is unclear whether the music referred to is in plays, his novel proposals suggest dramatic developments in combinations of music and drama, and even opera, as well as concerts. It seems that the Caroline period could have seen these developments, were it not for Davenant's enemies (Freehafer 1968-69). Significantly, these included Brome; thus perhaps it could be claimed that he was partly responsible for limiting Caroline experiments mostly to the innovative use of stock conventions, rather than allowing this new departure to proceed.

4.3.3 Continuation of Caroline traditions of theatrical music during the Commonwealth period

On 2nd September 1642, stage-plays were forbidden by Ordinance of Parliament, and this ban continued for eighteen years. A few brief points can illustrate that, despite this, there was continuity of Caroline traditions of theatrical music, albeit limited, through to the Restoration.

Records of theatrical activity are sparse, but we know that the order did not succeed in completely suppressing playing, and that there were surreptitious performances of plays in private houses and even at the old theatres. Old plays comprised almost all of the repertory (Rollins 1921:302). Little is known about the performances, but there is evidence that musicians were involved in them: a ballad about the raid on the Red Bull on 14th September 1655 tells us that the musicians escaped without losing or breaking their instruments (quoted in ibid.:319-20). It is hard to believe that at least some Caroline musical practices were not utilized. Strictly speaking, this represents the only direct line of development. Relatively few plays were performed during the Commonwealth, and in the search for evidence

of continuity, it is necessary to look beyond music in plays to other combinations of music and drama.

One such dramatic activity was the performance of drolls. These have been defined as "brief original farces in prose or verse or the farcical scenes cut from well-known Elizabethan plays" (ibid.:307-8). I have examined the texts of some drolls based on scenes from Caroline plays. In them, some of the musical stage directions present in the original scene are retained (for example, in **Monsieur Galliard**), some are omitted, and some are added (as in **A Prince in Conceit**). (16) We also know that drolls were associated with music "from the number of songs they use, from their jig-like nature and from the association of some drolls with tunes in Playford's **The English Dancing Master**" (Chan 1979a:121).

Chan has suggested (ibid.) that certain elements of the tradition of music in plays continued and developed during the Commonwealth in the performance of short dramatic pieces which are related to the drolls in form and subject, such as pastoral and mythological dialogue songs, and possibly in scenes from longer plays, and the mock ballads of the drolleries. The overall gist of her argument is persuasive.

Another combination of music and drama occurred in Davenant's series of what have been described as operatic ventures, (17) which began in 1656 when he was given a limited licence. It is arguable to what extent these represent a continuation of the tradition of music in plays, and to what extent a development in a new direction. One musical usage from Caroline plays whose influence is evident is that of preliminary and inter-act music. **The First Day's Entertainment at Rutland House** (1656) has a stage direction for music before the entry of the Prologue. Looking ahead to the Restoration, this became standard. (18) A frequent function of Caroline inter-act music was to entertain the audience,

and a link may be seen between this and what occurs in **The First Day's Entertainment.** A direction between the two sets of declamations says that the audience are "entertained by instrumental and vocal music". The lyric indicates that a dialogue song was performed; there is evidence for the use of dialogues between the acts of some Caroline plays, for instance **Paria** and **The Rival Friends.** Another function of Caroline inter-act music was to prepare for the following act and establish atmosphere. Again there is no direct correlation, partly because the divisions of the works are not called acts; those in **I The Siege of Rhodes** (1656) and **I Sir Francis Drake** (1658) are called 'entries'. However, I believe there is some correspondence between the use of music between the acts of Caroline plays and between the entries in these works. Each of the five entries in **I The Siege of Rhodes** is preceded by instrumental music, and so are the six entries in **The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru** (1658) and **I Sir Francis Drake.** This also links to the use of music to accompany and enhance the discovery of a scene. We saw possible Caroline examples of this, and it became very common in the Restoration (Price 1979a:10). It is stated explicitly in **The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru** and **I Sir Francis Drake** that the music prepares the change of scene, and the directions indicate that this music was descriptive. Appropriate music also accompanies the opening of the curtain on several occasions in **The First Day's Entertainment.**

The use of a chorus at the end of all five entries of **I The Siege of Rhodes** seems to be another influence from Caroline plays. (19) Like some Caroline inter-act choruses, they comment on events; moreover these comments are what Hedbäck has described as burlesque in nature (ed. 1973:lxxv). Whereas she sees Italian links,

I suggest influence from the similar inter-act material in some Caroline plays, such as **Love's Mistress** and the comic interludes in some popular-theatre plays (though these were not necessarily musical in nature). Of course there are obvious differences in the use of music too, primarily the fact that **I The Siege of Rhodes** was sung throughout, and **I Sir Francis Drake** probably used recitative too.

4.3.4 Comparison with music in Restoration plays

When the London theatres re-opened with the restoration of Charles II in 1660, there were major differences, such as the restriction to two companies; a radical change in theatre design, with the changing of the nature of the platform stage by making it a fore-stage backed with a proscenium arch framing changeable scenery; the development of new forms of play; the employment (very soon) of women in the female roles; and changes in audiences and their taste. Given all this, and also the changes which had taken place since Caroline times in music itself, it is remarkable how few changes there were in the way music was used in the theatre. (20) The extent of Caroline foreshadowing of Restoration practices is striking and to many will be unexpected.

At the beginning of the Restoration, adaptations of both Caroline and earlier plays were common. These were largely superseded by new plays as the Restoration developed its own repertory. There are, however, records of performances of Caroline plays late into the century, and we can gain some insight into the relation between Restoration and Caroline practices, and into Restoration taste, by comparing the music called for in Caroline and Restoration productions of particular plays. (21) Davenant's adaptations of his own Caroline plays are of particular interest, in view of his unique position as

"the most important link between the Caroline and Restoration theatrical worlds" (Moore 1961:27).

Differences

As one would expect, different and new musical forms and styles were used in Restoration plays. Some different instruments were utilized, and it is possible to differentiate between two distinct instrumental groups: stage musicians and a theatre orchestra (Price 1979b:315). The number of instrumentalists generally increased, on occasion very considerably (Price 1979a:81), and there were some changes in their location: the music room moved to the side, (22) and the other locations in which musicians performed included an orchestra pit (ibid.:84-87).

A significant point of difference is the extent to which Restoration instrumental theatre music - notably act music - is ascribed to specific plays in musical sources. I suggest that this is partly indicative of a greater use of, and a greater importance attached to, music newly composed specifically for particular plays. This contrasts with my hypothesized greater use of an existing repertory in Caroline times. This striking emergence of ascription may also result from such factors as different theatrical practices and organization, the rise of professionalism, the influence of the rising trade of music publishing, and a new self-consciousness and awareness.

Similarities

Despite the many differences, it is more interesting for this study to examine the many remarkable similarities, which one sees when one looks at the uses to which music was put. It has been recognized that the Restoration theatre inherited most of its musical practices from earlier times (Price 1979a:xv; Noyes

1938:164). What I would particularly emphasize is the extent to which many Restoration musical practices were used in the Caroline theatre, since this has been largely overlooked or underestimated. Particular similarities are the use of music for curative, consolatory, sedative, seductive and serenading purposes; for characterization; to assist illusion and enhance scenes such as weddings, processions, banquets and masques; to heighten emotional intensity, accompany soliloquies, enhance the supernatural, intensify moods of melancholy and scenes of love and death; to foreshadow death allegorically; for comic effect; and to divert the audience. Although there are of course slight differences in actual usage, some musical scenes in Restoration plays possess an almost formulaic similarity with those in Caroline plays.

Not only were most musical conventions transferred direct from Caroline to Restoration plays, but even the apparently 'innovative' Restoration conventions have Caroline precursors. One Restoration convention for which I have discovered some Caroline antecedence is that of the musical grove. **The Lady Errant**, which dates from 1637, and was privately acted, features a song in a grove (III.iv). As we have seen, this lament, "Wake my Adonis, do not dye", expresses Malthora's fear concerning her husband's fate. This scene thus performs what Price defines as one of the general functions of the Restoration grove: "to give musical expression to a character's thoughts" (1979a:46). It is interesting, given that this song adumbrates a Restoration convention, that Charles Coleman's extant setting also points forward to the Restoration; in fact, it is notable for the modernity of its style (Spink 1986:118). Another possible predecessor of the musical grove appeared earlier in the Caroline period: **Calisto** III.i features a song in an arbour, which contains shepherds

and shepherdesses who may well have performed the song. The parallel here lies both in the setting and in the fact that many early Restoration grove scenes "provide the background for rustic masques or some kind of pastoral entertainment" (Price 1979a:45).

A further example is Caroline foreshadowing of an expansion in the range of symbolic associations of the term 'soft music' which Manifold has attributed to the Restoration period. He observed that Restoration dramatists often used the term in "situations inappropriate to Elizabethans" (1956:136). However, I have found Caroline examples of it in all three of the Restoration situations which Manifold lists as 'inappropriate to Elizabethans': entry 'distracted', mourning, and descent of an angel. Significantly, the plays containing these examples are concentrated towards the end of the Caroline period, especially 1638 on.

The extent to which some of the Restoration practices which have been pinpointed as 'innovative' but not completely unique to the Restoration (Price 1979a:xv) were foreshadowed in Caroline plays ought not to be underestimated. In some cases there are Elizabethan and Jacobean precursors, as Price has observed (ibid.). I believe that the existence of Caroline examples is a valuable indication that they were a continuing tradition. One example is that of masques which advance the plot. Price has noted that these were used by "several Restoration playwrights" and also occurred in "Jonsonian tragedy" (ibid.). As we have seen, masques were in fact integral to the plot with some frequency in Caroline plays. Another example is the performance by some major characters of their own songs. Price lists Elizabethan and Jacobean examples (ibid.); examples continued to appear during the Caroline period, albeit to a lesser extent than during the Restoration. It is a matter of degree. On the other hand, it should be

acknowledged that some examples have very few Caroline antecedents; for instance, that of the foretelling of the future in ballet during a vision or dream, resulting in a character changing their course of action (ibid.:xvi) has only one Caroline precursor (**The Queen's Exchange** III.i).

More detailed comparison of a few specific musical practices allows the highlighting by example of areas of similarity and difference. I stress that the similarities in usage outnumbered the differences.

Specific areas: i. Music before and after plays and between the acts

As has been demonstrated, the convention of inter-act music was already common in Caroline times. We can undoubtedly see here the foreshadowing of the standardized appearance of act tunes in the Restoration. In both periods, inter-act music was rarely mentioned in stage directions. Some examples of markings appear in Restoration promptbooks for revivals of Caroline plays, and one is of particular interest. Exit and re-entry suggest music between Acts IV and V in Caroline performances of **Brennoralt**, and significantly, inter-act music is actually directed here in a Restoration promptbook of this play. (23)

All the Caroline plays in which we know that music appeared between each of the five acts (as was the Restoration practice) were performed under courtly and academic auspices. Perhaps this may suggest a strong influence emanating from these traditions, and experimentation during Caroline times in plays for courtly and academic auspices in advance of practices in those for public theatres.

We have seen the difference in the ascription of surviving act music. A second difference is in the extent to which inter-act songs were used. Restoration

act tunes were nearly always short instrumental pieces, and before 1700 songs were rarely used (Price 1979a:61). In Caroline plays, instrumental music appeared between the acts, but songs were fairly common too, notably again in the academic and court traditions, though there is also some evidence for their use in public theatres. One aspect of particular interest is the inter-act choruses, some of which were sung, and commented on the action. Such reflection was rare in Restoration plays, though Price does cite the exceptional example of **Pompey** (1663).

Inter-act music appears to have performed broadly the same range of functions in the two periods, the primary one being to supply musical relief from the spoken dialogue. However, I have the impression that it was more often drawn into the dramatic illusion in Caroline plays. The dumb-show after Act IV of **A Maidenhead Well Lost** which presents an important piece of plot and is accompanied by music, is similar to the song between Acts III and IV of **Pompey**, which is also integral to the plot; Price has observed that the songs in this play are unique to the period in the way they link the acts.

The three soundings which normally preceded the Prologue, particularly in the popular theatres, were replaced in the Restoration by the 'first' and 'second music'. Perhaps there was some foreshadowing of this in the consort music which I have hypothesized frequently replaced the soundings in the élite theatres. Possibly the Caroline music 'for the Act' whose existence I have suggested was a parallel to, and indeed a predecessor of, the Restoration overture, which came between the Prologue and Act I. However, there is little solid evidence for this.

Although evidence for both periods is limited, there is a difference in music after the play: we have seen that jiggs still existed in Caroline times, whereas they

do not appear in the Restoration period. (24) Given their association with the popular tradition, perhaps this relates to its effective disappearance in 1642. However, just as there could be music after Caroline plays other than that involved in jiggs, there are a few Restoration examples of music after Act V; for instance, the prompt notes in **The Sisters** reveal that there was a fifth act tune.

Specific areas: ii. The final dance in comedies

A second Restoration practice which is already evident in Caroline plays is that of the final dance in comedies. Although the device was certainly put to much greater use in the Restoration (it is used in only eleven out of the 114 Caroline comedies), there are striking parallels, and the Caroline instances evidently foreshadowed the Restoration convention (described by Price [1979a:37-39]). The Caroline dances are placed at or very near the end of the final act, are succeeded by either no dialogue (**The Example** and **The Lady of Pleasure**) or only a few lines of it (as in the other nine examples), are most often justified as celebration of a forthcoming wedding (as in **The Walks of Islington** and **The Wizard**), and are all cast dances, apart perhaps from two (those in **The Antipodes** and **The Fancies Chaste and Noble**). Price noted that the fiddlers "managed to work their way into the scene on some pretext" (ibid.:37-38); compare this with the fortuitous presence of accompanists in **A Mad Couple Well Matched**: "Come Madam, I finde here's Musick" (V.ii.398).

The dramatic role of Caroline, as of Restoration, final dances is hard to assess, and they mostly seem to be a pretext for a rousing conclusion, just as their Restoration successors are often merely "a terminating device" (Price 1979a:37). However, unlike some

Restoration final dances, the Caroline ones are provided with dramatic justification.

Specific areas: iii. The embedded masque

The embedded masque provides an unusual instance of a convention that actually decreased in the Restoration period. Price, it is true, claims that their use increased after 1660 (ibid.:28), and Baskervill also claimed this (1929:153), presumably because the frequency with which embedded masques appear in Caroline plays has in the past been underestimated. For once, figures on the Restoration are available, thanks to Price's list of Restoration plays with masques (1979a:256,n.66). Comparison reveals that just under a fifth of Caroline plays contain embedded masques, but only a tenth of Restoration plays (several of which are adaptations of Caroline plays which retain the masque, such as 'Mr Rivers'' 1692 adaptation of Shirley's **The Traitor**). It is notable that there are examples of embedded masques in Caroline plays which were cut from texts for Restoration performances, such as those in **The Ball** and **The Lover's Melancholy.** (25)

Possibly entertainments partly superseded embedded masques; or the decline in their use might be explained partly by a change in taste, or partly by the fact that the independent court masque was now largely a thing of the past. However, the number of Restoration examples is still surprisingly large, given that this was now a more or less obsolete form. The function of the embedded masques also altered: unlike Caroline examples, Restoration masques are rarely integrated with the play, and are often just a show of song and dance (ibid.:29). (26)

Quantity of music, musical spectacle and integral music

Concerning Restoration theatre music, Hume has said

that "increasing doses of music, dance, and spectacle quickly make a sharp differentiation from the Caroline theatre" (ed. 1980:xi). (27) Another point which has been fixed on as a major way in which Restoration theatre music was different from that of previous periods is the extent to which integral music appears. Price has said that "what is so striking about Restoration drama is the large number of plays in which music actually furthers the dramatic action rather than simply supplements it" (1979a:xv), and has identified this as a difference from earlier plays. I believe the differentiation has been exaggerated, due to an underestimate of the extent to which music, musical spectacle and integral music (though this to a lesser degree) appeared in Caroline plays.

Admittedly there was generally less music in Caroline plays, but the trend of expanding the amount of music did begin before the Interregnum. Indeed, there are some plays which contain a particularly large amount of music, and a play such as **I St Patrick for Ireland** equates in terms of amount with **The Villain** (1662), which Price has described as featuring "considerable music" (1979b:315).

Musical spectacle occurred frequently in Caroline plays, though not as often as in Restoration plays. The underestimate (or ignorance) of the spectacular element in Caroline plays is illustrated by a comment of Noyes'. Although he himself observed that pre-Restoration drama acted as a precedent concerning opportunities for spectacle (1938:172), he also cited the example of a funeral in **The Unnatural Mother** (1697), where a prayer to the god is sung as the priests "with impressive ceremonial 'all walk round the Pile ... and set fire to the pile with Torches'". He then commented, "At this late date in the Restoration even tragedy-funerals demanded spectacle" (ibid.:187). This implies they did

not have it earlier. However, the performance of **The Conspiracy** at York House in 1635

> "had Scenes fitted to evety [sic] Passage of it throughout, and the last in this place was a Funerall Pile, bearing on the top the body of the Dead Tyrant, and set out with all the Pomp the Ancients us'd in those Ceremonies. This Scene consisted onely of Musick and Shew; on the one side of the Pile stands a Consort of Musitians, representing the Priests of the Land, and on the other side of it another, representing the People" ([b] p.53.52-58).

A very elaborate choral song is now performed, and

> "about the middle of the last Stanzo, Timeus puts a lighted Torch to the bottome of the Pile which gives fire to some Perfumes laid there on purpose; the which wraps the Pile in smoak, and smells ore all the Roome" ([b] p.64.29-31). (28)

Although this was a private performance (though the play was later performed at the Blackfriars), the scene is still interesting both because of its striking similarity with that in **The Unnatural Mother**, and as an example of a scene with lavish musical spectacle.

Other Caroline plays containing spectacle were also presented in auspices other than the public theatres (for example, **The Royal Slave**). However, plays presented in the public theatres did also involve it (for instance, **The Broken Heart** [V.iii] and **The Wasp** [II]). The spectacle was sometimes particularly showy; for example, **I St Patrick for Ireland** features a scene of sacrifice involving a flame behind the altar, a song, and then a moving statue (II.ii), and another scene with a vision involving singing and foreshadowing the subsequent climactic entry and repulse of serpents (V.iii).

I believe integral music is more frequent in Caroline plays than previous scholars have realized, even though it is certainly not as common as in the Restoration. In Caroline plays, integral music occurs less frequently than emotionally supportive music, and it seems that this was also the case in Restoration plays, since Price

says that, although "the structural use of music" is frequent in plays, "far more prevalent is that music which enhances rather than participates in the dramatic development of plots" (1979a:3). (29)

Extraneous music

The issue of extraneous music in Restoration plays provoked considerable contemporary criticism, and condemnatory comment persisted. Price, while acknowledging the vital and dramatic role music also performed, does agree that it was exploited (1980:211), and used "simply to please and divert" (1979a:95). Extraneous music was introduced to revivals of Caroline plays, representing their adaptation to current theatrical demands. The inclusion of extraneous music in Restoration plays results from commercial considerations and the influence of the profit motive (Kenny ed. 1984:23-29). Price observes that "before the concert ... became a regular occurrence, Londoners went mainly to the playhouse to hear professionally performed music" (1979a:106). The plays could not dramatically absorb the resultant large quantities of new music, which led to its extraneity (ibid.:107). As I have argued, audience demand was also an important factor behind the inclusion of music in Caroline plays, but its effect on the musical content of plays, and particularly on the amount of extraneous music, was not so extreme.

Indeed, when assessing the overall role and importance of music, a major difference lies in the extent to which extraneous music occurs. I have argued that, although there are occasions in Caroline plays when music is obviously introduced purely to amuse, this is relatively rare. In Restoration plays, however, music which is evidently extraneous (30) occurs in far greater quantity. Moreover, insofar as it is possible to compare Price's categories of usage with mine, it seems that

there was a major shift in the balance and proportions of music fulfilling integral, emotionally supportive and extraneous roles within Caroline and Restoration plays. (31)

Conclusion

Despite differences, a remarkable link is evident between music in Caroline and Restoration plays, especially in the uses to which music was put. Some of the considerable degree of Caroline foreshadowing of Restoration practices is particularly noticeable in plays performed under courtly and private auspices. Moreover, these are the very auspices where experimentation took place. I believe this suggests that certain musical practices of the professional theatres of the Restoration were anticipated and developed here. This can be related to the nature of the theatres in Restoration times, which, although they were called public, "were as much court playhouses as were their French counterparts in the same century" (Price 1979a:xiii). The constitution of the Restoration audience has been much discussed, but in the first decades at least it was basically drawn from courtly circles and aristocratic society. The role of the Caroline court as a forum for theatrical experimentation, and its links with Restoration theatre, have been described by Sturgess: "In effect, the Caroline court became a laboratory for theatrical development and experimentation and it inevitably affected the ideas and the professions of the professional theatre people brought within its ambit. At the Restoration, the cavalier theatre of Davenant and Killigrew, first tried out at Charles's court, would predominate and determine the course of British professional theatre for many decades" (1987:148). I suggest that this applies to a certain extent to music

too, though alongside a great influence from musical practices in Caroline public theatres.

In Caroline plays, the music always remained secondary to the spoken play. During the Restoration, however, music was eventually employed to an excessive extent, resulting in an "imbalance of music and drama on the late Restoration stage"; "the play had not been so seriously threatened since the playhouses were closed and the theatre companies dissolved during the Puritan rule" (Price 1979a:48,111).

4.3.5 Influence on the development of English opera

Commentators on the evolution of English opera have tended to attribute indigenous influence almost entirely to the court masque, acknowledging little if any influence from the tradition of music in spoken drama, and attributing that to some of the Elizabethan choirboy plays. (32) ('English opera' is here used to include both the dramatic operas and those few 'true' operas of the seventeenth century which are more in the operatic mainstream. [33]) The possible influence of the tradition of music in plays of the Caroline period, that most immediately preceding the first operatic experiments, has been neglected. Only Ingram has explored it in any detail, in his article "Operatic Tendencies in Stuart Drama" (1958).

An important point which Ingram has overlooked is that the influence of the masque on the evolution of English opera must surely have occurred partly through the medium of plays (through both the frequent embedded masques and the broader masque influence on plays). Caroline plays in which the masque elements were kept fairly distinct, such as **Love's Mistress** and **Microcosmus**, can be identified as precursors of Restoration dramatic operas.

Quite rightly, Ingram states that "the approaches to

opera ... were probably unconscious" (ibid.:502). He has illustrated how certain Caroline plays "extended the uses of music in drama, often clearly in the direction of opera" (ibid.:489,490), identifying as 'operatic tendencies' the inveterate singer, scenes which totally depend for their effect on music and song, and "the magnification of the musical background of the plays" (ibid.:496). Other features of relevance to the development of English opera which must be added to this list are the overall quantity and importance of music in Caroline plays, the increased use of atmospheric and affective music, the occasional main characters who sing, and the music and musical episodes (including masques) which further the plot. The extent to which declamatory ayres are used is significant, but there is very little exploitation of the dialogue, an obvious dramatic vehicle.

Davenant's 1639 patent and **I The Siege of Rhodes** deserve discussion. I think that the wording of the patent means that Davenant intended the production of operas in his new theatre, although the word 'opera' is not used. This is significant because it indicates a conscious and explicit intention in the Caroline period, albeit one which came to nothing at the time. I believe it also reveals common misconceptions concerning Davenant's intention in his Commonwealth operatic experiments. Dryden's contention that Davenant was not really trying to introduce opera, and used music as a last resort, to avoid the prohibition on spoken plays, has been widely accepted. However, I think that the 1639 licence is one of several convincing factors in the case not only for Davenant intending opera with **I The Siege of Rhodes**, but also for it being justifiably called the first English opera. (34)

The question of influences on **I The Siege of Rhodes** is interesting, given that Davenant had written eleven

plays and five masques during the Caroline period, and also given that two of the composers involved in **I The Siege of Rhodes** (Henry Lawes and Charles Coleman) had also written music for Caroline plays and masques. We have already seen that there are influences from Caroline plays; oddly, however, these are mostly from the works of playwrights other than Davenant, who in fact used relatively little music in his Caroline plays, and that in a fairly unadventurous manner. Derivation from masques has been claimed, but challenged by Hedbäck, who suggests that in some cases it has arisen because writers have perceived a similarity with the staging of Davenant's masques (ed. 1973:lxix). However, she like most others has neglected the possible influence of the tradition of music in English spoken drama.

To conclude, I believe that some experiments in, and features of, Caroline plays were one of the influences on the evolution of English opera. Their importance should not be over-estimated, but they were nevertheless significant. However, the two traditions were different, and we are primarily concerned here with the tradition of music in plays. Overall, this tradition was one of music in spoken drama, rather than of 'musical drama' (although there are examples of this). Indeed, the strength of the tradition of spoken drama has been proposed as one of the main reasons why England for so long resisted continental operatic influence.

CONCLUSION

Caroline drama has long suffered from neglect and from the pejorative epithet 'decadent'. As recently as 1979, Farr wrote that "with our hindsight of what was to come we tend to regard both the stage and the drama of that period as a dead end, an appendage to the Jacobean era, providing temporary fare for an audience of tired interest and declining numbers" (1979:1). However, in 1984 Caroline drama received a major revaluation, in Butler's excellent book **Theatre and Crisis 1632-1642.** Butler recognizes "the intense political concerns of the Caroline theatre", and states boldly that, "While no one is going to maintain that these plays exert the same claims on our attention as do their predecessors of the 1590s and 1600s, there is still much here that is valuable and genuinely exciting" (1984:282,280). He demonstrates convincingly that "the theatrical tradition that was cut short in September 1642 was neither exhausted nor in retreat ... The superannuated notion of the 'decadence' has little place here" (ibid.:280). Other writers have also recently reexamined aspects of the Caroline theatre, such as the nature of the audience, and exciting discoveries about theatre design are still being made.

A notable omission from recent revaluations is the issue of the music in Caroline plays. This continues its long history of academic neglect. The music in the plays has never been studied as a body in its own right, and even when it has been considered, it has generally been undervalued, and occasionally condemned outright. A detailed examination and revaluation is long overdue, and it is hoped that my study goes some way towards remedying the previous neglect. It benefits from the recent reassessment of Caroline drama and the theatre, since the music can only be properly appreciated in the

context of the drama and stage for which it was written.

I have sought to establish that song, instrumental music and dance had an important role in drama of the time. Music was used for dramatic ends, indeed much of it had an important dramatic role, and all of it was important as part of the theatrical experience of the time. Just as plays of little literary merit can be good theatre, so can musical scenes which are open to derision in dramatic terms be enjoyable and exciting theatrical events. This is not to claim that the music and the uses to which it was put were universally of high quality, just as nobody would claim that the entire corpus of Caroline plays was of impressive literary merit. Just as the settings which survive are mixed in musical quality, so too does the application of musical conventions vary, ranging from the skilful to the uninspired and inept. However, the overall picture which emerges is one of the dramatic and theatrical importance of music.

The music in Caroline plays is also important historically. It is significant because of its central position in the tradition of music in plays during the seventeenth century. Conventions and traditions were not static, but the overall pattern is one of basic continuity in musical practices in plays throughout the seventeenth century, despite changes in the music itself and in many other aspects of the theatre. The previous assumption that Caroline theatre music continued Elizabethan and Jacobean traditions is largely true, but developments and experimentation did occur. Although the closing of the theatres in 1642 was in many ways a moment of decisive discontinuity, musical practices span the discontinuity and provide a link between the Caroline and Restoration periods. Caroline theatre music is an important precursor of later seventeenth-century theatre music. While the historical importance of the

music in Caroline plays should not be over-estimated, it certainly does not consist of the fading of traditions, and it is important in its own right. The tradition of music in plays remained strong.

One of the main aims of the present study has been to identify as much as possible of the music that survives. It has revealed that a substantial body of music is extant, including pieces which are new to musical scholarship. Appendix 1 is a catalogue of the sources for this music; Appendix 2 is an edition of a selection of the extant songs connected with specific Caroline plays which have not previously been published in a modern edition. The difficulties in establishing whether or not particular settings were used in original productions are acknowledged, but where it is possible to establish that a setting is linked, it tells us what dramatic music was like then. Linked settings allow a proper assessment of the dramatic significance of the music, and are important in the attempt to set the music in the plays into historical perspective. In addition, they assist our understanding of the moods, emotions and effects which music was intended to create when these plays were first performed, which in some cases differs from the meanings the music holds for us today. All other findings concerning the tunes played, the types of music, the musical conventions and uses of music and the location of musicians are also vital in contributing to this understanding.

It is hoped that this study will be useful to other students of English seventeenth-century dramatic music, and that its findings enable a greater understanding of Caroline plays themselves and the theatre of the time, not only for editors and critics, but also for producers and audiences. It can direct editors and producers of plays to extant music for them. I would argue strongly for the inclusion of editions of this music in modern

editions of the plays,(1) and I also believe that there is a place for authentic music in revivals of plays which attempt in some measure to recreate seventeenth-century staging. Beyond that, the extant music is also important as something to be appreciated for itself, and deserves realization.

Finally, there are certain areas in which scholarly work could be done to complement this work. In particular, research which improved our understanding of the relationship of this to other periods would be valuable. For instance, studies on music in Elizabethan and Jacobean plays taking a comparable approach to mine and of a similar nature would enable a more detailed evaluation of the place of music in Caroline plays in its historical context, and the making of more informed comparisons on chronological, quantitative and other issues. The extent to which, despite the prohibitions, traditions of music in Caroline plays continued during the Commonwealth period would make a fascinating subject for detailed investigation. Comparative studies of music in Caroline plays with that in masques and with that in continental drama (particularly French and Spanish) would also be revealing.

ABBREVIATIONS

Library Sigla

This system of library sigla follows that used in the publications of RISM, with some additions.

EIRE: IRELAND

Dm	Dublin, Marsh's Library
Dtc	Dublin, Trinity College

F: FRANCE

Pc	Paris, Conservatoire National de Musique (in Bibliothèque Nationale)

GB: GREAT BRITAIN

AB	Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales
AC	Alnwick, Alnwick Castle
AGmarquess	Abergavenny, Marquess of Abergavenny, private collection
Bp	Birmingham, Public Library
BEcr	Bedford, Bedfordshire County Record Office
BEV	Beverley, East Yorkshire County Record Office
Cec	Cambridge, Emmanuel College
Cfm	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum
Cjc	Cambridge, St John's College
Ckc	Cambridge, Rowe Music Library, King's College
Cmc	Cambridge, Magdalene College
Ctc	Cambridge, Trinity College
Cu	Cambridge, University Library
CAR	Carlisle, Cathedral
CF	Chelmsford, Essex County Record Office
DRc	Durham, Cathedral
DU	Dundee, Public Libraries
En	Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland
Er	Edinburgh, Scottish Record Office
Eu	Edinburgh, University Library
Ge	Glasgow, Euing Music Library
Gu	Glasgow, University Library
Ha	Harrow, Middx, Ian Harwood, private collection
HGst	Hurst Green, Stonyhurst College
HUu	Hull, University Library
Ihamond	Ingham, Norwich, Captain Anthony Hamond, private collection
Lbl	London, British Library, Reference Division
Lcm	London, Royal College of Music
Llp	London, Lambeth Palace

Lm	London, London Museum, London Wall
Lva	London, Victoria and Albert Museum
LEbc	Leeds, University of Leeds, Brotherton Collection
Mp	Manchester, Central Public Library, Henry Watson Music Library
NO	Nottingham, University Library
Ob	Oxford, Bodleian Library
Och	Oxford, Christ Church
Ojc	Oxford, St John's College
P	Perth, Sandeman Music Library
PLgreen	Poulton Lancelyn, Cheshire, Roger Lancelyn Green, private collection
Rcr	Reading, Berkshire Record Office
SC	Stonyhurst College
STb	Stratford-on-Avon, Shakespeare's Birthplace Trust Library
T	Tenbury, St Michael's College
WGspencer	Woodford Green, Essex, Robert Spencer, private collection
WPforester	Willey Park, Shropshire, Lord Forester, private collection

J: JAPAN

Tn	Tokyo, Nanki Music Library, Ohki private collection

NL: THE NETHERLANDS

Lt	Leiden, Bibliotheca Thysiana (in Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit)

US: U.S.A.

CAh	Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, Houghton Library
CAward	Cambridge, Mass., John Ward, private collection
LAuc	Los Angeles, University of California, William Andrews Clark Memorial Library
NH	New Haven, Yale University, School of Music Library
NHb	New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library
NYp	New York, Public Library at Lincoln Center, Library and Museum of the Performing Arts
OAm	Oakland (California), Mills College, Margaret Prall Music Library
SM	San Marino (California), Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery
Wc	Washington, D. C., Library of Congress, Music Division
Ws	Washington, D. C., Folger Shakespeare Libraries

Abbreviations for Journals

AcM	Acta Musicologica
AnM	Annales Musicologiques
BLR	Bodleian Library Record
ELR	English Literary Renaissance
EM	Early Music
Eng.Misc.	English Miscellany (Rome)
GSJ	Galpin Society Journal
JAMS	Journal of the American Musicological Society
JEGP	Journal of English and Germanic Philology
JLSA	Journal of the Lute Society of America
Library	The Library
LSJ	Lute Society Journal
MA	Musical Antiquary
MD	Musica Disciplina
ML	Music and Letters
MLR	Modern Language Review
MMR	Monthly Musical Record
MP	Modern Philology
MQ	Musical Quarterly
MT	Musical Times
NQ	Notes and Queries
PMA	Proceedings of the Musical Association
PMLA	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America
PRMA	Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association
RD	Renaissance Drama
RES	Review of English Studies
RLC	Revue de Littérature Comparée
RMARC	Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle
RN	Renaissance News
SEL	Studies in English Literature
ShS	Shakespeare Survey
SJW	Shakespeare-Jahrbuch (Weimar, East Germany)
SP	Studies in Philology
SQ	Shakespeare Quarterly
SR	Studies in the Renaissance
SRO	Shakespearean Research and Opportunities
SS	Shakespeare Studies
THSLC	Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire
TN	Theatre Notebook
TRHS	Transactions of the Royal Historical Society
TSLL	Texas Studies in Literature and Language
YES	Yearbook of English Studies

Abbreviations for Collected Editions, Dictionaries, and Series of Facsimiles and Modern Editions

Ben Jonson	C. H. Herford and P. and E. Simpson ed., **Ben Jonson**, 11 vols. (Oxford, 1925-52)
EE	**The English Experience. Its Record in Early Printed Books Published in Facsimile** (Amsterdam, 1968-)
ELS	F. W. Sternfeld gen. ed., **English Lute Songs, 1597-1632: A Collection of Facsimile Reprints**, 9 vols. (Menston, 1967-71)
ES	E. B. Jorgens ed., **English Song 1600-1675. Facsimiles of Twenty-Six Manuscripts and an Edition of the Texts**, 12 vols. (New York, 1986-89)
MB	A. Lewis gen. ed. (vols. 1-49), M. Tilmouth gen. ed. (vols. 50-54), P. Doe gen. ed. (vol. 55-), **Musica Britannica. A National Collection of Music** (London, 1951-)
MS	R. Rastall gen. ed., **Musical Sources** (Leeds and Kilkenny, 1973-)
New Grove, The	S. Sadie ed., **The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians**, 6th edn, 20 vols. (London, 1980)
O.E.D.	J. A. H. Murray, H. Bradley, W. A. Craigie and C. T. Onions ed., **The Oxford English Dictionary. Being a Corrected Re-issue with an Introduction, Supplement, and Bibliography of A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles**, 12 vols. (Oxford, 1933)
Shakespeare	P. Alexander ed., **William Shakespeare. The Complete Works** (London, 1951)

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Dtc D.1.21 ('Ballet' lute book), D.3.30/I ('Dallis' lute book), 412 (formerly F.5.13)

F: FRANCE

Pc Rés. 1185, Rés. 1186, Rés. 1186 bis II, Rés. 2489

GB: GREAT BRITAIN

AB Brogyntyn lute book (facs., **MS** 12, intro. by R. Spencer and J. Alexander, Kilkenny, 1978)
AGmarquess Lady Nevil's virginal book *[Andrews ed. 1926]
Bp 57316
Cfm Mu. 118/377, Mu. 168 (Fitzwilliam virginal book), Mu. 687 (Tolquhon partbook), Mu. 688, Mu. 689, Mu. 734 (formerly 24.E.13-17), Mu. 782 (John Bull MS, formerly 52.D.25)
Ckc Rowe 1, Rowe 2 (Turpyn book of lute songs) (facs., **MS** 2, intro. by R. Rastall, Leeds, 1973), Rowe 9-17, Rowe 22, Rowe 110, Rowe 112-13, Rowe 113A, Rowe 114-17, Rowe 183, Rowe 185, Rowe 268, Rowe 314, Rowe 316, Rowe 321-24
Cmc 2802, 2803, 2804, 2591
Ctc 0.16.2, R.16.29 (George Handford, Ayres to be sung to lute; facs. **ELS** 5, ed. D. Greer, Menston, 1970; facs., **ES** 11, New York, 1987)
Cu Dd.2.11, Dd.3.18, Dd.4.22, Dd.4.23, Dd.5.20, Dd.5.21, Dd.5.78.3, Dd.6.48, Dd.9.33, Dd.14.24, Nn.6.36, Add. 2764(2), Add. 3056, Add. 3396(F), Hengrave Hall Dep. 77(1)
CAR Bishop Smith's Bassus part book *[Cutts 1972]
DRc Mus.A.27, Mus.D.2, Mus.D.5, Hunter 33
DU Blaikie MS (MS 10455 in Wighton Collection) (C19th copy of

lost C17th MS)

En 349 (C19th copy of lost C17th MS), 2956, 3581, 5448, 5777, 5778, 9447, 9448, 9449, 9450, 9451, 9452, 9453, 9454, 9455-57, 9458, 9459, 9465, 9467, 9477, Acc. 9769,84/1/6 (Crawford lute book), Adv.5.2.11, Adv.5.2.14 (facs., **ES** 11, New York, 1987), Adv.5.2.15, Adv.5.2.18 (C19th copy of lost C17th MS), Adv.5.2.19 (C19th copy of Leyden lyra viol MS), Adv.81.9.12, Dep. 314/23, Dep. 314/24

Er GD 45/26/104

Eu Dc.1.69 (facs., **ES** 8, New York, 1987), Dc.1.75, Dc.3.101, Dc.5.125, La.II.695/1, La.II.695/3, La.III.111, La.III.483, La.III.487, La.III.488, La.III.490, La.III.491

Ge R.d.3, R.d.43 (Euing lute book), R.d.47, R.d.58-61, R.d.91, R.X.49

Ha Robarts lute book [in care for The National Trust] (facs., **MS** 11, intro. by R. Spencer, Kilkenny, 1978)

HUu DD HO/20/1-3 (some of the Walsingham consort books) *[Edwards 1974b]

Ihamond Burwell lute tutor (facs., **MS** 3, intro. by R. Spencer, Leeds, 1974)

Lbl Collection of music MSS *[Hughes-Hughes 1906-09, Andrews 1929, Willetts 1970, "Music Manuscripts Acquired 1968-1979" (folder in Students' Room, Lbl), "Music Manuscripts Acquired 1956-1984" (card index in Students' Room), "General Acquisitions 1976-1980" (folder in Students' Room), "General Acquisitions 1981-85" (folder in Students' Room)]

Add. 4388, Add. 10337 (facs., **ES** 2, New York, 1986), Add. 10338, Add. 10444, Add. 11608 (facs., **ES** 4, New York, 1986), Add. 14399, Add. 15117 (facs., **ES** 1, New York, 1986), Add. 15118, Add. 16889, Add. 17786-91, Add. 17799-800, Add. 23623, Add. 24665 (facs., **ES** 1, New York, 1986), Add. 29396 (facs., **ES** 5, New York, 1986), Add. 29397, Add. 29481 (facs., **ES** 1, New York, 1986), Add. 30478, Add. 30485, Add. 30486, Add. 31392, Add. 31427, Add. 31429, Add. 31432 (facs., **ES** 2, New York, 1986), Add. 31392, Add. 32339 (facs., **ES** 4, New York, 1986), Add. 33234, Add. 33933, Add. 36484, Add. 36526, Add. 36661, Add. 38539, Add. 38599, Add. 53723 (facs., **ES** 3, New York, 1986), Add. 56279, Add. 59869, Add. 62152A,B, Eger. 2013 (facs., **ES** 2, New York, 1986), Eger. 2046 (Jane Pickeringe's lute book) (facs., **MS** 23, intro. by R. Spencer, Kilkenny, 1985), Eger. 2971 (facs., **ES** 1, New York, 1986), Harl. 3511, K.1.e.9 (MS additions to a copy of Ravenscroft's **Pammelia** [1609]), R.M.23.1.4 (Cosyn's virginal book), R.M.24.d.3 (Will Forster's virginal book), Royal App. 55, Royal App. 58, Sloane 1021

Lcm Collection of music MSS *[Squire and Erlebach 1931]

II.c.15 (MS additions to a copy of Hilton's **Catch that Catch can** [1652])

Llp 1041 (facs., **ES** 11, New York, 1987)

Lm Tangye Coll. 46.78/748 (Anne Cromwell's virginal book) *[Ferguson ed. 1974]

LEbc Ripon 36

Mp 832 Vu51

NO Willoughby lute book (facs., **MS** 13, intro. by J. Alexander and R. Spencer, Kilkenny, 1978)

Ob Collection of music MSS *[Hake 1854, Madan, Craster, Denholm-Young and Record 1895-1953, "Post-Summary Catalogue Music Manuscripts" (folder in Ob), "Revised Descriptions of the Music School Manuscripts" (folder in Ob)]

Don.c.57 (facs., **ES** 6, New York, 1987), Harding Mus.e.1, Mus.b.1 (facs., **ES** 7, New York, 1987), Mus.b.15, Mus.d.238, Mus.Sch.A.641.1, Mus.Sch.B.2, Mus.Sch.B.3, Mus.Sch.C.5, Mus.Sch.C.44, Mus.Sch.C.53, Mus.Sch.C.59-60, Mus.Sch.C.61, Mus.Sch.C.64-69, Mus.Sch.C.70, Mus.Sch.C.72, Mus.Sch.C.73, Mus.Sch.C.74, Mus.Sch.C.80, Mus.Sch.C.84, Mus.Sch.C.87, Mus.Sch.C.88, Mus.Sch.C.93, Mus.Sch.C.94, Mus.Sch.C.96, Mus.Sch.C.98a,b, Mus.Sch.D.143, Mus.Sch.D.217, Mus.Sch.D.219, Mus.Sch.D.220, Mus.Sch.D.221, Mus.Sch.D.228, Mus.Sch.D.229, Mus.Sch.D.231, Mus.Sch.D.233, Mus.Sch.D.234, Mus.Sch.D.235, Mus.Sch.D.236, Mus.Sch.D.238-40, Mus.Sch.D.245-47, Mus.Sch.D.248, Mus.Sch.D.249, Mus.Sch.E.43, Mus.Sch.E.45, Mus.Sch.E.399, Mus.Sch.E.419, Mus.Sch.E.423, Mus.Sch.E.431, Mus.Sch.E.450, Mus.Sch.E.451, Mus.Sch.F.1, Mus.Sch.F.16, Mus.Sch.F.572, Mus.Sch.F.573, Mus.Sch.F.574, Mus.Sch.F.575 (facs., **ES** 6, New York, 1987), Mus.Sch.F.576, Mus.Sch.F.577-79, Mus.Sch.G.609-11, Mus.Sch.G.613, Mus.Sch.G.614, Mus.Sch.G.615, Mus.Sch.G.619, Mus.Sch.G.620, Mus.Sch.G.639, Mus.Sch.G.640, Douce M.440 (MS additions to a copy of Hudgebut's **A Vade Mecum** [1679]), Mus.184.C.8 (MS additions to a copy of C. Simpson's **The Division-violist** [1659])

Och Collection of music MSS *[Arkwright n.d., Bray 1981a and 1981b, Carter 1982]

17, 44, 47, 87, 92, 365, 379-81, 431, 434, 437, 438, 439 (facs., **ES** 6, New York, 1987), 531-32, 736-38, 1003, 1022, 1080, 1113, 1114, 1142A, 1175, 1179, 1187, 1236

P N.16

PLgreen Bunbury virginal book *[Boston 1955]

Rcr Trumbull Add. MS 6 (Trumbull lute book) (facs., **MS** 19, intro. by R. Spencer, Kilkenny, 1980)

STb pages from part-books GB-Ge R.d.58-61

T Collection of music MSS *[Fellowes and Shaw 1981]

302, 389, 1018 (facs., **ES** 6, New York, 1987), 1019 (facs., **ES** 6, New York, 1987)

WGspencer Board lute book (facs., **MS** 4, intro. by R. Spencer, Leeds, 1976), Mynshall lute book (facs., **MS** 6, intro. by R. Spencer, Leeds, 1975), Sampson (formerly Tollemache) lute book (facs., **MS** 4, intro. by R. Spencer, Leeds, 1974)

WPforester Weld lute book *[Spencer 1959]

J: JAPAN

Tn n.3.35, BM-4540-ne (MS additions to a copy of Robinson's **New Citharen Lessons** [1609]) *[Ward 1979-81:162-70]

NL: NETHERLANDS

Lt Thysius 1666 (Thysius lute book)

US: U.S.A.

CAh Mus 139 (Cromwell/Mathewes gittar book) *[Ward 1979-81:201-3]
CAward Boteler cittern book (formerly GB-BEcr DDTW 1174), John Ridout's commonplace book *[Ward 1979-81:183-95], Matthew Otley's cittern book *[Ward 1979-81:142-58]
LAuc C6967M4, C6968M4
NH Ma.21.W.632 (Wickhambrook lute book) *[Stephens ed. 1963], Misc.Ms170: Filmer 2, 3, 4, 5, 15, 25, 26, 27
NHb Osborn Collection 9, 515
NYp Drexel 4041 (facs., **ES** 9, New York, 1987), Drexel 4175 (facs., **ES** 11, New York, 1987), Drexel 4180-85, Drexel 4257 (facs., **ES** 10, New York, 1987), Drexel 5609, Drexel 5611, Drexel 5612
OAm MS cittern part book (one of Walsingham consort books) *[Edwards 1974b]
Wc M1490.M535A5 (David Melvill's Buik off roundells) *[Bantock and Anderton ed. 1916]
Ws V.a.409, V.a.411, V.a.437, V.b.280 ('Dowland lute book', formerly 1610.1)

ii. Printed music dating from 1580 to 1700

The contents of the song-books printed between 1651 and 1700 were ascertained using the index to Day and Murrie 1940, and only those cited in the thesis are listed below (see Day and Murrie for full bibliographical details). I am indebted to Barlow ed. 1985 for details concerning the editions of **The Dancing Master.**

A Choice Collection Of 180 Loyal Songs ... The Third Edition (London, 1685)

Adriaenssen, E. **Pratum Musicum Longe Amoenissimum, Cuius Spatiosissimo, Eoque Iucundissimo Ambitu Comprehenduntur ...**, 2nd edn (Antwerp, 1600)

Adson, J. **Courtly Masquing Ayres** (London, 1621) (facs., **EE** 838, Amsterdam, 1977)

Alison, R. **An Howres Recreation in Musicke, apt for Instrumentes and Voyces** (London, 1606)

Attey, J. **The First Booke of Ayres Of Foure Parts, With Tableture for the Lute** (London, 1622) (facs., **ELS** 1, ed. D. Greer, Menston, 1967)

Ballard, R. **Diverses Piesces mises sur le luth** (Paris, 1614)

[Banister, J. & T. Low] **New Ayres And Dialogues Composed For Voices and Viols** (London, 1678)

Barley, W. **A New Book of Tablature** (London, 1596)

Bartlet, J. **A Booke of Ayres** (London, 1606) (facs., **ELS** 1, ed. D. Greer, Menston, 1967)

Bathe, W. **A Briefe Introduction to the skill of SONG** (London, [c. 1590])

[Benson, J. & J. Playford] **A Musicall Banquet** (London, 1651)

[Benson, J. & J. Playford] **A Booke of New Lessons For The Cithern and Gittern** (London, 1652)

Blow, J. **Amphion Anglicus** (London, 1700) (facs., Ridgewood, NJ, 1965)

Bowman, H. **Songs for i 2 and 3 Voyces** (n.p., 1677)

Bowman, H. **Songs, For One, Two and Three Voices** (Oxford, 1678)

Bowman, H. **Songs, For One, Two, and Three Voyces ... The Second Edition** (Oxford, 1679)

Brade, W. **Newer Ausserlesene liebliche Branden** (Hamburg, 1617)

Byrd, W. **Psalmes, Sonets and Songs** (London, 1588)

Camphuysen, D. R. **Stichtelycke Rymen** (Amsterdam, 1647)

Camphuysen, D. R. **Stichtelycke Rymen** (Amsterdam, 1652)

Campion, T. **The Description Of A Maske ... in honour of the Lord Hayes** (London, 1607) (facs., **ELS** 2, ed. D. Greer, Menston, 1970)

Campion, T. **Two Bookes of Ayres** (London, c. 1613) (facs., **ELS** 2, ed. D. Greer, Menston, 1967)

Campion, T. **The Description of a Maske ... At the Marriage of the ... Earle of Somerset** (London, 1614) (facs., **ELS** 2, ed. D. Greer, Menston, 1970)

Campion, T. **The Third And Fourth Booke Of Ayres** (London, c. 1618) (facs., **ELS** 2, ed. D. Greer, Menston, 1969)

[Carr, J.] **Tripla Concordia: Or, A Choice Collection Of New Airs** (London, 1677)

Carr, R. **The Delightful Companion: Or, Choice New Lessons For The Recorder or Flute ... The Second Edition** (London, 1686)

Cavendish, M. **14. Ayres in Tabletorie to the Lute** (London, 1598) (facs., **ELS** 5, ed. D. Greer, Menston, 1971)

Coprario, J. [Cooper, J.] **Funeral Teares. For the death of the ... Earle of Devonshire** (London, 1606) (facs., **ELS** 3, ed. D. Greer, Menston, 1970)

Coprario, J. [Cooper, J.] **Songs of Mourning: Bewailing the untimely death of Prince Henry** (London, 1613) (facs., **ELS** 3, ed. D. Greer, Menston, 1970)

Corbett, F. **La Guitarre Royalle Dediée Au Roy De La Grande Bretagne** (Paris, [1671])

Corkine, W. **Ayres, To Sing And Play To The Lute And Basse Violl** (London, 1610) (facs., **ELS** 3, ed. D. Greer, Menston, 1970)

Corkine, W. **The Second Booke Of Ayres** (London, 1612) (facs., **ELS** 3, ed. D. Greer, Menston, 1970)

Danyel, J. **Songs For The Lute Viol and Voice** (London, 1606) (facs., **ELS** 3, ed. D. Greer, Menston, 1970)

Dowland, J. **The First Booke of Songes or Ayres** (London, 1597) (facs., **ELS** 4, ed. D. Poulton, Menston, 1968)

Dowland, J. **The Second Booke Of Songes or Ayres** (London, 1600) (facs., **ELS** 4, ed. D. Poulton, Menston, 1970)

Dowland, J. **The Third And Last Booke Of Songs Or Aires** (London, 1603) (facs., **ELS** 4, ed. D. Poulton, Menston, 1970)

Dowland, J. **Lachrimae, or Seven Teares ... for the Lute, Viols, or Violons, in five parts** (London, [1604]) (facs., **MS** 5, commentary by W. Edwards, Leeds, 1974)

Dowland, J. **A Pilgrimes Solace** (London, 1612) (facs., **ELS** 4, ed. D. Poulton, Menston, 1970)

Dowland, J. **The First Booke of Songs** (London, 1613) (facs., **ELS** 4, ed. D. Poulton, Menston, 1968)

[Dowland, R.] **A Musicall Banquet. Furnished with varietie of delicious Ayres** (London, 1610) (facs., **ELS** 4, ed. D. Poulton, Menston, 1969)

Dowland, R. **Varietie of Lute-lessons** (London, 1610) (facs., with intro. by E. Hunt, London, 1958; facs., **EE** 921, Amsterdam, 1979)

East, M. **The Third Set Of Bookes** (London, 1610)

East, M. **Madrigales to 4.5.and 6. parts ... The Fourth set of bookes** (London, 1618)

East, M. **The Seventh Set Of Bookes** (London, 1638)

Farmer, J. **Divers and Sundry Waies of Two Parts in One ... uppon one Playn Song** (London, 1591)

Ferrabosco, A. **Ayres** (London, 1609) (facs., **ELS** 5, ed. D. Greer, Menston, 1970)

Ferrabosco, A. **Lessons for 1. 2. and 3. Viols** (London, 1609)

[Filmer, E.] **French Court-Aires, With their Ditties Englished** (London, 1629)

Finger, G. & J. Banister **A Collection of Musick In Two Parts** (London, 1691)

[Forbes, J.] **Cantus, Songs and Fancies. To Thre** [sic], **Foure, or Five Partes** (Aberdeen, 1662)

[Forbes, J.] **Cantus, Songs and Fancies, To Three, Four, or Five Parts ... Second Edition** (Aberdeen, 1666)

[Forbes, J.] **Cantus, Songs and Fancies, To severall Musicall Parts ... The Third Edition** (Aberdeen, 1682)

Ford, T. **Musicke of Sundrie Kindes** (London, 1607) (facs., **ELS** 5, ed. D. Greer, Menston, 1971)

Gibbons, O. **Fantazies of III. Parts** (London, [c. 1620])

Gil, A. **Logonomia Anglica qua Gentis sermo facilius addiscitur** (London, 1619)

Greaves, T. **Songes of Sundrie kindes** (London, 1604) (facs., **ELS** 5, ed. D. Greer, Menston, 1971)

Greeting, T. **The Pleasant Companion: Or, New Lessons and Instructions For The Flagelet** (London, 1672)

Greeting, T. **The Pleasant Companion: Or New Lessons and Instructions For the Flagelet** [another edn] (London, 1675)

Greeting, T. **The Pleasant Companion: Or New Lessons and Instructions For The Flagelet** [another edn] (London, 1680)

Greeting, T. **The Pleasant Companion: or New Lessons and Instructions for the Flagelet** (London, 1682)

Greeting, T. **The Pleasant Companion: Containing Variety of New Ayres, and Pleasant Tunes, For The Flagelet ... The seventh edition** (London, 1688)

[Hare, J.] **The First, Second and Third Books of the Self=Instructor on the Violin** (n.p., [1700])

Hilton, J. **Ayres or Fa La's for Three voyces** (London, 1627)

[Hilton, J.] **Catch that Catch can** (London, 1652)

[Hilton, J.] **Catch that Catch can ... The Second Edition Corrected and Enlarged by J. Playford** (London, 1658)

Holborne, A. **The Cittharn Schoole ... Hereunto are added sixe short Aers Neapolitan like to three voyces ... by ... W. Holborne** (London, 1597)

Holborne, A. **Pavans, Galliards, Almains, and Other Short Aeirs** (London, 1599)

[Hudgebut, J.] **A Vade Mecum For the Lovers of Musick, Shewing the Excellency of the Rechorder** (London, 1679)

Hume, T. **The First Part of Ayres, French, Pollish, and others together, some in Tabliture, and some in Pricke-Song ...** (London, 1605) (facs., **ELS** 6, ed. F. Traficante, Menston, 1969)

Hume, T. **Captaine Humes Poeticall Musicke** (London, 1607) (facs., **ELS** 6, ed. F. Traficante, Menston, 1969)

Jones, R. **The First Booke Of Songes And Ayres** (London, 1600) (facs., **ELS** 7, ed. D. Greer, Menston, 1970)

Jones, R. **The Second Booke of Songes and Ayres** (London, 1601) (facs., **ELS** 7, ed. D. Greer, Menston, 1971)

Jones, R. **Ultimum Vale** (London, 1605) (facs., **ELS** 7, ed. D. Greer, Menston, 1971)

Jones, R. **A Musicall Dreame, Or The Fourth Booke of Ayres** (London, 1609) (facs., **ELS** 7, ed. D. Greer, Menston, 1971)

Jones, R. **The Muses Gardin for Delights** (London, 1610) (facs., **ELS** 7, ed. D. Greer, Menston, 1970)

King, R. **A Second Booke of Songs together with A Pastorall Elegy** (n.p., c. 1695)

Lawes, H. **Ayres And Dialogues ... The First Booke** (London, 1653)

Lawes, H. **Ayres, And Dialogues ... The Third Book** (London, 1658) (Reprinted as Book III of [J. Playford], **The Treasury of Musick** [1669])

Lawes, H. **Select Ayres And Dialogues ... The Third Book** (London, 1669) (Sheets of H. Lawes, **Ayres, And Dialogues** [1658] with new title page)

Leighton, W. **The Teares Or Lamentacions Of A Sorrowfull Soule** (London, 1614)

Locke, M. **His Little Consort Of Three Parts** (London, 1656)

Locke, M. **Melothesia** (London, 1673)

Mace, T. **Musick's Monument; Or, A Remembrancer Of the Best Practical Musick** (London, 1676) (facs., Paris, 1958-66 [2 vols.])

Mason, G. [& J. Earsden] **The Ayres That Were Sung And Played, at Brougham Castle in Westmerland, in the Kings Entertainment** (London, 1618) (facs., **ELS** 8, ed. D. Greer, Menston, 1970)

Mathew, R. **The Lutes Apology** (London, 1652)

Matthysz, P. **'t Uitnemend Kabinet Vol Pavenen, Almanden, Sarabanden, Couranten, Balleten, Intraden, Airs, &c.** (Amsterdam, pt 1 1646, pt 2 1649)

Maynard, J. **The XII. Wonders Of The World** (London, 1611) (facs., **ELS** 8, ed. I. Harwood, Menston, 1970)

Morley, T. **The First Booke of Canzonets to Two Voyces** (London, 1595)

Morley, T. **Canzonets or Little Short Airs to 5 and 6 voices** (London, 1597)

Morley, T. **The First Booke of Consort Lessons** (London, 1599; rpt 1611)

Morley, T. **The First Booke Of Ayres, Or Little Short Songs** (London, 1600) (facs., **ELS** 8, ed. D. Greer, Menston, 1970)

Parthenia or the Maydenhead of the first musicke that ever was printed for the Virginalls (London, [c. 1615])

Parthenia, or the Mayden-head of the first Musicke that ever was printed for the Virginalls ([London], 1651)

Parthenia, or the Mayden-head of the first musick that ever was printed for the virginalls [London, 1655]

Parthenia In-violata. Or Mayden-Musicke for the Virginalls and Bass-Viol. Selected ... by R. Hole (London, [1614?]) (facs., intro. by T. Dart, New York, 1961)

Peerson, M. **Private Musicke. Or The First Booke of Ayres and Dialogues** (London, 1620)

Peerson, M. **Mottects or Grave Chamber Musique** (London, 1630)

Pers, D. P. & C. de Leeuw **Bellerophon, Of Lust tot Wysheyt** (Amsterdam, 1657)

Pers, D. P. & C. de Leeuw **Bellerophon, Of Lust tot Wysheyt** (Amsterdam, 1669)

Pilkington, F. **The First Booke of Songs or Ayres of 4. parts** (London, 1605) (facs., **ELS** 8, ed. D. Greer, Menston, 1969)

[Playford, H.] **An Introduction To The Skill of Musick ... The Eleventh Edition** (London, 1687)

[Playford, H.] **Apollo's Banquet ... For The Treble-Violin ... The 5th Edition, with new Additions** (London, 1687)

[Playford, H.] **The Second Part of Musick's Hand-maid** (London, 1689)

[Playford, H.] **Apollo's Banquet ... For The Treble-Violin ... The Sixth Edition, with new Additions** (London, 1690)

[Playford, H.] **The Dancing Master ... The Eighth Edition, with Addition of several new Dances** ([London], 1690)

[Playford, H.] **Apollo's Banquet ... for the Treble-Violin ... To which is added, Some New Songs and Catches. The Second Book. (A New Addition to the Second Book of Apollo's-Banquet)** ([London], 1691)

[Playford, H.] **The Second Part of The Division=Violin ... The Second Edition Corrected, with large Additions** (London, 1693)

[Playford, H.] **The Dancing Master ... The Ninth Edition Corrected; with the Addition of several new Dances and Tunes** ([London], 1695)

[Playford, H.] **The Second Part of the Dancing-Master ... All new Dances** ([London], 1696)

[Playford, H.] **The Second Part of the Dancing-Master ... The Second Edition, with Additions** ([London], 1698)

[Playford, H.] **[The Dancing Master]** [London, 1698] (Sectn of dances probably added separately to copy of 1698 edn in GB-Lbl [K.1.a.18]; see Barlow ed. 1985:7)

[Playford, H.] **An Additional Sheet to the Second Part of the Dancing Master** [London, 1698] (Supplement to GB-Lbl copy of 1698 edn [K.1.a.18]; see Barlow ed. 1985:7)

[Playford, H.] **The Dancing Master ... The Tenth Edition Corrected; with the Addition of several new Dances and Tunes** ([London], 1698)

[Playford, H.] **Wit and Mirth: Or, Pills To Purge Melancholy** (London, 1699)

[Playford, H.] **A Collection of Original Scotch-Tunes ... for the Violin** (London, 1700)

[Playford, H.] **An Introduction To The Skill of Musick ... The Fourteenth Edition** (London, 1700)

[Playford, H.] **Wit and Mirth: Or, Pills To Purge Melancholy ... The Second Part** (London, 1700)

[Playford, J.] **The English Dancing Master** (London, 1651) (facs., with intro. by M. Dean-Smith, London, 1957)

[Playford, J.] **The Dancing Master ... The second Edition, Enlarged and Corrected** (London, 1652)

[Playford, J.] **Musicks Recreation: On The Lyra Viol** (London, 1652)

[Playford, J.] **Select Musicall Ayres, And Dialogues** (London, 1652)

[Playford, J.] **Select Musicall Ayres And Dialogues** (London, 1653)

[Playford, J.] **A Breefe Introduction to the Skill of Musick** (London, 1654)

[Playford, J.] **An Introduction To the Skill of Musick** (London, 1655)

[Playford, J.] **Court-Ayres: or, Pavins, Almains, Corant's, and Sarabands, of 2 parts, treble & basse, for Viols or Violins** (London, 1655)

[Playford, J.] **The Dancing Master** [3rd edn] [London, 1657] (All extant copies of the 3rd edn are dated 1665, but the GB-Gu copy [Q.c.85], although it lacks the title page and date, is assumed to be a copy of the 1657 printing which was advertised [Barlow ed. 1985:5]. This copy concludes with a sectn entitled **The Tunes of the French Dances and other New Tunes for the Treble-Violin**)

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MUSIC IN CAROLINE PLAYS

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NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. The French Players' Theatre, a temporary theatre used 1635-36 for a French company, is excluded.

2. Recent reexaminations of the composition of audiences are contained in Neill 1978, Cook 1981, Butler 1984, Sturgess 1987 and Gurr 1988. See Orrell 1988 concerning theatre design.

3. Vienken ed. 1973:28. See Stratman 1947:266 and Harbage 1964:138 concerning increased use of the vernacular.

4. Butler's observations are complemented by those of Heinemann (1980:200-236).

5. The sixty plays he excludes contain 154 songs.

6. For example, see Reed ed. 1925:342; and Manifold listed no musical sources for Caroline theatre music (1948:Appendix). Cutts suggested that Bowden's disregard of extant settings arose from "a general belief that settings were not extant" (1955b:107), and the same may apply to Ingram.

7. Certain caveats should be borne in mind. Firstly, in many cases there are uncertainties concerning the auspices under which the plays were performed. Secondly, I am aware that the accuracy of any generalizations which may emerge from this study may be distorted by the imbalance in the number of surviving plays linked with certain types of venue at the expense of other types. This leads to disproportionate emphasis on those venues. Most texts are for élite-theatre plays, followed by university plays, and generalizations in these venue-areas are more likely to be accurate. Although the popular tradition remained vigorous, evidence concerning the presentation of plays at popular theatres is in short supply and potentially unrepresentative. This dearth of evidence arises because this study is based on new plays, of which there were but few at the popular theatres, whose repertory was composed mostly of revivals of old-fashioned plays (Butler 1984:181-85).

8. Plays transferred between élite and popular theatres, from public to court stage, and occasionally from university to court stage.

9. It appears that both Bowden and Ingram omitted the twenty-one Latin and two French plays, and the twenty-seven plays which survive in manuscript only.

10. Texts of seven of the plays listed by Schoenbaum as extant could not be located. Texts of further plays are definitely not extant: altogether about a fifth of the total number of Caroline plays listed by Schoenbaum. (This proportion drops to about a sixth if those lost dramas whose type is classified as 'unknown' are excluded.)

11. The 'Bibliography of Caroline Dramatic Texts Consulted' cites all the texts of Caroline dramatic works which were studied. The non-Caroline dramatic texts from which the thesis contains quotations or examples are listed in 'Non-Caroline Dramatic Texts Cited'.

12. For editors of plays, 'authority' is based on links with the playwright. Stage historians have, however, accredited primary authority to texts derived from the playhouse in an attempt to identify evidence related to actual production. This approach is exemplified by King (1971), but is criticized in, for example, Freehafer 1976; and Beckerman has asked, "Is the staging projected by an experienced dramatist less reliable as a guide to playhouse practice than actual prompt copy?" (1971:243). In fact, inexperienced as well as experienced dramatists can provide evidence of current conventions (see, for instance, Dessen 1985:34).

13. Honigmann too has emphasized the importance when interpreting stage directions of first identifying them as members of a group (1976:124).

14. Cf. Freehafer's point that one should not exclude plays which are excluded from the meagre performance records through the accidents of the historical record (1976:339-40).

15. Another oddity about the appearance of songs in the printed editions is the prefixing and appending of some to play-texts. I have come across eight Caroline examples of this additional to the four cited by Bowden, but they lead us no further towards a general explanation for the practice. My examples are three songs prefixed to **The Weeding of Covent Garden, The Wedding** and **L'Artenice**, two appended to **The Queen of Aragon**, and three appended to **The Cyprian Conqueror.**

16. See Reed ed. 1925:346-47, Bald ed. 1938:xxxiii and Bowden 1951:90-91,104.

17. However, further evidence counteracts such speculation (though it should not be entirely dismissed): lyrics are given for the 'new' songs called for in **The Royal Slave** II.iii and **Wit in a Constable** V.i.

18. Previous assumptions are based on works such as Pollard 1920. Greg, McKerrow, and Hosley have suggested other possibilities, as Dessen has observed (1985:34, and see 25-27). Long has also made many useful observations (1976), and the work of the above and of Jewkes (1958) and others should now be considered in the light of his study.

19. See Rowan ed. 1967:50 and Dessen 1985:23-24.

20. The 'Bibliography of Musical Sources Consulted' lists the large number of musical sources which were examined, and those which were covered by means of secondary sources.

21. There appear in the plays some ballads and parodies whose tunes survive separately from their lyrics, and these are excluded from the figures given since it cannot be claimed that 'settings' survive in these cases.

22. E.g. GB-Lbl MS Add. 15117 (Sternfeld 1963:35 and Joiner 1969:73-75, but see Fuller 1977:66-68), US-NYp MS Drexel 4041 (Cutts 1964:153, Spink ed. 1977:189) and GB-Och MS 439 (Chan 1971).

23. One play-song, "Cruell but once againe" from **The Rival Friends**, is known of only from a music manuscript, and the same manuscript also contains evidence of a play or plays by Sir R. Hatton otherwise unknown (see Appendix 1).

24. Music appears in the manuscript of **The Bugbears** (1564) and is printed in the play-texts of **The Nature of Four Elements** (1517) and **Like Will to Like** (1568). (Concerning the two latter, see Sabol 1957 and 1958.)

CHAPTER 1

1. See e.g. Long 1955:4,32-34 and Shapiro 1977:252-55.

2. Cowling (1913:77,83) and Cutts (1966:105) hold the same view.

3. See Lawrence 1920:200-201, Woodfill 1953:30, Ingram 1953-54:42-45, Ingram 1955:25-26, Long 1955:32-34 and Stevens 1966:24-25.

4. Cited by Cutts (1966:104-5); and see Cutts ed. 1971:xlii and Appendix B, Bentley 1941-68:II,355 and Sisson 1942:25.

5. This suggestion (ed. 1971:xli) in fact predated Cutts' 1966 article, since it originally appeared in the first edition of **Musique de la Troupe de Shakespeare** in 1959.

6. However, the term 'music room' might signify something closer to 'band room' in modern theatre parlance.

7. The former was printed in 1662. It is generally agreed that it represents an illicit Commonwealth performance in an indoor theatre, but the stage would have been in use before 1642. The latter was printed in 1640, and the playhouse depicted may be the Salisbury Court.

8. See e.g. Cowling 1913:36-38 for Jacobean examples.

9. See Cowling 1913:29-35 for Elizabethan and Jacobean examples.

10. In 1953b, Cutts discusses the contribution of Robert Johnson (ii) to court and theatrical entertainments and the tradition of such service prior to 1642; this is the only large-scale study of its type. (See too Cutts 1955a, 1960, ed. 1971:xliii.) There is some study of William Lawes' music for plays in Lefkowitz 1960 (195-204,279) and 1980 (562), and Cutts 1963b, and of Henry Lawes' in Evans 1941 (122-37).

11. Duckles has emphasized the need for caution in this process, and has criticized Cutts for "some rather dubious weighting of his evidence" (1962:365).

12. This figure includes a song for **The Royal Slave**, "Now, now, the Sunne is fled", which is attributed in sources to both Henry and William Lawes. Spink selects the former attribution (ed. 1977:72), but see Cutts 1964:192-93 and 1969:131.

13. Cutts 1953b:98-111; see also Cutts 1956a:41-44 and ed. 1971:xliii-xlv.

CHAPTER 2

1. There are various schools of thought regarding the extent to which an existing repertory of song was used (it being generally the pre-Caroline period under discussion). Some commentators readily link a surviving setting of a dramatic lyric with the playhouse, accepting it as a song deliberately composed for the theatre (for example, Austern 1985 and various articles by Cutts). Others are more cautious and express

reservations concerning such speculation, suggesting it is more likely that generally a preexisting repertory of popular songs and tunes was used, certainly in the popular theatres (for example, Stevens 1966:28 and Ward 1986b).

2. A ballad entitled "The Soldiers Delight" was entered in the Stationers' Register on 16th March 1635. So perhaps the ballad was introduced into the **The Unnatural Combat** after this date, and provides evidence for the revival of the play in the late 1630s. However, the same title is mentioned in **The Partial Law**, which was perhaps written as early as 1615. So possibly the ballad was contemporary with the original production of **The Unnatural Combat.** The ballad apparently underwent several transformations during its lifespan. The first proposition seems a possibility, as does the second, except that I would stress that it seems likely that two transformations might have been involved: an early version of the ballad in **The Unnatural Combat**, and a later one (such as that registered in 1635) in **Revenge for Honour.** Otherwise the reference in the last play, probably in 1640, to a ballad as "new" when it first appeared perhaps before 1615 does seem strange. (See discussion in Edwards and Gibson ed. 1976:II,192.)

3. Ingram suggested that the words of the song in **The English Moor** IV.ii were set to the melody of a well-known lascivious ballad (1976:233), basing his argument on the reference to it as a "wanton Ayre" (IV.ii.56) and on the dramatic function of the song. Steen challenged this view (ed. 1978:231), proposing an interpretation which allowed for music which suited the lyric. I have since discovered an extant setting of the song ("Love where is now thy Deity"), which is possibly linked, and is indeed feasible in the dramatic context. This instance illustrates the difficulties involved in the interpretation of evidence contained in the play-texts, and the contribution made by evidence in musical sources, particularly when considering the dramatic use of a song.

4. Caroline vocal music has been discussed and categorized by e.g. Duckles (1948 and 1953:56-107), Ford (1951:221-22,333-34), Lefkowitz (1960:149-86), Spink (e.g. 1957, ed. 1977:xv, 1986:38-147) and Jones (1989:5-8).

5. See Lefkowitz 1960:150 and Ford 1951:221.

6. Spink disagrees with the idea of Italian influence, and believes that English declamatory style is an indigenous development resulting from the special requirements of the masque-song (1959-60:64-65,67-68). Walls, however, believes that it may well have been

influenced by Italian stile rappresentativo (1983-84:35,40).

7. **Albion's Triumph; The Vision of Delight** (1617), **Lovers Made Men** (1617).

8. My study of the texts of Caroline plays has revealed one direction for recitative: "the second Catch is sung, and acted by them in Recitative Burlesque" in **The Wits** ([c] V.i.204.1). However, although **The Wits** dates from the Caroline period (1634), the text containing this stage direction is that in Davenant's **Works** of 1673. The 1636 and 1665 editions of **The Wits** ([a] and [b]) do not contain the direction, the song it refers to, or the surrounding dialogue. Thus the direction was evidently added in a Restoration revision of the play, and is not of relevance to this discussion. White has noted this reference to recitative, but does not point out that it appears in a later, altered edition. His subsequent discussion gives the impression that the direction applied to Caroline performances, and he draws misleading conclusions from it (1983:64).

9. This type of song has been called the 'ballad' by Ford (1951:222) and Lefkowitz (1960:154).

10. The sarabande was still a novel dance in England in 1626, but this does not invalidate the comment.

11. Some other terms which are used as titles to lyrics but do not refer to recognized musical song-types include 'ode' (**The Lady Errant** I.iv and III.iv) and 'dirge' (**The Walks of Islington and Hogsdon** V.ii).

12. Such writers as Sabol (1957; 1958), Long (1955:1-15) and Chan (1980:15-30) have discussed the types of song in earlier plays.

13. Further information can be found in the analyses of individual songs in Chapter 3.

14. Some elucidation can be gained from complementary stage directions such as "Musick, and the Lady Miriam Sings" and "when the Musick has plaid a while she Sings" (**The Jews' Tragedy** IV.407.1,408-408.2), where an introduction of some duration is indicated. In **Believe as You List**, "the Lute strikes. And then the Songe" qualifies "[music and] a songe", entered in another hand (IV.ii.2022-22.1,2025).

15. Occasionally a separate piece of music rather than an introduction could be implied (as in **The Example** V).

16. Linked settings can prove illuminating: the chorus of "Come my Daphne" is revealed to comprise the previous two voices combined.

17. John Playford's **Select Musicall Ayres, And Dialogues** (1652) includes ayres "to sing to the Theorbo or Basse Viol1". See also Cyr 1971, Walls 1973-74, Jones 1975 and 1989:199-210.

18. Concerning the pre-Caroline period, see e.g. Sabol (1958:152) and Chan (1971:144, 1980:33-34), who believe there were qualitative differences between the songs in children's and adult plays, and Bowden (1951:129) and Colley (1974:68-69), who disagree.

19. See e.g. Walls 1975:65.

20. Previous commentators such as Manifold (1956) have also observed this.

21. See e.g. Ellis 1974:112-14, Edwards ed. 1977:xix, Lasocki 1982:26 and Brown 1984:770,772.

22. There are examples of their use in school and university plays as well as in many of those performed at the élite theatres.

23. Cowling (1913:84); Manifold (1948:389). The latter stresses that his figure of twelve is an "outside estimate" (ibid.).

24. Such consorts are commonly described as 'whole consorts' and 'broken consorts' respectively, but these definitions are not used here as they are of doubtful authenticity (Edwards 1984:475). Edwards' term 'mixed consort' (ed. 1977:xiii) for an ensemble of different instruments coming from diverse families has been adopted here in place of 'broken consort'. The evidence for the use of ensembles of like instruments in the Caroline theatre counters Long's comment that the mixed consort "gradually supplanted the whole consort except for the purpose of chamber music" (1955:28).

25. For instance, Gerschow's account of his visit to the theatre in 1602 refers to the music of "organs, lutes, pandorins, mandolins, violins, and flutes" (quoted in Lefkowitz 1960:190).

26. The well-known passage by Francis Bacon in **Sylva Sylvarum** (quoted in Edwards 1970-71:113) stresses the principle of avoiding combinations which do not blend, for "some Consorts of Instruments are sweeter than others".

27. Gervase Markham in **The Souldiers Accidence** says, "The fi[r]st and last Lesson belonging unto the Horse-troope, is to teach the Souldier the Sounds and Commands of the Trumpet, and to make him both understand the Notes and Language of the Trumpet" (1625:60).

28. Cf. the direction "A short alarum" in **III Henry VI** (1591) (I.iv.21); this could suggest that the normal length of the alarm has been reduced as only a suggestion of the alarm and its battle connotations are required dramatically.

29. The method of muffling is suggested by the reference in **Love and Honour** to beating drums "in sable cases" ([a] I.i.327).

30. See Tilmouth 1980 for other and later uses of the term.

31. See Naylor 1931:172, Ward 1942:131-32, Manifold 1956:28 and Long 1971:13.

32. Additional evidence is provided by the note in a letter of 1575 that "Hautboiz Shalmz Cornets and such other looud muzik" closed the pageant at the Kenilworth festivities during Queen Elizabeth's visit (quoted in Boyd 1962:15).

33. Drayton in his **Poly-Olbion** also refers to sackbuts in loud music - see Manifold 1956:102-3.

34. This possible association is not observed by Manifold, whose theory is that 'solemn music' was played on the organ (1956:97).

35. Lefkowitz's suggestion of fantasias (ed. 1970:Complément Musical) is quite misplaced.

36. Long made a similar claim concerning another piece (1958), but Ward has disputed it (1957:171).

37. Arbeau said in **Orchesography**, "Most of the authorities hold that dancing is a kind of mute rhetoric by which the orator, without uttering a word, can make himself understood by his movements ... Are you not of the opinion that this is the dancer's own language, expressed by his feet and in a convincing manner?" (1588, ed. 1967:16). Ellis investigates how far attitudes towards dancing in the early seventeenth century embody theories as to the communicative value of the art (1974:120-24).

38. Unfortunately there is a lack of contemporary English dance treatises, and information concerning English dances has to be gathered from various sources.

Caution is necessary when deciding on the extent to which continental treatises and treatises of earlier or later date are relevant sources for information on English dances of the Caroline period. See e.g. Ellis 1974:121-22, Rooley 1974:81-82 and Walls 1975:119-24 for discussion of dance treatises of the period.

39. There are musical sources for another dance tune which is not associated with a specific play but which we know was performed in the Blackfriars theatre during Caroline times: "Whitelocke's Coranto" (edition in Ferguson ed. 1974:no. 41). More details are given in section 3.6.

40. A wide range of characters performs the dances. It can be seen from Appendix 4 that dancers come from all social classes, and also include mythological, symbolical and supernatural figures and beasts.

41. These names have been standardized in accordance with **The New Grove.** These dances are not described in any detail here since they have already been discussed elsewhere; see, e.g., Gombosi 1948:12-19, Lefkowitz ed. 1970:15-20, Ellis 1974:125-43, Robertson 1974, Walls 1975:138-39, Sabol ed. 1978:15-18 and entries in the **The New Grove.**

42. However, concerning a distinction between the two terms, see Dolmetsch 1949:51, Sabol ed. 1978:16, and Squire and Cusick 1980.

43. He points out that the repetition of strains or the use of different tunes for comic entry antimasques is unlikely, and suggests that an episodic and extendable music structure like that for the sequence of entrées in a ballet de cour would have been appropriate. The music for each entrée was often quite short, sometimes only a single strain, and it seems that a series of entrées could be played continuously.

44. Here it is again necessary to bear in mind the ambiguity involved when the terms 'fiddle' and 'fiddlers' are used. 'Fiddle' was often colloquially used for the kit or dancing-master's fiddle.

CHAPTER 3

1. Embedded masques are not always referred to as masques in the play-texts; other terms used are 'device', 'revels', and 'presentment'. However, although there are some uncertain cases, it is on the whole possible to identify embedded masques by the presence of vital ingredients: masks, spectacular display, and

dance. Incidentally, the plays also contain emblematic and antic dances which do not appear as part of embedded masques although they are obviously influenced by masque dances.

2. Gurr has claimed that they were "a fairly archaic device" by the time **Hamlet** was written (i.e. 1601) (1980:4), and Pearn believed that had died out by 1628 (ed. 1933:98). Even Mehl, who has acknowledged the existence of later dumb-shows, has overlooked many of them (1965).

3. Important plot is mimed in some (for example, that in **The Queen and Concubine** II.i), and a few are followed by an explanatory chorus (as in **The Jews' Tragedy** II.i); these are usages dating back to Elizabethan times. Some contain allegories, and this too links with the use of earlier dumb-shows to help express the "moral 'message' of the play's action" (Mehl 1965:169). Other dumb-shows are primarily concerned with presenting spectacular effects.

4. This song, in which the lovelorn Constance comments directly on her situation, is an example of a song in an embedded masque functioning differently from songs in independent masques.

5. This scene imitates **Bartholomew Fair** (1614) III.v, and there are also other parallels to it (Tannenbaum and Rollins ed. 1930:xv-xvi). Not only has Randolph copied a scene from Jonson; he has also used stanzas from a ballad by him (see Appendix 1).

6. This mirrors the independent masque of earlier days, when this dance was common in the revels. It had been superseded by the sarabande in independent masques by this time.

7. The convention is used, for example, in **Antonio's Revenge** (1600). There are examples in plays throughout the Caroline period.

8. The use in plays of music to cure melancholy was arguably influenced by Burton's **The Anatomy of Melancholy** (1621, ed. 1955).

9. There are two main reasons why it is highly probable that this setting was embellished at the original performance. The first is suggested by the fact that the only surviving source of the song notes that it was sung "by the Author", namely Thomas Holmes. Significantly, this is the only song in the play not set by George Jeffreys, and Holmes is known to have been a skilful bass singer. This suggests to me that Holmes made a 'cameo' appearance, writing his own setting, and

doubtless making the most of the opportunity for vocal display. "Sheer vocal display" was perhaps the most common function of florid singing (Duckles 1957:329). Secondly, the nature of this song also makes it very likely that it was embellished. Florid singing served as "a means of expressing the emotional quality of the text, for representing pictorial or descriptive effects" (ibid.); here, it would have contributed to the histrionics of the setting. Another factor arguing for ornamentation is that florid singing typically belonged to the court (ibid.:333), and this play was performed before the King and Queen.

Turning now to the question of whether or not this represents the original ornamentation, there are several issues involved. Perhaps most importantly, ornamentation was traditionally improvised, and it seems unlikely that a skilled singer such as Holmes would have needed to write down his improvisations. The second problem concerns the notation of the ornamentation and its physical placing in the manuscript. The ascription establishes that the setting is that used in the original production of the play. However, most of the ornamentation was apparently entered in a different hand from that of the rest of the setting (although the main hand does seem to be responsible for the signs implying ornamentation in bars 4 and 6-9), and most of the ornaments (which are fully written out) appear beneath the song and in the margin. In addition, alternatives are given for some of the ornaments. Another problem is that of dating: the ornamentation could have been added later.

The most likely explanation relates to the probable nature of the manuscript: it has been suggested that it was a working copy, possibly for use by a group of John Hilton's friends, perhaps including Holmes (Chan 1979b:445). I think that, if this was so, the ornamentation may have been included for the use of this group. It may represent Holmes' recollection of the kind of thing he originally improvised.

10. The elaborate aspects of the setting of "Newly from a Poatcht Toad" possibly argue against this hypothesis, but just as there are many forms of madness, so presumably there were also many ways of portraying it musically, and it was the fact of singing which identified madness as much as the nature of the song.

11. Cf. the "Antick" with which prisoners enliven themselves in **The Walks of Islington and Hogsdon** (IV.ii.65).

12. Cf. the use of 'nunnery' to mean a house of ill fame or bawdy house (**O.E.D.**).

13. These songs and dances form a notable part of an episode which has political significance. Butler has stressed that the dances are English and the songs patriotic, and observed that "the opinions of Manly - patriotic, nostalgic for England's Elizabethan greatness - express Newcastle's own discontent with a Frenchified, unheroic court and its king" (1984:198).

14. His religious stance is indicated by his humming of the psalm tune "How Happy". This is the only occasion in all Caroline play-texts on which the tune which is hummed is specified; presumably on other occasions it was the act of humming rather than the particular tune which was important. This is also notable as being the only sacred tune specified by name in any of the Caroline plays. Gabriel's vehement reaction to the fiddlers' "rude tunes" (II.ii.136) reflects the attitude of the narrower Puritans to popular music.

15. This is significant, given the view that non-musical people were not to be trusted.

16. Scenes could be unlocalized, generally localized or specifically localized.

17. This conventional association also occurred in pre-Caroline plays (Manifold 1956:58-60).

18. This is a usage which Manifold observed was uncommon in earlier plays (1956:94).

19. Cf. **The Malcontent** (1604) V.vi.

20. For the same reason, 'loud music' and hautboys recur in the dumb-shows of ceremony which were often enacted.

21. Cf. the identification of the violins as the instruments of the court in **The Queen of Aragon** V.i.

22. The term 'entertainment' is here used in a broad sense, not in the specific sense of the independent entertainment of the day.

23. Non-musical features of embedded masques which reflect those of independent masques include examples of showy scenic effects (such as the gold ball which descends in **The Ball** V.i) and lavish costumes (Lust is "richly apparel'd" in **The Traitor** [II.ii.8.1]). The wearing of masks is sometimes specified, but by no means always. Typical figures such as deities and mythological figures appear (for instance, in **The Constant Maid** IV). A few embedded masques contain dialogue, but the emphasis is usually more choreographic.

More broadly, the auspices of performance and dramatic contexts of embedded masques reflect real life.

Just as independent masques were performed not only before the court, but also privately, for noblemen and gentlemen (Thaler 1922:188-90, Leech 1935:163-208, Butler 1986), so embedded masques are performed before stage audiences of royalty and of nobility. Masques were characteristically occasional entertainments, and this is reflected by embedded masques, which occur most commonly at weddings (as in **Eumorphus sive Cupido Adultus** V.vi), but also in contexts of royal welcome (**King John and Matilda** III.v), entertainment of royalty (**The Coronation** IV), and celebration of victory (**The Picture** II.ii). The fact that embedded masques are performed for somebody, and for some occasion, means that they are worked into the action, at least to some extent. The fairly frequent scenes in which masques are prepared (as in **The Ball** IV.ii) help assimilate them further into the drama, in addition to providing a sense of expectation.

24. Independent court masques were very formalized, but, although some commentators have outlined a standard list of components and sequence of events (see Sabol ed. 1978:7), this is not adhered to rigidly by every Caroline court masque.

25. There are also examples of the postponement of an antimasque in independent masques, for instance, **The Triumph of Peace**; and see Gombosi 1948:8,10.

26. Such antimasques were "grotesque representations of an unvirtuous, discordant world, which is then obliterated by the virtue and order of the masque proper" (Walls 1975:86).

27. The term 'entry', which was introduced as a standard term in independent masques during the Caroline period (Walls 1975:177), is not used for the danced comic entries in embedded masques.

28. This contradicts Ewbank's statement that members of the stage audience were nearly always 'taken out' (1967:409).

29. This use of the flourish has been largely overlooked, as has its use with the entry of actors in embedded masques.

30. The device, which had been popular in pre-Caroline days, was a versatile one. Embedded plays could be "pure entertainment, literary parody, or moral exemplum" (Mehl 1965:43). Dramatists exploited the possibilities inherent in the presentation of action on more than one level, and achieved contrast, irony and comedy.

31. It must be conceded that, since the song is a burlesque, it is conceivable that the setting is intentionally bad.

32. The melody of another of William Lawes' songs, "O, my Clarissa, thou cruel fair", actually appears in John Playford's **Court-Ayres** (1655) and in Lawes' harp consort as an instrumental sarabande.

33. I would not describe the atmospheric music used in connection with the supernatural as affective because, although it too directly addresses the audience, and is intended to affect and influence them, it does not express characters' emotions.

34. Bowden states categorically that "the Stuart audience never hear music which is inaudible to the characters" (1951:50).

35. However, on one occasion we know that (exceptionally) the effect of music in the air was achieved by visible performers: in **Zeno sive Ambitio Infelix** (a) IV.iv, two angels appear from both corners of the altar as if hanging in the air and sing to the praying Pelagius.

36. In the former Love comments on the dumb-show, apparently after it has been performed, whereas in the latter a 'Genius' actually speaks over the mime, explaining it as it is enacted. In a sense these figures are acting like the Chorus which explained earlier dumb-shows proper.

37. The other four occur in **The Queen's Exchange** III.i, **Zeno sive Ambitio Infelix** (a) II.i-ii, **The Roman Actor** V.i and **The Lovesick Court** III.iii.

38. Cf. that which appears to Eleazer in **The Jews' Tragedy** IV.

39. See Walls 1975:186-88 concerning representation of the music of the spheres in masques.

40. There is some ambiguity as to exactly what happens. Other (less likely) possibilities are that the fiddlers play "the battle" and then "The sack of Troy", or that the two titles refer to the same tune.

41. In both these examples the atmosphere was also heightened through exploitation of the symbolic potential of certain aspects of physical appearance. Eulinus is "in a nightcap. unbraced" (V.iii.0.1), and Athenais is "in sackecloth. Her haire loose" (V.iii.0.1). The ideas of vulnerability and destruction would have been emphasized through the metaphorical

associations of these details. Here we again see visual conventions complementing aural ones.

42. See Manifold 1956:68-71 for pre-Caroline examples.

43. See Richards 1968:14-16, Freehafer 1973:106 and Bentley 1941-68:IV,938.

44. Richards has detailed court productions which were performed with changeable painted scenery (1968). Butler has pointed out that provincial amateur stages were the only ones "on which scenic experimentation was possible outside the prestigious world of the court" (1986:168).

45. **Florimene** was performed by amateurs in the Great Hall at Whitehall, and Inigo Jones' designs for it survive. His elevation of the stage (reproduced in Orgel and Strong 1973:II,642-43) indicates the grooved shutters.

46. Although only one of the stage directions actually specifies a throne ("Musick Throne descends", **The Variety** IV.i.750-52), theatres had machinery for descents and flights; see, for example, Bentley 1941-68:VI,273, Gurr 1980:121,176-77 and Sturgess 1987:37.

47. One important category of music to amuse, that which appeared before and after plays and between the acts, is discussed in section 3.6 rather than here, where I consider only music which appeared within the acts, while music at the end of plays, which can also function primarily to amuse, is discussed in Chapter 4.

48. Notably, this parallels the appearance of a satyrs' song and dance in the original source for the play, Sidney's **Arcadia** (see Cutts ed. 1974:xi-xii), and this relates to Bowden's observation that the presence of songs in dramatizations of particular sources can be explained, at least partly, by those in the original sources (1951:85).

49. Chan observes the existence of this vogue (1979a:125). Spink notes that dialogues of a pastoral nature were the most common type before the Restoration (1957:159), that their vogue "reflects the platonic pastoralism of the court under the influence of Queen Henrietta-Maria" (1986:48), and that, significantly, all the court composers contributed to them.

50. Some of these are identified in Appendix 1.

51. There is a difference between the play-text and all the musical sources in the allocation of lines: "'Tis Strephon calls" is given to Strephon in the former, but to Daphne in the latter.

52. **The New Academy** (Stationer's address 'to the Reader'.10-11), **Wit's Triumvirate** (I.i.99-100), **The City Match** (III.ii.23).

53. See e.g. Chambers 1923:II,542; III,72; IV,368. In this section, the shortage of evidence for music before Caroline plays has necessitated greater reliance than elsewhere on evidence from other periods.

54. On the former point, see e.g. Ward 1942:121, Manifold 1948:370 and Long 1955:35. Manifold has illustrated that cornetts were not excluded from 'music' (1948:373). That 'music' did sometimes refer to a flourish, probably performed on cornetts, is illustrated by the following example: in **The Jews' Tragedy**, "a flourish" is followed by Titus enquiring, "What means that Musick?" (V.606.1,607).

55. Cf. an earlier example in which consort music might be suggested: the line "Like an unperfect prologue, at third musike" in **Cynthia's Revels** (1601) (III.iv.58).

56. Pre-Caroline examples occur in **The Scottish History of James IV** (1590) and **The Cuckqueans and Cuckolds Errants** (1601) respectively.

57. Manifold suggests that the phrase in **What You Will** may mean the same thing as 'music for entrance' (1956:11). I disagree with this, but make the distinction that the music may fulfil both functions.

58. See Manifold 1956:22 for a more skeletal outline.

59. See e.g. Chambers 1923:II,542, Naylor 1931:158 and Woodfill 1953:236 concerning the former generalization, and Smith 1964:236, Shapiro 1977:250 and Gurr 1980:160 concerning the latter.

60. The most convincing interpretation is that music before plays and inter-act music were not usual in popular theatres in 1604, but were used on occasion, though then the music was briefer than that in élite theatres. See e.g. Hunter ed. 1975:li-liii and Shapiro 1977:250.

61. The term was also used, with its double meaning, in pre-Caroline plays. The definition of 'Acte' in Cotgrave's **Dictionary** (1611) includes: "... also, an Act, or Pause in a Comedie, or Tragedie".

62. I have drawn up the following listing of Caroline inter-act choruses. There are several plays in which choruses appear between all the acts (**Thibaldus sive Vindictae Ingenium, Imperiale** [a], **L'Artenice** and **Love's Mistress**). In **The Staple of News**, there is critical

comment in the 'Intermeans' between the acts. In some plays, choruses appear not only between all the acts but also after the final act (**Aminta, Calisto, The Ghost,** Sidnam's **Il Pastor Fido, The Conspiracy** [a], and **Fuimus Troes**). The chorus in **The Magnetic Lady** appears in the Induction and Epilogue as well as between the acts. **Hierarchomachia** has a chorus in the Introduction and after all five acts. In **The Bloody Banquet** and **The Jews' Tragedy,** choruses are specified only at the end of Act II. In some cases these choruses comprise one or two people; in many instances, more. Choruses were also used between the acts in some pre-Caroline plays; for example, **Jocasta** (1566) and **Old Fortunatus** (1599). The above examples indicate that the practice continued, albeit rarely, throughout the Caroline period.

63. The play is unidentified, but dated from the Caroline period (Bentley 1941-68:III,110).

64. There is a parallel here with **Sejanus** (1603), where the first four acts are followed by a "CHORUS - Of Musicians" (I.580.1), and Jonson confesses to "the want of a proper Chorus" ('To the Readers'.8).

65. 'Scene' does not here mean scenery but fictional localities. See Gurr 1980:162 concerning the interpretation of this word.

66. See e.g. Ingram 1955:332-39, Chan 1980:15 and Gurr 1980:136.

67. The example from **Zeno** indicates that interludes could also be musical in nature. This is the only Caroline play which has something described as interludes between its acts. However, as we have seen, Simons' preface shows that the term 'or' in "Chorus musicorum, vel interludium" implies that 'interlude' is an alternative description for the first event, not an alternative event (in which case it might have been dramatic in nature). An earlier example of interludes which were musical is Orazio Busino's description of "the various interludes of instrumental music, dancing, singing and the like" (most likely inter-act) when he visited a London theatre in 1617 (quoted in Bentley 1941-68:VI,151).

68. It is possible that the reference might extend to music before, and perhaps even after, the plays.

69. The two-hour theory has been suggested in e.g. Hart 1932 and disputed in Klein 1967.

70. For definitions of the term, see e.g. Lawrence 1927:79 and Baskervill 1929:3-36.

71. It has been observed that after 1600 only the Curtain, Fortune and Red Bull were named as presenting jiggs (Gurr 1980:157,159), but these two references may suggest jiggs at the Globe during the 1630s.

72. See Lawrence 1927:94 and Baskervill 1929:107,120.

73. Baskervill has claimed that this reference to jiggs is made in reminiscence (1929:121), but I do not believe that it necessarily illustrates that jiggs were a thing of the past. Other evidence shows they were still performed, and "have seene" could refer to the recent rather than distant past. I suggest that there could be wordplay here, with an allusion to John Shanks the famous jigg-maker in connection with the reference to jiggs, as well as shank meaning leg.

74. None of these five is listed in Schoenbaum 1964. I have examined the texts of them, and two (**A Dialogue bewixt Rattle-head and Round-head** and **Keep within Compasse Dick and Robin**) are concluded by what Butler has called the 'embedded jigs' (not identified as jiggs in the texts). Moreover, an 'embedded jig' comes almost at the end of a third (**A New Disputation betweene the Two Lordly Bishops, Yorke and Canterbury**). So again the jigg as after-piece is evident.

75. Possibly this example parallels French practice, and reflects the introduction of French fashions under the influence of Queen Henrietta Maria. After-pieces may have followed some French plays. The reference to plays "with their Jiggs ith tayles of him like your french forces" in the quotation from **The Lady Mother** (II.703-4) may be a comparative allusion to French farces followed by after-pieces.

76. The wording of the patent is quoted in section 4.3.2.

77. As far as I can discover, this has not previously been noted. This Epilogue was replaced with a different (spoken) one in the later printed play-text.

78. Instrumental music which accompanies song and dance is excluded from this discussion. It accounts for about a sixth of the instrumental music directed or implied.

79. This system had also been used in pre-Caroline plays, though the extent of usage there still requires detailed investigation.

80. On the basis of such features it is possible to suggest extant music of a type likely to have been used in particular dramatic contexts.

81. Taking specific examples from the plays, there are two linked settings described as 'sad', one of which is in the major, one in the minor.

82. Ward 1942 contains some valuable observations on this issue.

CHAPTER 4

1. Firstly, we should allow for the fact that his personal experience of the theatre was limited: he announces boldly in the 'Epistle dedicatory' to his gigantic invective against the stage that he has seen only four plays. This throws into doubt the basis for his claims, although it can be said in his favour that he could still have been aware of conventions and had knowledge of plays without necessarily attending the theatre himself. Secondly, he was an extremist, and exaggeration must be allowed for. The reason why he commented on music at all should be borne in mind. He used musical practices as a means of attacking plays, basing his argument on the lascivious effect of music: "That which is alwaies accompanied with effeminate lust-provoking Musicke, is doubtlesse inexpedient and unlawfull unto Christians. But Stage-playes are alwayes accompanied with such Musicke. Therefore they are doubtlesse inexpedient and unlawfull unto Christians" (1633:274). His concern was to prove a point by denouncing the music in plays both for its undesirable effect and its profusion; this may well have caused him to exaggerate. It is worth saying here that, despite the still widely held belief to the contrary, Prynne's hostile views are not indicative of the Puritan attitude in general to the theatre (Butler 1984:94).

2. Although in a very few play-texts there are no directions for music, probably this is more a reflection of other factors, most notably the haphazard survival of evidence, than of performance without any music. As we have seen, Heywood implies in the Prologue to **The English Traveller** that it was unusual to have no music. However, it must be acknowledged that some other playwrights might, like him, have omitted music intentionally.

3. Taking the number of instances of specified and implied music as an index to quantity is unsatisfactory in some ways, but nevertheless it permits some useful observations.

4. This use of flourishes has been largely overlooked. In those plays of the seven which have an epilogue, the flourish precedes it.

5. Although this dance is followed by four and a half more pages of dialogue, it is in fact an interrupted final dance.

6. There is an obvious parallel here with the opening of **The Malcontent** (1604).

7. Later in the act, Love succeeds in reconciling the warring Elements, and this is also represented musically, with supposed music of the spheres accompanying a symbolic song, tableau and dance.

8. Comparison of musical practices in the three principal genres of Caroline play (tragedy, comedy and tragicomedy) reveals certain general trends. All three genres utilize music, and moreover musical practices are often similar. Tragedies contain the most occurrences of music, and they predominantly feature instrumental music, containing almost twice as many instances as tragicomedies, and almost three times as many as comedies. Comedies contain the most prominent use of song and dance, featuring about two-thirds more of it than either tragedies or tragicomedies. Presumably the types of music commonly associated with the various genres are partly dictated by the content and general tone of the drama and by the occurrence in the different genres of particular scenes commonly presented with certain types of music.

9. The two editions of **The Rape of Lucrece** which appeared during the Caroline period (1630 and 1638), and presumably may reflect Caroline performances, contain nine additional lyrics, bringing the total to twenty-two.

10. All these settings are extant. Herford and Simpsons' claim that Lawes' setting of "Still to be neat" was for a revival of the play in 1665 (ed. 1925-52:XI,606) is erroneous.

11. My comparison is necessarily largely based on and restricted to what has been covered by secondary sources on the earlier and later periods. This results in reliance on generalizations and qualitative statements, which has obvious drawbacks. Problems are caused by the fact that there is no single secondary source taking a directly comparable approach for the earlier period. For purposes of comparison with Restoration plays, Price 1979a has been most valuable as a principal point of reference.

12. For example, Manifold, in his article entitled "Theatre Music in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries" (1948), devotes only one and a half pages out

of twenty-nine to the Commonwealth and Restoration periods.

13. Opinions vary concerning the genre of **Microcosmus.** Schoenbaum classifies it as a 'moral masque' and Bowden as a masque (1951:194), whereas Butler defined it as "a morality play with songs and dances" (1984:190).

14. Manifold's work is my point of comparison, and although this is basically sound, I have discovered certain inaccuracies and omissions. (For instance, Manifold cites only one Caroline play in which recorders are called for by name [1956:69], but in fact they are directed thirty-four times in twenty-two Caroline plays.) This gives rise to reservations concerning the accuracy of his observations on Elizabethan and Jacobean plays, and one wonders whether there are examples in earlier plays too of the development I observe in Caroline plays. However, the fact that developments in the use of the recorder are concentrated in the later part of the period (especially 1635-40) does suggest a later trend, even if it were foreshadowed.

15. See, e.g., Ingram 1976 concerning Brome; Kiefer 1954, Ingram 1956 and O'Neill 1972 concerning Marston; Sternfeld 1963, Long 1955, 1961 and 1971, Seng 1967, and many others concerning Shakespeare; Lindsey 1924, Ingram 1968 and Cutts 1961a concerning Fletcher.

16. Both **Monsieur Galliard** and **A Prince in Conceit** appear in Part I of **The Wits, or Sport upon Sport** (published 1662 and 1672). Their sources are **The Variety** and **The Opportunity** respectively.

17. **The First Day's Entertainment at Rutland House** and **I The Siege of Rhodes** (both 1656); **The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru** and **I Sir Francis Drake** (both 1658); and **II The Siege of Rhodes** (1659). Performances were at first semi-private (at Rutland House), but later fully public.

18. Another practice which became standard then is the use of music to accompany the initial ascent of the curtain in **I Sir Francis Drake**; this became the overture. There are no 'curtain tunes' in Caroline plays because they were not necessary then.

19. Dent has compared this with the practice in masques (1928:73), and Hedbäck with that in Italian operas (ed. 1973:lxx). Apparently neither was aware of its use in Caroline plays.

20. Comparison is restricted to music in Restoration plays, not dramatic operas.

21. This is possible because it can be established that some printed texts of Caroline plays reflect Restoration revivals and adaptations of the plays.

22. By seeing a parallel with its location in pre-Restoration theatres, the ornamented box with curtains above the proscenium arch in the engravings of five scenes from **The Empress of Morocco**, printed with the play-text in 1673, has in the past been mistakenly designated the music room. It has since been convincingly demonstrated that the most likely location for the music room is the side box nearest the curtain (Price 1979a:83-84).

23. The copy of **Brennoralt** in the Bodleian copy of Suckling's **Fragmenta Aurea** (1658) was promptbook for the King's company, probably at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, sometime c. 1673-75 (Beaurline ed. 1971:293). This copy has the directions 'Act Ready' and 'Ring' after the final speech in Act IV, apparently a signal for musicians to play. The same directions also appear several lines before the end of each act of **The Sisters** in a copy of the 1652 text prepared for a Restoration production, now in Sion College, London (Blakemore Evans ed. 1951:29, Price 1979a:260, and see De Sola Pinto ed. 1928:I,300). The markings 'Act ready', followed by 'strike' or 'knock', also a signal for the act tune, appear at the end of each act in a copy of **'Tis Pity She's a Whore** now in the collection of Mr Robert H. Taylor at Princeton, and the play's editor has suggested that these are Restoration prompt notes (Roper ed. 1975:lviii).

24. Baskervill has claimed that "some of the song and dance acts coming at the very close of the [Restoration] play are virtually afterpieces", and has described masques and revels introduced at the end as "excellent substitutes for the old jigs" (1929:153,154). He has likened this to the practice in some earlier plays.

25. The copy of **The Ball** from which the masque has been excised was used as a Restoration promptbook (McKinnon ed. 1965:xiv-xv). That of **The Lover's Melancholy** has been marked for abridgement, Leech suggests for a projected Restoration performance (1961).

26. There is as yet no study available which would allow comparison of embedded masques in terms of quantity and nature of music, and the extent to which independent masques were represented.

27. Concerning the increased quantity of music in Restoration plays, see too Price 1979a:17,94; concerning the larger amount of musical spectacle, see too Noyes 1938:188 and Price 1979a:xx,39.

28. This play was written for performance at the wedding of Lord Charles Herbert and Lady Mary Villiers (Leech 1935:277). In 1653, an altered version was published, **Pallantus And Eudora** (b), which says that the first edition (1638) was printed from a false and imperfect transcript, which the author had not corrected. The quotations cited are taken from the later text, where they occur after Act V.

29. Comparison is difficult both because of the lack of direct correlation between Price's and my categories, and because of the inherent difficulties in analyzing the way in which music is used.

30. The frequently clumsy accommodation of extraneous music (Price 1979a:99) is illustrated by some of the Restoration additions of music to revivals of Caroline plays. Some are justified on only a slight pretext; for instance, the music and dance in **Love and Honour** (b) III.ii are justified as being 'before the wedding'. Other music is still more glaringly extraneous; for instance, the jig in **The Lady Errant** III.iv (Blakemore Evans ed. 1951:772) is eminently unsuitable to the dramatic circumstances, appearing as it does before the complaint "Wake my Adonis".

31. In Caroline times, there was less extraneous music than emotionally supportive music, and hence certainly less than the total quantity of emotionally supportive and integral music. However, Price has stated that during the Restoration, what he refers to as 'para-dramatic' music "is used in equal if not greater amounts" than music which "produces a dramatic effect", which ranges from that which is "integral to plot and meaning" to that which "is simply diverting musical entertainment, however incidental, which nevertheless grows from and is still a part of the dramatic situation, and as such, enhances the flow of the play, though perhaps only atmospherically" (1979a:xvi).

32. E.g. see Dent 1928:7 and White 1983:27-48.

33. See Price's discussion of "What is English Opera?" (1984:4-6).

34. Dent (1928), Ingram (1958), Westrup (1975) and Luckett (1977) are among those who have accepted Dryden's comment. However, as Arundell has observed, Dryden, possibly for reasons of his own, failed "to notice that Davenant had welcomed the necessity that forced him to use recitative music" (1957:99). Arundell believes Davenant was attempting to introduce opera. Further support for this belief comes from Hedbäck's illustration of influences from contemporary Italian opera on **The First Day's Entertainment** and **The Siege of**

Rhodes (ed. 1973:lxix-lxxviii), something minimized by Dent.

Two caveats to interpreting the wording of the 1639 patent as meaning opera was intended should be mentioned. Firstly, the date is very early, given that the first public opera house had opened in Italy only two years previously. Nevertheless, I believe that Davenant was serious in his intention, if perhaps at this stage over-ambitious and impractical. Secondly, there is the question of why Davenant did not continue experimenting with opera after the Restoration, and turned **The Siege of Rhodes** into a 'just drama'. This remains unanswered.

CONCLUSION

1. See Corsani and Migliettas' editions of Jacobean plays (ed. 1987-89).

APPENDIX 1

CATALOGUE OF SURVIVING MUSIC FOR CAROLINE PLAYS

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

This appendix is a catalogue of all surviving music associated with specific Caroline plays which has so far been discovered. It lists both primary sources and modern editions for this music, and covers song and instrumental music. The Catalogue includes music which is definitely and possibly connected with specific plays. An impressive quantity of music survives, and more sources will doubtless be discovered.

There are musical sources for settings of or tunes for a total of 113 lyrics from Caroline plays, and for the symphonies for three further songs. The Catalogue also lists sources for thirty-one of the tunes which are called for by name in specific Caroline plays (henceforth referred to as 'named tunes'); these tunes are variously hummed, whistled, performed as instrumental music in their own right, and danced to. Sources are given too for another fourteen instrumental

tunes which share plays' titles and may be associated with them. I believe it is likely that more instrumental music survives than we can identify, and that the apparent shortage of extant instrumental music results from the shortage of named tunes in play-texts, and of named tunes and of pieces ascribed to plays in musical sources.

The Catalogue updates and expands on the portion on Caroline plays of Duckles' bibliography of sources for extant settings of early seventeenth-century dramatic lyrics, the only existing bibliography in the field (1968). The Catalogue includes information concerning musical sources for settings of or tunes for thirty-two lyrics additional to those listed by Duckles. These are twenty-two extra settings of specially composed dramatic lyrics, for which I have located sixty-three sources, and ten ballads for which tunes survive (although in this case, separately from the lyrics). Duckles listed eighty-one settings of lyrics from Caroline plays, and my Catalogue and Edition between them list both the 198 sources he had already listed for these settings and the 144 extra seventeenth-century concordances I have found. (It should be stressed that settings were not necessarily all used in the original performances of plays.) The Catalogue also lists sources for one hummed, three whistled and forty-one instrumental named tunes associated or possibly associated with specific Caroline plays; Duckles was not concerned with instrumental music.

The Catalogue is organized alphabetically by dramatist; within this, alphabetically by play-title. The author, title and date of plays are taken from Schoenbaum 1964 (supplemented by Schoenbaum 1966 and 1970). Songs are listed first, followed by named tunes. Songs are listed in alphabetical order under their first lines. (If necessary to avoid ambiguity, more than the

first line is given.) In the case of the songs which I edit in Appendix 2, the first line is taken from the musical copy-text; in other cases, the first line given is that in the play-text. Where the first line in musical sources differs, this is noted, as are titles given in the play-text. Ascriptions to composers are given in parentheses. The titles of named tunes are given as they appear in the play-text, and they too are listed alphabetically for each play.

In the listing of sources for each item, modern editions appear first, then manuscript and printed sources dating from 1580 to 1700. (Where a seventeenth-century manuscript has been lost but there is a nineteenth-century copy of it, sources from this are also listed.) Some of the music is available in modern editions or facsimiles; some only in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sources. In the case of the songs, thirteen are available in good editions by Spink (ed. 1977). Another twenty-six are scattered amongst various other modern editions of varying quality. Several suffer from inaccuracies and outdated methods of editing, and better copy-texts and additional concordances have now been located for some. Settings of the other seventy-three lyrics from Caroline plays for which musical sources survive have never been published in a modern edition. (The music for some of those songs whose words and music survive in different sources, particularly ballads, has been published, but either without any words or with different words from those which appear in the play-text, so here they are counted as songs not published in a modern edition.) I have edited thirty-one of the unpublished songs, along with symphonies for three further songs, and these appear in Appendix 2.

Not all modern editions are listed, particularly not for some of the popular tunes which occur in many modern editions. The heading 'Mod. edns/coms.' means 'modern

editions and/or commentaries'. The reference to commentaries applies to works such as Chappell 1965, Simpson 1966 and Ward 1967, to which the reader is referred for discussion and additional sources.

A complete listing is given of all manuscript and early printed sources identified by the methods described in the Introduction to the thesis and contained in the musical sources I examined, with three exceptions. Even though various of the sources have previously been observed, this has been in scattered sources, and I thought it useful to attempt to synthesize this information and present a complete listing, thereby making the information available for reference purposes. The first of the exceptions is that where a song is in my edition, the sources are listed in the commentary to that edition rather than in the Catalogue, and the reference in the Catalogue takes the form 'Mod. edn/com.: Appendix 2, no. 1'. Secondly, for certain songs which are ballads for which words and music survive in different sources, I include references to Chappell, Simpson and others, who list sources, rather than listing the sources here. Thirdly, in the listing of early printed sources, references to H. and J. Playford's **The Dancing Master** are made in abbreviated form. Some tunes appear in many editions, and rather than list all of these, the first edition in which an item appears is cited, and then a note indicates the last edition in which the tune appears. Details of all the editions are given in the 'Bibliography of Musical Sources Consulted'; or the reader can refer to Barlow ed. 1985:5-8.

The reader is referred to the lists of 'Modern Musical Editions Cited' and 'Other Works Cited' for bibliographical details of the modern editions and commentaries listed in this Catalogue. The former list includes editions of music proper; if a reference is not

found there, that means that the musical edition of the item concerned is contained within a work which is not itself wholly devoted to editions of music, and so the work is listed instead in 'Other Works Cited'.

Manuscripts cited in this Catalogue are listed in the 'Bibliography of Musical Sources Consulted', as are facsimiles of them. A list of library sigla is to be found with the list of 'Abbreviations' which precedes the Bibliographies. Early printed sources are cited in a shortened form in the Catalogue, and fuller details of them are again contained in the 'Bibliography of Musical Sources Consulted', along with details of facsimiles.

Where it is uncertain whether music listed in the Catalogue is definitely associated with a particular play, I include a note with the entry stating this. For example, with tunes named in plays, I list pieces in musical sources which have the same or similar titles; it is not always possible to be certain whether these are indeed what was performed, or which of several versions (or even several tunes) was used, where more than one survives. There is danger in speculation based purely on similar titles. Sometimes it is slightly ambiguous whether a particular tune is called for or a tune of a particular type. Ascertaining sources for ballads is particularly complicated; and where words and music appear in separate sources, the ballads have to be 'reconstructed', which involves a degree of artificiality.

One class of tunes which may be linked with plays is those which have the same name as the title or subtitle of a play (and there are other tunes with titles which are similar rather than identical). These are referred to in the Catalogue by brief notes, which should be qualified here. It is a possibility that these are associated with plays, as is established by the fact that the tune "The fine Companion" is called for in the

eponymous play. (A tune with this name is extant.) The likelihood is obviously stronger in cases where the musical sources are earlier and titles identical. In other cases it seems on the whole unlikely that tunes are associated with the plays, although there are some which are likely to be linked with Restoration revivals of plays.

Two other points should be made concerning named tunes. Firstly, there are some specifications which might suggest a named tune but I think do not, and the Catalogue includes notes on these with the relevant plays. Secondly, there are a few tunes called for by name in plays and performed as instrumental music in its own right or to accompany dancing but for which surviving music has not yet been located. These are also listed in the Catalogue, in the hope that this will aid future work in attempting to identify extant music.

A debt to many others must be acknowledged, particularly to Duckles, whose bibliography provided a good basis on which to build, but also to other scholars who have worked on the identification of songs and instrumental music and sources for them and who have produced studies of musical manuscripts and printed music. They include Chan, Chappell, Cutts, Day and Murrie, Jorgens, Lefkowitz, Lumsden, Sabol, C. M. Simpson, Spencer, Spink, Walker and J. Ward.

(Note. Part-books are labelled a, b, c and so on. An asterisk means a volume is reversed.)

ANONYMOUS

The Cyprian Conqueror, or The Faithless Relict (1640)

Song "When Troy towne for x yeares wars withstood"

Mod. edns/coms.: Chappell and Wooldridge 1893:I,183-86
Chappell 1965:370-73
Simpson 1966:587-90
Maas ed. 1974:41

MS sources: F-Pc Rés. 1186, f. 57v ("Troy towne")
GB-Eu Dc.1.69, p. 84
GB-Ge R.d.58, f. 11; R.d.60, f. 10 (John Wilson)
GB-Lbl Add. 38599, ff. 138v-39v
GB-Ob Mus.d.238, p. 84
US-NH Misc.Ms170, Filmer 4, a, f. 6v; b, f. 6v; c, ff. 7v-8
US-Ws V.a.411, ff. 9 and 12 (John Wilson)

Ptd sources: J. Playford, **Select Ayres And Dialogues** (1659), p. 94
Wilson, **Cheerfull Ayres** (1660), a, p. 2; b, p. 2; c, p. 2
J. Playford, **Catch that Catch can** (1667), pp. 122-23
J. Playford, **The Treasury of Musick** (1669), p. 94
J. Playford, **The Musical Companion** (1673), p. 114
(All attributed to John Wilson)

The Ghost, or The Woman Wears the Breeches (1640)

Song "Come Cloris hie we to to [sic] the Bower"

Mod. edns/coms.:Duncan ed. 1905-09:I,175

St Cecilia. A Collection ed. 1919a

Whittaker ed. 1937b

MS sources: GB-Lbl Add. 11608, f. 8v (Henry Lawes)

GB-Lbl Add. 53723, f. 81, no. 156 (Henry Lawes)

GB-Eu Dc.1.69, no. 122, pp. 10*-11* (William Lawes)

GB-Ob Mus.d.238, pp. 197*-96*

GB-Ge R.d. 58, f. 6v; R.d.59, f. 5v; R.d.60, f. 8v; R.d.61, f. 4

US-NYp Drexel 4041, no. 87, f. 65v

Ptd sources: H. Lawes, **Ayres And Dialogues** (1653), pt 2, p. 16

J. Playford, **An Introduction To the Skill** (1655), pt 1, p. 37

J. Playford, **Select Ayres And Dialogues** (1659), p. 93

J. Playford, **A Brief Introduction To the Skill** (1660), p. 51

J. Playford, **A Brief Introduction To the Skill** (1662), p. 51

J. Playford, **Catch that Catch can** (1667), pp. 214-15 [misnumbered 115]

J. Playford, **The Treasury of Musick** (1669), p. 93

J. Playford, **An Introduction To The Skill** (1672), pt 1, p. 66

J. Playford, **The Musical Companion** (1673), pp. 200-201

J. Playford, **An Introduction To The Skill** (1674), pt 1, p. 66

J. Playford, **An Introduction To The Skill** (1679), pt 1, p. 65

J. Playford, **An Introduction To The Skill** (1683), pt 1, p. 58

H. Playford, **An Introduction To The Skill** (1687), pt 1, p. 59

H. Playford, **An Introduction To The Skill** (1700),

p. 40

(All attributed to Henry Lawes)

Song "Come lovely Phillis, since that thy will is"

Mod. edn/com.: Potter ed. 1915-16:I,50-51

MS sources: GB-Lbl Add. 53723, f. 76v (Henry Lawes)
GB-Lbl Add. 29396, ff. 19v-20 (Henry Lawes)
GB-Och 1114, ff. 2v-3
US-NYp Drexel 4257, no. 54 ("Say, lovely Phyllis")

Ptd sources: J. Playford, **Select Musicall Ayres, And Dialogues** (1652), pt 1, p. 35
J. Playford, **Select Musicall Ayres And Dialogues** (1653), pt 1, p. 20
J. Playford, **Select Ayres And Dialogues** (1659), p. 51
J. Playford, **The Treasury of Musick** (1669), p. 51
(All attributed to Henry Lawes)

Tune with same title as play ("The Ghoste"), so possibly associated with it.

Mod. edns/coms.: Maitland and Squire ed. 1899: no. 162
Dart ed. 1969: no. 5
Brown ed. 1976: no. 78

MS sources: GB-Cfm Mu. 168, p. 280
GB-En 9448, ff. 20v-24

'B., T.' (Anthony or Thomas Brewer?)

The Country Girl (1632)

Tune with title similar to that of play ("Countrey Lasse"), so possibly associated with it.

Mod. edn/com.: Simpson 1966:134-36
MS source: US-CAward Matthew Otley's cittern book, f. 18
Ptd source: Benson and J. Playford, **A Book of New Lessons** (1652), pt 1, p. 7

BERKELEY, William

The Lost Lady (1637)

Song "Wher did you borrow that last sigh"

Mod. edn/com.: Appendix 2, no. 1

BROME, Richard

The Antipodes (1638)

Whistled tune "Fortune my Foe"

Mod. edns/coms.: Chappell and Wooldridge 1893:I,76-79
Maitland and Squire ed. 1899: no. 65
Duncan ed. 1905-09:I,140-41
Jackson ed. 1910:21
Gibbon 1930: 49
Fellowes ed. 1937-50:XX,11
Tuttle ed. 1955: no. 61
Poulton 1961: pt 2, no. 8
Chappell 1965:162-64
Simpson 1966:225-31

Ward 1967:37,41

Jeffery ed. 1968: no. 4

Dart ed. 1969: no. 8

Souris ed. 1970:109-13,214

Ferguson ed. 1974: no. 9

Edwards ed. 1977: no. 25

Poulton and Lam ed. 1981: no. 62

MS sources: EIRE-Dtc D.1.21, pp. 14, 111

EIRE-Dtc D.3.30/I, pp. 49-50

F-Pc Rés. 1186, f. 24

GB-Cfm Mu. 168, p. 123

GB-Cu Dd.2.11, f. 56

Gb-Cu Dd.4.22, f. 11v

GB-Cu Dd.5.21, ff. 1v, 2

GB-Cu Dd.9.33, ff. 50v-51, 89

GB-Cu Dd.14.24, f. 21v

GB-Cu Nn.6.36, f. 15

GB-En 9448, ff. 14v-20

GB-Ge R.d.43, f. 27

GB-Lbl Add. 4388, f. 88

GB-Lbl R.M.24.d.3, ff. 127v-130

GB-Lm Tangye Coll.46.78/748, f. 10

GB-Mp 832 Vu51, p. 13

GB-Och 431, ff. 20-21v

GB-WGspencer Mynshall lute book, f. 9v

GB-WPforester Weld lute book, f. 2

NL-Lt Thysius 1666, ff. 387, 387v, 388v, 477 ("Almande Fortuijne helas Pourquoy")

US-CAward Matthew Otley's cittern book, f. 37v*

Ptd sources: Barley, **A New Book of Tablitvre** (1596), sigg. F3-F3v

Adriaenssen, **Pratum Musicum** (1600), f. 73 ("Almande Fortune helas pourquoy")

Van den Hove, **Florida** (1601), f. 106v ("Fortuna Englesae")

Corkine, **Ayres, To Sing And Play** (1610), sigg.

F2v-G1

Valerius, **Neder-landtsche Gedenck-Clanck** (1626), p. 142 ("Fortuyn")

Vallet, **Le Secret des Muses** (1615), no. 37 ("Allemande fortune helas pourquoy")

Vallet, **Le Secret des Muses** (1616), no. 14 ("Fortune Angloise")

Camphuysen, **Stichtelycke Rymen** (1647), pp. 57 ("Englesche Fortuyn"), 119 ("D'Engelsche Galliarde")

The City Wit, or The Woman Wears the Breeches (1630)

Song "He tooke her by the middle so small"

This and the following three lines sung in this play are (apart from a few small differences) stanza 4 of the ballad "The Knight and Shepherd's Daughter" as it appears in Child ed. 1957, no. 110A. The tune directed is "The Shepheards Delight". Although a tune of this name does not survive, later issues of the ballad are to the tune of "The Shepherd's Daughter"; there are sources of a tune with this title (also entitled "Parson[s] upon Dorothy") (see Chappell 1965:126-27 and Simpson 1966:658-59). It has not been established whether the tune as it survives was indeed used for singing the ballad. Simpson thinks it doubtful, but states that Chappell's reconstruction, "while it has no textual validity, is probably sound" (ibid.:659).

Song "Then let us be friends, and most friendly agree"

Mod. edn/com.: Appendix 2, no. 2

The Court Beggar (1640)

Whistled dance tune "Sellingers round"

Swaynwit "whistels and Dances Sellingers round, or the like" (V.ii.180-81.1).

Mod. edns/coms.: Smith ed. 1812:II,174
Chappell and Wooldridge 1893:I,256-57
Maitland and Squire ed. 1899: no. 64
Jackson ed. 1910:37-39
Andrews ed. 1926: no. 37
Fellowes ed. 1937-50:XX,47
Chappell 1965:69-71
Simpson 1966:643-46
Ward 1967:72
Brown ed. 1976: no. 84
Barlow ed. 1985: no. 129

MS sources: EIRE-Dm Z3.2.13, pp. 42-43, 182
EIRE-Dtc D.1.21, p. 103
F-Pc Rés. 1186, f. 78
GB-ABmarquess Lady Nevil's virginal book, f. 166
GB-Cfm Mu. 168, p. 120
GB-Ctc 0.16.2, f. 128 ("The begining of the world")
GB-Cu Dd.3.18, f. 5
GB-Cu Dd.5.20, f. 6
GB-WGspencer Board lute book, f. 12
J-Tn BM-4540-ne, sig. B4
NL-Lt Thysius 1666, f. 442 ("Brande d'Angleterre") (3 settings)
US-CAward Boteler cittern book, ff. 12, 46v
US-CAward John Ridout's commonplace book, ff. [66v], [79]
US-Ws V.b.280, f. 87v (2 settings)

Ptd sources: J. Playford, **Dancing Master** [1657], p. 132, and continued in **Dancing Master** until 1690 edn
J. Playford, **Musicks Hand-maide** (1663), no. 10
J. Playford, **Musicks Hand-maid** (1678), no. 10

The Damoiselle, or The New Ordinary (1638)

Song snatch "Diana and her Dearlings, deare"

The play-text cites only "Diana and her Dearlings, deare, deare, deare, etc." (V.i.85-86). This is the first line of a ballad which appears in **The Roxburghe Ballads** (Chappell and Ebsworth ed. 1871-99:II, pt 2, 520-24), entitled "A new Sonnet, shewing how the Goddess Diana transformed Acteon into the shape of a Hart", and also in the Euing ballad collection (no. 251). It is directed in these two sources to be sung "to a new tune", and Simpson notes that other issues are to unspecified 'new' tunes, apart from the earliest extant broadside edition, which names the tune "Rogero" (1966:614). This is "a tune type whose general characteristics are determined by a bass pattern and the harmonies defined by that bass pattern" (Ward 1967:70), and it is associated with the Italian ground 'Ruggiero'. Sources for "Rogero"s survive (see Chappell 1965:93-95, Simpson 1966:612-14 and Ward 1967:70-71).

There was a tune called "Diana", named from the opening line of this ballad (Simpson 1966:535), but no tune of this name survives (Ward 1967:60).

The English Moor (1637)

Song "Love where is now thy Deity"

Mod. edn/com.: Appendix 2, no. 3

Dance tune "The Cuckolds Joy"

I have discovered no tune with this title, but there are sources for tunes entitled "The Merry Cuckold", "Cuckolds All A Row" and "Room for Cuckolds". I suggest that one of these may be the tune which was intended. There is also an extant tune entitled "The

Cuckolds' Masque", and given that "The Cuckolds Joy" is danced in an embedded masque, this is another possibility.

"Cuckolds all a row"

Mod. edns/coms.:Chappell and Wooldridge 1893:I,306
Chappell 1965:340-42
Simpson 1966:145-47
Barlow ed. 1985: no. 19

Ptd sources: J. Playford, **English Dancing Master** (1651), p. 67, and continued in **Dancing Master** until 1698 edn, and in C18th edns
Benson and J. Playford, **A Booke of New Lessons** (1652), pt 2, p. 22
J. Playford, **Musick's Recreation** (1682), pt 1, p. 15

"Room for Cuckolds"

Other names for this tune are "Room for Company" and (later) "Hunting the Hare".

Mod. edns/coms.:Chappell 1965:322
Simpson 1966:615-16

MS source: GB-Ctc O.16.2, f. 132

Ptd sources: J. Playford, **Musicks Recreation** (1652), p. 5
J. Playford, **Musicks Recreation** (1661), p. 96

"The Cuckolds' Masque"

Sabol suggests that this was possibly used in **The Mask of Flowers** (1614) (ed. 1978:578).

Mod. edn/com.: Sabol ed. 1978: no. 126

MS source: GB-Lbl Add. 10444, ff. 36v, 87v

"The merry Cuckold"

Mod. edns/coms.:Maas ed. 1974:73
Sabol ed. 1978: no. 393
MS source: F-Pc Rés. 1186, ff. 123v-124
US-NYp Drexel 5612, p. 30

A Jovial Crew, or The Merry Beggars (1641)

Song "A round, a round, a round, boys, a round / Let mirth fly aloft"

Ptd sources: J. Playford, **Catch that Catch can** (1667), p. 78 [misnumbered 79]
J. Playford, **The Musical Companion** (1673), p. 56
(Both attributed to William Lawes)

Song "From hunger and cold, who lives more free"

Mod. edn/com.: Simpson 1966:244-45
MS sources: GB-Ge R.d.58, ff. 14v and 38v; R.d.59, f. 11v; R.d.60, f. 38v ("J.G.", who may be John Gamble or John Goodgroome)
Ptd sources: J. Playford, **Select Ayres And Dialogues** (1659), p. 64
J. Playford, **The Treasury of Musick** (1669), p. 64
J. Playford, **The Musical Companion** (1673), p. 96 ("J. G.")

Song snatch "Old sack, and old songs, and a merry old crew"

This is the last two lines of "A round, a round" (see above).

Song "There was an old fellow at Waltham Cross"

This is referred to in the play as an "old song" (II.ii.86). Its first line in musical sources is "There was an old man at Walton Cross".

Mod. edns/coms.:Chappell and Wooldridge 1893:II,158
Chappell 1965:262
MS sources: GB-Lbl Add. 11608, f. 79 (John Hilton)
GB-Ob Harding Mus.e.1, p. 17
Ptd sources: Hilton, **Catch that Catch can** (1652), p. 31
Hilton, **Catch that Catch can** (1658), pt 1, p. 27
J. Playford and Watkins, **Catch that Catch can** (1663), pt 1, p. 27
J. Playford, **Catch that Catch can** (1667), p. 13
(All attributed to John Hilton)

Tune with same title as play ("The Jovial Crew"), but probably for a Restoration revival rather than a Caroline production.

Mod. edns/coms.:Chappell and Wooldridge 1893:II,52
Simpson 1966:41-42,185
Barlow ed. 1985: no. 258
Ptd sources: J. Playford, **Apollo's Banquet** (1669), no. 25
J. Playford, **Apollo's Banquet** (1678), no. 64
J. Playford, **Dancing Master** (1686), p. 207, and continued in **Dancing Master** until 1698 edn, and in C18th edns (entitled "The Twenty-ninth of May", but as a separate entry entitled "May-Hill, or the Jovial Crew" in [1687] edn, and as a separate entry entitled "The Jovial Beggars" in [1698] edn)

The New Academy, or The New Exchange (1635)

The dance tunes marked with an asterisk below are included in a selection of tunes named in III.ii; it is implied that several of them are performed.

Dance tune "La Brittaine"*

I have discovered no tune with this title, but, particularly given that the tune in the play is identified as a courante, there is a slight possibility that it may be the tune entitled "Corant la Grand Britain", which survives in the following sources:

Ptd sources: H. Playford, **Apollo's Banquet** (1687), pt 2, no. 50
H. Playford, **Apollo's Banquet** (1690), pt 2, no. 48

Dance tune "La Miniard"*

Ward noted that the music which accompanied the "Galliard Laminiard" which is danced in **The Old Law** (1618) is more likely to have been a version of the piece listed below than of Dowland's galliard "Mignarda" (1977:65). I believe the same is true of this dance from **The New Academy**.

MS source: GB-Ctc O.16.2, p. 123 ("Laminiard")

Dance tune "La Reverree"*

No sources found.

Dance tune "La Vemimde"*

No sources found.

Dance tune "Le Holland"*

The gender is different, but this may be the tune which appears in the source below.

MS source: GB-PLgreen Bunbury virginal book, f. 7v ("la holland")

Dance tune "Le Marquesse"*

Although the gender is different, this is likely to be the "Corant La Marquess", of which sources are listed below, particularly since the tune in the play is identified as a courante.

MS source: GB-Och 1175, f. 4 ("Le Marquis")

Ptd sources: J. Playford, **Dancing Master** [1657], sectn of French dances, no. 2 ("Corant La Marquess")

J. Playford, **Dancing Master** (1665), sectn of French dances, no. 2 ("Corant La Marquiss")

J. Playford, **Apollo's Banquet** (1669), no. 165 ("Corant la Marquess")

Dance tune "Le Montague"*

Although the gender is different, this is likely to be the "Corant La Mountague", of which sources are listed below, particularly since the tune in the play is identified as a courante.

Ptd sources: J. Playford, **Dancing Master** [1657], sectn of French dances, no. 9

J. Playford, **Dancing Master** (1665), sectn of French dances, no. 6

J. Playford, **Musicks Hand-maide** (1663), no. 16

J. Playford, **Apollo's Banquet** (1669), no. 168 [1st item with this number]

Dance tune "Lepees"*

There are possible sources for this tune, but uncertainty is involved as titles differ. Extant tunes with similar titles are listed below. It may also be that the dance title "Lepees" was made up, parodying the French "Le pied".

MS source: US-NH Misc.Ms170, Filmer 4, a, ff. 69v-70; c, f. 91v ("La Pee")

Ptd sources: J. Playford, **Dancing Master** [1657], sectn of French dances, no. 4 ("Corant La Pay")

J. Playford, **Apollo's Banquet** (1669), no. 166 ("Corant la Pey")

Dance tune "Le Prince"*

Although the gender is different, this may be the tune "La Prince" of which sources are listed below; or, particularly since the tune in the play is identified as a courante, it may be the "Corant La Prince[s?]".

Ptd sources: J. Playford, **Dancing Master** [1657], sectn of French dances, no. 12 ("Corant La Prince[s?]")

H. Playford, **Apollo's Banquet** (1687), pt 2, no. 53 ("La Prince")

H. Playford, **Apollo's Banquet** (1690), pt 2, no. 51 ("La Prince")

Dance tune "Le Roy"*

Perhaps this courante is that which appears in the source below.

Ptd source: J. Playford, **Apollo's Banquet** (1669), no. 167 ("La du Roy")

Dance tune "Les tous ensembles"

This dance has the alternative titles of "All-to-well" and "Omnium Gatherum". No musical sources have been found for it. The possibility arises that it may have been an invented title, since it is significant with regard to the function and placing of the dance: it is danced by all the major characters at the end of the play and celebrates making up. However, there is a reference to the dance under the name "Omnium Gatherum" which could suggest that such a dance did exist: Selden noted that "in King James time things were pretty well. But in K Charles time there has binn nothing but Trenchmore and Cushion dance, Omnium gatherum, totty polly, hoyte come toyte" (quoted in Sabol ed. 1978:608).

Dance tune "The Dolphine"*

This could be "La daulphine" or "La Dolphin", of which sources are listed below.

Mod. edns/coms.: Meertens, Tenhaeff and Komter-Kuipers ed. 1942:46
Souris ed. 1970:179 ("La daulphine")

Ptd sources: Vallet, **Le Secret des Muses** (1615), no. 76 ("La daulphine")
Valerius, **Neder-landtsche Gedenck-Clanck** (1626), pp. 40-41 ("stem: La Dolphinée")
H. Playford, **Apollo's Banquet** (1687), pt 2, no. 59 ("La Dolphin")
H. Playford, **Apollo's Banquet** (1690), pt 2, no. 57 ("La Dolphin")

Tune with same title as play's alternative title ("The New Exchange"), so possibly associated with it. There survives another tune entitled "The New New Exchange" or "The New Royal Exchange", but it is probably unlikely that this was associated with the play.

"The New Exchange"

Mod. edns/coms.:Chappell 1965: 140-42 (as "Go from my window", with listing of sources for tune under this title)
Simpson 1966:257-59 (ditto)
Barlow ed. 1985: no. 68

MS sources: US-NH Misc.Ms170, Filmer 3, a, f. 15v; c, ff. 74 and 70v; d, f. 28v

Ptd sources: J. Playford, **English Dancing Master** (1651), p. 8, and continued in **Dancing Master** until 1686 edn (entitled "Durham Stable, or The New Exchange" from 1670 on)

"The New New Exchange" or "The New Royal Exchange" (in printed sources from 1670 on)

Mod. edns/coms.:Chappell and Wooldridge 1893:II,8-9
Chappell 1965:317-18
Simpson 1966:353-54
Barlow ed. 1985: no. 127

Ptd sources: J. Playford, **Dancing Master** [1657], p. 124, and continued in **Dancing Master** until 1698 edn, and in C18th edns

Dance tune "The Tresboun"

No sources have been found for a tune with this name. The dance is performed at a supposed academy for the teaching of music and dancing after the French manner and its name parodies the French 'très bon'; it may have been invented for the play.

Dance tune "The Valette Galliard"*

This could be "La Vallette", sources of which are listed below, although in two sources it is identified as a courante rather than a galliard.

Mod. edns/coms.:Meertens, Tenhaeff and Komter-Kuipers ed. 1942:58-59

Souris, Spycket and Veyrier ed. 1964:21-22

Souris ed. 1970:134-36,226-27

Ptd sources: Ballard, **Diverses Piesces** (1614), p. 22 ("La Valette cinquiesme [courante]")

Vallet, **Le Secret des Muses** (1615), pp. 61-62 ("Courante La Vallette")

Vallet, **Le Secret des Muses** (1616), p. 16 ("La Vallette")

Valerius, **Neder-landtsche Gedenck-Clanck** (1626), pp. 42-43 ("La Vallette")

The Northern Lass (1629)

Song "A bony bony bird I have"

Mod. edn/com.: Appendix 2, no. 4

Song "As I was gathering aprill flowers"

Mod. edn/com.: Appendix 2, no. 5

Song "Nor Love, nor Fate dare I accuse"

MS sources: GB-En Dep. 314/23, f. 12 (words only ["No fate nor love"], sung "to the air of the lady cromliks liltt") [of which I have found no sources]

US-NYp Drexel 4041, no. 12, f. 10v

US-NYp Drexel 4257, no. 99 (John Wilson)

Ptd source: **Quadratum Musicum** (1687), p. 6 (a late C17th setting by R. Simson)

Song "Peace wayward Barne; O cease thy mone"

There is no source in which this lyric is set to music. However, Duckles has suggested (1953:322-23) that it was sung to the tune of "Ballow", on the basis of the occurrence of the latter song in US-NYp Drexel 4257 between two other songs from **The Northern Lass**, and I think this very probable. The lyric in the play-text fits exactly to this melody, and both lyrics possess the refrain "Ballow, ballow", etc.. In fact, three different tunes were associated with "Ballow" (see Simpson 1966:31-34).

Sources of "Ballow":

Mod. edns/coms.: Hales and Furnivall ed. 1868:III,515-23
Duckles 1948:37
Elliott ed. 1957:186
Beck ed. 1959: no. 18
Simpson 1966:31-34
Ward 1967:2
Casey ed. 1982: no. 18

MS sources: EIRE-Dtc D.1.21, p. 111
GB-En 9477, f. 75 (words only)
GB-En Acc.9769,84/1/6, p. 21
GB-Eu Dc.1.75, f. 18v
GB-Lbl Add. 10337, f. 57
GB-Lbl Add. 36526, f. 5
US-NYp Drexel 4257, no. 46

Ptd source: Morley, **The First Booke of Consort Lessons** (1599, 1611), no. 18

Song "Som say my love is butt a man"

Mod. edn/com.: Appendix 2, no. 6

Tune with same title as play ("The Northern Lass"), but more likely to be associated with a Restoration revival of the play than with a Caroline performance.

Mod. edns/coms.:Chappell and Wooldridge 1893:II,21-22
Chappell 1965:559-61

Ptd sources: J. Playford, **Apollo's Banquet** (1669), no. 124
J. Playford, **Apollo's Banquet** (1678), no. 44
H. Playford, **Apollo's Banquet** (1687), pt 3, no. 9
H. Playford, **Apollo's Banquet** (1690), pt 3, no. 10

Tune ascribed to play ("The Scotchman's Dance, in "The Northern Lass"), but probably associated with a Restoration revival of the play.

Mod. edn/com.: Barlow ed. 1985: no. 288

Ptd sources: J. Playford, **Dancing Master** [1687], no. 29; and in 1698 edn and C18th edns, entitled "The Highlanders March"
H. Playford, **Apollo's Banquet** (1687), pt 1, no. 103
H. Playford, **Apollo's Banquet** (1690), pt 1, no. 59

The Novella (1632)

Dance tune "The Novella"

No sources found for a tune with this title. Its name is significant, so perhaps it was made specially for this play.

The Queen and Concubine (1635)

Song "What if a Day, or a moneth, or a year"

This song is thought to be by Thomas Campion. See Greer 1962 concerning sources.

Mod. edns/coms.:Chappell and Wooldridge 1893:I,100-101

Duncan ed. 1905-09:I,200-201

Jackson ed. 1910:70

Potter ed. 1915-16:I,26-27

Warlock and Wilson ed. 1927-31:VI,28-29

Tuttle ed. 1955: no. 64

Fellowes and Dart ed. 1961: nos. 17, 18

Poulton 1961a: pt 2, no. 6

Greer 1962

Chappell 1965:310-12

Simpson 1966:752-54

Ward 1967:85

Maas ed. 1974:3

Poulton and Lam ed. 1981: no. 79

MS sources: EIRE-Dtc 412, f. 23

F-Pc Rés. 1186, ff. 15-15v

GB-Cu Dd.4.23, f. 32

GB-Cu Dd.9.33, f. 62v

GB-Cu Add. 79(H), f. 11 (words only)

GB-DU Blaikie MS (MS 10455 in Wighton Collection), no. 59

GB-En 5448, ff. 3, 4

GB-En 9450, ff. 4, 42, 46

GB-En 9477, f. 51 (words only); ff. 65v-66

GB-En Adv.5.2.15, pp. 113-14

GB-En Dep. 314/24, pp. 16, 20

GB-En Acc.9769,84/1/6, p. 127

GB-Eu La.III.483, a, p. 189; b, pp. 178-79; c, p. 183

GB-Eu La.III.488, f. 12v

GB-Eu La.III.490, pp. 18-21

GB-Eu La.III.491, p. 12

GB-Lbl Add. 24665, ff. 25v-26, 69v-70

GB-Lbl Add. 33933, ff. 81v-82

GB-Lbl Eger. 2046, f. 19

GB-Mp 832 Vu51, p. 12

GB-Och 439, p. 115

GB-P N.16, no. 17
GB-Rcr Trumbull Add. MS 6, f. 2
US-NYp Drexel 5612, pp. 46-47
US-Ws V.b.280, ff. 23, 87, final recto [unnumbered]

Ptd sources: Alison, **An Howres Recreation** (1606), nos. 17-18
Robinson, **New Citharen Lessons** (1609), no. 45
Gil, **Logonomia Anglica** (1619), p. 140
Starter, **Friesche Lust-Hof** (1621), p. 77 (and see pp. 65, 108, 167)
Valerius, **Neder-landtsche Gedenck-Clanck** (1626), pp. 247-48
Pers and de Leeuw, **Bellerophon** (1657), pp. 139-40
Forbes, **Cantus** (1662, 1666, 1682), no. 17
Camphuysen, **Stichtelycke Rymen** (1647), pp. 146-48; (1652), ff. 55v-56

The Queen's Exchange (1631) (**The Royal Exchange**, 1661)

Instrumental tune "The Bells"?

A rather ambiguous stage direction ("A shout within, the Musick, sound the Bells" [II.ii.0.1]) raises the possibility that a tune called "The Bells" is played here (concerning this, see note with Jonson's **The New Inn**). However, I think that the stage direction indicates the ringing of actual bells.

Tune with title ("The New Royal Exchange") similar to play's later title, but unlikely to be associated with it. For editions and sources of this tune, see entry under Brome's **The New Academy, or The New Exchange.**

The Sparagus Garden (Tom Hoydon o' Tanton Deane) (1635)

Tune with title ("Sparagus-Garden, or the New Conceit") of which the first part is the same as that of the play, so possibly associated with it.

Mod. edn/com.: Barlow ed. 1985: no. 126

Ptd sources: J. Playford, **Dancing Master** [1657], p. 123, and continued in **Dancing Master** until 1686 edn (entitled "The merry conceit" in [1657] and 1665 edns; "Sparagus-Garden, or the New Conceit" in 1670 edn; "The New Conceit, or the Sparagus Garden" in 1675 and 1679 edns; "The New Conceit, or the Asparagus Garden" in 1686 edn)

The Weeding of Covent Garden or The Middlesex Justice of Peace (The Covent Garden Weeded) (1632)

Hummed tune "How Happy"

This is Psalm 133, which begins "O How happy a thing it is". In addition to the traditional psalm tunes, there survive other settings of the text; for example, late C17th settings as an anthem.

Mod. edn/com.: Frost ed. 1953:183-85 (two tunes) (See this for details of its appearances in books of psalms from 1588 on)

MS sources: GB-Eu La.III.483, a, pp. 96-97; b, pp. 96-97; c, pp. 94-95

Ptd sources: J. Playford, **An Introduction To The Skill** (1674), pt 1, p. 75; (1679), pt 1, p. 73; (1683), pt 1, p. 62

H. Playford, **An Introduction To The Skill** (1687), pt 1, p. 62; (1700), p. 42

The Late Lancashire Witches (1634)

Instrumental/dance tune "Running o'the country"?

Possibly a tune called this is played, in which case it was presumably an old dance tune, but the reference may be a figure of speech rather than the naming of an actual tune. No sources found.

Instrumental / dance tune "Selengers Round"

The tune is first played in preparation for dancing, although the dancing apparently does not begin yet; it is then played again and danced to, but as dancing begins, the musicians fall into many tunes under the influence of witchcraft. "The beginning of the world" is now called for, and this was an alternative name for "Sellenger's Round"; however, the stage direction reads that this time, "Every one a severall tune" (III.1393).

Edns and sources: see entry under Brome's **The Court Beggar.**

Instrumental tune "The battle"

It seems that here "the battle" refers to a piece of music, as distinct from the signal of the same name. It is slightly ambiguous whether a particular tune is being called for, and it seems more likely that a tune of a particular type is implied. Various battle pieces survive, and perhaps one of these was performed. Sources of some are listed below.

Programmatic battle pieces were popular in the seventeenth century. They were influenced by two pieces dating from the first half of the sixteenth century: Jannequin's "La Guerre" or

"La Bataille" and Werrecore's "Die Schlacht vor Pavia" or "La Battaglia Taliana" (see Poulton 1972:137). Concerning battle pieces and their use of material from these two pieces and from each other, see Ward 1977:61-62. That descriptive battle pieces continued to be popular later in the seventeenth century is evident from the following directions in **I The Siege of Rhodes** (1656): "A Symphony expressing a Battail is play'd awhile" (V.iii.0.1) and "A Symphony sounds a Battail again" (ibid..16.2).

"The Battle" (Byrd)

This is a suite of pieces, different parts of which are included in the sources listed below. See the modern editions for further details.

Mod. edns/coms.:Maitland and Squire ed. 1899: no. 259
Andrews ed. 1926: nos. 3, 4, 5
Fellowes ed. 1937-50:XVIII,105-27
Brown ed. 1976: nos. 93, 94, 95

MS sources: F-Pc Rés. 1186, ff. 39v-99v; ff. 114-15v
GB-ABmarquess Lady Nevil's virginal book, ff. 13v, 19, 32
GB-Cfm Mu. 168, p. 371
GB-Lbl Add. 10337, ff. 11v-18
GB-Och 431, ff. 11-17
GB-PLgreen Bunbury virginal book, ff. 17v-27

"A Battle and no Battle"

Mod. edn/com.: Dart ed. 1963: no. 108
MS source: F-Pc Rés. 1185, pp. 290-97

"The Battle Galliard" (John Dowland) (also known as "The King of Denmark's Galliard" and as "Mr Mildmay's Galliard")

Poulton claimed that this used material from Jannequin's "La Bataille" and Werrecorre's "Die Schlacht vor Pavia" (1972:137), but Ward disagreed, while pointing out that it does use material from other 'battle pieces' (1977:61).

MS sources: GB-Cu Dd.9.33, ff. 23, 94v ("Mr Mildmays Galliard")
GB-Lbl Add. 38539, ff. 12v-13 ("the Battle galliard")
GB-Lbl Eger. 2046, ff. 17v-18 ("the battell galyerd")
GB-WGspencer Board lute book, ff. 17v-18 ("The king of Den. his gall. Mr Dowland his Battle gally.")
GB-WGspencer Sampson lute book, f. 7v ("The battaile Galliarde")
GB-WPforester Weld lute book, f. 5v ("The Battle Galliard")
US-Ws V.b.280, ff. 10v-11 ("the Battell gallyard")

Ptd sources: J. Dowland, **Lachrimae** [1604], no. 11 ("The King of Denmarks Galiard")
R. Dowland, **Varietie of Lute-lessons** (1610), sigg. L2v-M ("Galliard I. Christianus the fourth King of Denmarke, his Galliard")

"The Battle of Harlaw"

Mod. edn/com.: Sabol ed. 1978: no. 361

MS source: GB-Eu La.III.487, p. 30 ("Battel of Harlau")
GB-Lbl Add. 10444, ff. 4v, 59v ("The Battell of Harloe")

"The Batle of Pavie"

MS source: GB-En 9447, ff. 22-40v

"The Battle Pavane" / "The Battle"

Concerning this piece, see Ward 1977:139-40. He suggests that an ensemble scoring of it was used to accompany a battle spectacle.

Mod. edn/com.: Dart ed. 1963: no. 109a
MS sources: EIRE-Dtc D.3.30/I, pp. 60-67 ("Batel paven")
F-Pc Rés. 1185, pp. 287-88 ("the Battel Pavin")
GB-Cu Dd.2.11, ff. 29v-31
GB-Lbl Add. 38539, ff. 23v-25
GB-Lbl Eger. 2046, ff. 52v-54 ("The Battell")
US-Ws V.b.280, ff. 19v-21v ("the Battle")

Instrumental tune "The Bels" [backwards]

It is implied that bells are heard backwards (that is, in reverse order). Although I think that actual bells would have been rung, it is possible that musicians played a tune representing bells ringing, and it is worth drawing the reader's attention to the fact that amongst the sources for tunes representing bells ringing (listed under Jonson's **The New Inn**), there is one which is entitled "Bow bells rung backward".

BURNELL, Henry

Landgartha (1640)

Dance tune "The whip of Donboyne"

Dunboyne is a small parish in Ireland. This must be the same dance as that mentioned in Jonson's **The Irish Mask** (1613): "ant show tee how tey can foot te fading ant te fadow, ant te phip a dunboyne, I trow" (82-83).

MS source: GB-Cu Dd.9.33, ff. 37, 72v

CARLELL, Lodowick

I and II The Passionate Lovers (1638)

Tune whose alternative title is same as that of play ("Lavena, or The Passionate Lover[s]", but unlikely to be associated with it.

Mod. edn/com.: Barlow ed. 1985: no. 53

Ptd sources: J. Playford, **English Dancing Master** (1651), p. 59, and continued in **Dancing Master** until 1686 edn (entitled "Lavena" until the 1670 and 1675 edns, where it is entitled "Lavena, or The Passionate Lover"; then from the 1679 edn, "Lavena, or The Passionate Lovers")

CARTWRIGHT, William

The Lady Errant (1637)

Song "Wake my Adonis, do not dye"

Mod. edn/com.: Spink ed. 1977: no. 68

Ptd sources: J. Playford, **Select Musicall Ayres, And Dialogues** (1652), pt 1, pp. 28-29

J. Playford, **Select Musicall Ayres And Dialogues** (1653), pt 1, pp. 26-27

J. Playford, **Select Ayres And Dialogues** (1659), pp. 4-5

J. Playford, **The Treasury of Musick** (1669), pp.

(All attributed to Charles Coleman)

The Ordinary, or The City Cozener (1635)

Song "Com o Com I brooke noe staye"

Mod. edn/com.: Appendix 2, no. 7

The Royal Slave (1636)

Song "A Pox on our Gaoler, and on his fat Jole"

Mod. edn/com.: Appendix 2, no. 8

Song "Come from the Dungeon to the Throne"

Mod. edn/com.: Spink ed. 1977: no. 43 (See his commentary for discussion of the complicated relationship between the musical sources)

MS sources: F-Pc Rés. 2489, pp. 254-55
GB-Lbl Add. 29396, ff. 14v-15 (Henry Lawes)
GB-Lbl Add. 53723, f. 40v (Henry Lawes)
US-NYp Drexel 4041, no. 112, ff. 89v-90v

Ptd sources: J. Playford, **Select Ayres And Dialogues** (1659), p. 26
J. Playford, **Catch that Catch can** (1667), pp. 166-67
J. Playford, **The Treasury of Musick** (1669), p. 26
J. Playford, **The Musical Companion** (1673), pp. 114-15
(All attributed to Henry Lawes)

Song "Come my sweet, whiles every strayne"

Mod. edn/com.: Spink ed. 1977: no. 44

MS sources: F-Pc Rés. 2489, ff. 18-18v

GB-Lbl Add. 53723, f. 40 (Henry Lawes)

Ptd sources: H. Lawes, **Ayres And Dialogues** (1653), pt 1, p. 32

J. Playford, **Select Ayres And Dialogues** (1659), p. 26

J. Playford, **The Treasury of Musick** (1669), p. 26

(All attributed to Henry Lawes)

Song "Now, now, the Sunne is fled"

Mod. edn/com.: Spink ed. 1977: no. 45

MS sources: F-Pc Rés. 2489, pp. 320-22 (William Lawes)

US-NYp Drexel 4041, ff. 92v-94v (Henry Lawes)

Song "Softly softly gentle soule"?

This song survives only in one manuscript source, where it bears the ascription "In the Play of the Royal Slave". It appears neither in the printed text of the play nor any of the five manuscripts of it, and I support Cutts' conclusion that, given that there is also no likely place for it in the play, it is tempting "to doubt its ascription here in Rés. MS. 2489 unless it is conceivable that it was originally made for the play but then discarded as was certainly the case with a song in Peter Hausted's The Rival Friends" (1969:122).

MS source: F-Pc Rés. 2489, p. 253

Song "Thou o bright Sun who seest all"

Mod. edn/com.: Spink ed. 1977: no. 46 (See his commentary on "Come from the Dungeon" for discussion of the relationship between the musical sources)

MS sources: F-Pc Rés. 2489, p. 255 (1st verse only)

US-NYp Drexel 4041, ff. 91-92 (H. Lawes)

Ptd sources: J. Playford, **Catch that Catch can** (1667), pp. 166-67

J. Playford, **The Musical Companion** (1673), pp. 114-15

(Both attributed to Henry Lawes, and both 1st verse only)

Instrumental tune "The Battle"

See entry under Brome and Heywood's **The Late Lancashire Witches** for possible sources. Blakemore Evans suggests that the tune may have been written specially for the occasion by Henry or William Lawes (ed. 1951:598).

CAVENDISH, William (and James SHIRLEY?)

The Variety (1641)

Song snatch "Back agen, back agen quoth the Pindar"

This and one more line are given in the play-text, followed by "etc.". They come from the fourth verse of the ballad "The Jolly Pinder of Wakefield", which appears as no. 124 in Child ed. 1957. Its burden is "Wakefield on a green", and sources of a tune with this title are listed in Chappell 1965:393-94. Chappell quotes the music for a version of this tune made by Rimbault and said to be from copies of the tune in GB-Cu Dd.2.11 and Dd.3.18. Bronson criticizes this transcription, discusses further possible tunes for the ballad, quotes another tune, and suggests that "perhaps, for a wild hypothesis, 'Walsingham' is behind the whole lot" (1959-72:III,24).

Song "Have you felt the wooll of Beaver?"

This parodies line 5 on of "Have you seen the white lily grow", the third stanza of Ben Jonson's famous lyric "See the chariot at hand", which appeared in his **Under-woods** (1640). The first two stanzas had earlier appeared in his play **The Devil is an Ass** (1616). The third stanza was well-known in its own right as a song lyric, and indeed all but the last of the manuscript sources below are settings of this stanza. Presumably this parody was sung to the original music. The same stanza is parodied in **The Sad One.**

Mod. edns/coms.: Dolmetsch ed. 1898:6-7
Jackson ed. 1910:40-41
Potter ed. 1915-16:I,28-29
Warlock ed. 1929
Cutts ed. 1971:54-56
Spink ed. 1974:64-65

MS sources: EIRE-Dtc 412, f. 31v (treble only; bass part in GB-Eu La.III.483, p. 201)
GB-Lbl Add. 15117, f. 17v
GB-Lbl Add. 19268, f. 14 (words only)
GB-Lbl Add. 29481, f. 21
GB-Och 87, ff. 4v-5
US-LAuc C6967M4, no. 12
US-NYp Drexel 4175, no. 49 (originally also no. 39, but now missing)
US-NYp Drexel 4257, no. 2

Song "I conjure the I conjure the"

Mod. edn/com.: Appendix 2, no. 9

Song "I sweare by Muskadell"

Mod. edn/com.: Appendix 2, no. 10

Song "I'de have her merry, laugh, and smile"

MS sources: GB-Eu Dc.1.69, no. 63, p. 111 ("J. W.")
GB-Ob Mus.d.238, p. 109
US-NYp Drexel 4041, no. 51, f. 38 ("J. W.")

Ptd sources: Wilson, **Cheerfull Ayres** (1660), a, p. 57; b, p. 42; c, p. 42 (John Wilson)

Song snatch "She cast an eye on little Musgrave"

This and the following line are from the fourth verse of the ballad "Little Musgrave and Lady Barnard", which appears as no. 81 in Child ed. 1957. Bronson, who lists other early sources of the text, notes that none of them "either preserves or names a tune", and that "the earliest tunes actually reported as from tradition are of a far later date", in fact nineteenth-century (1959-72:II,267). This includes the tune quoted by Chappell (1965:170).

Song "The great Choe bent"

From its context in the play, this was evidently a ballad. No source of the words quoted in the play has been located, but they may have been sung to a version of the tune found in the sources below (see Ward 1979-80:12,25).

MS sources: GB-Cu Dd.2.11, f. 79
GB-Lbl Eger. 2046, f. 32v ("Chow bente")
(Both are lute solos)

Song "The Hart loves the high wood"

(First line in musical sources: "The Hart he loves the high wood".)

Ptd sources: J. Playford, **Catch that Catch can** (1685), no. 58
J. Playford, **The Second Book of the Pleasant Musical Companion** (1686), pt 1, no. 52
J. Playford, **The Second Book of the Pleasant Musical Companion** (1687), pt 1, no. 52

Song "Thine eyes to me like sunnes appeare"

MS sources: GB-Eu Dc.1.69, no. 62, p. 110 ("J. W.")
GB-Ob Mus.d.238, p. 108
US-NH Misc.Ms.170, Filmer 4, a, f. 27v; b, f. 22v; c, f. 28
US-NYp Drexel 4041, no. 50, f. 37v ("J. W.")
Ptd source: Wilson, **Cheerfull Ayres** (1660), a, p. 53; b, p. 31; c, p. 39 (John Wilson)

Dance tune "La Princesse"

Possibly a bit of "La Princesse" is danced (or one of three other dances); and again later, possibly some of it is danced. It may be one of the tunes listed below:

Mod. edns/coms.: Souris, Spycket and Veyrier ed. 1964:19-21 ("La Princesse Quatriesme")
Souris ed. 1970:173-74 ("La Princesse")
MS sources: GB-En 9455, f. 42v ("La Princeise")
GB-En 9456, f. 37v ("La Princeiss")
GB-En 9457, f. 38 ("La princoise")
GB-Lbl Add. 16889, f. 104v ("La princesse")
Ptd sources: Ballard, **Diverses Piesces** (1614), p. 20 ("La Princesse Quatriesme")
Vallet, **Le Secret des Muses** (1615), no. 72 ("La Princesse")
J. Playford, **Dancing Master** [1657], sectn of French dances, no. 12 ("Corant La Princes")
J. Playford, **Dancing Master** (1665), sectn of

French dances, no. 9 ("Corant la Princesse")

H. Playford, **Apollo's Banquet** (1687), pt 2, no. 46 ("La Princess"); pt 3, no. 23 ("The Princess")

H. Playford, **Apollo's Banquet** (1690), pt 2, nos. 44 and 45 ("La Princess"); pt 3, no. 24 ("The Princess")

Dance tune "Le Buckingham"

Possibly a bit of this is danced (or one of three other dances). Although the gender is different, it may be "La Buckingham", of which a source is listed below:

Ptd source: J. Playford, **Dancing Master** (1665), sectn of French dances, no. 72

CAVENDISH, William; James SHIRLEY

The Country Captain (Captain Underwit) (1640)

Song "Come let us cast the dice who shall drink"

Mod. edn/com.: Appendix 2, no. 11

Instrumental tunes: three of "Master Adsons new ayres"

After these three ayres have been played, a song is performed to the third of the tunes. The manuscript of the play (**The Country Captain** [b]) has additional directions that the musicians play twice more, so perhaps two more of Adson's ayres were performed.

Thirty-one ayres were published in Adson's **Courtly Masquing Ayres** in 1621, but these were hardly 'new' in 1640. Since few

other instrumental pieces ascribed to Adson survive, music for use in a modern revival of the play would have to be selected from the pieces listed below. Perhaps, as Bentley suggested, pieces later than the **Courtly Masquing Ayres** which have since been lost were performed in **The Country Captain** (1941-68:II,343).

Courtly Masquing Ayres

Mod. edns/coms.:Ring ed. 1957
Mountney ed. 1959
Dart and Coates ed. 1962: no. 54
Greer ed. 1963
Born ed. 1975
Walls ed. 1976-79
Ptd source: Adson, **Courtly Masquing Ayres** (1621)

[Untitled piece ascribed to Adson]

MS source: GB-Cfm Mu. 734, f. 30

"Adson's Saraband"

Mod. edn/com.: Barlow ed. 1985: no. 1
Ptd sources: J. Playford, **English Dancing Master** (1651), p. 28, and continued in **Dancing Master** until 1690 edn

COWLEY, Abraham

The Guardian (1642)

Song "Boy go down, / And fill's the tother quart"

MS sources: GB-Ob Harding Mus.e.1, p. 40
GB-Och 1114, f. 17v (Simon Ives)

Ptd sources: Hilton, **Catch that Catch can** (1652), p. 90
Hilton, **Catch that Catch can** (1658), pt 1, p. 100
J. Playford and Watkins, **Catch that Catch can** (1663), pt 1, p. 100
J. Playford, **Catch that Catch can** (1667), p. 55
J. Playford, **The Musical Companion** (1673), p. 43
(All attributed to Simon Ives)

Song "Like to the damask rose you see"

Possibly not sung, although I think it probable that at least a snatch was. The attribution in the printed source to Francis Quarles refers to the poet not the composer (Pearson 1954:116). Henry Lawes' setting of the lyric apparently predates the first performance of the play (ibid.).

Mod. edn/com.: Warlock ed. 1925: no. 1

MS sources: GB-Lbl Add. 53723, f. 18v (Henry Lawes)
GB-Och 87, ff. 11v-12
US-NYp Drexel 4175, no. 43

Ptd source: Banister and Low, **New Ayres And Dialogues** (1678), pp. 81-83

Dance tune "The disease of the Tarantula"?

The dialogue states, "We'll dance out the disease of the Tarantula" (V.vi.103-4), and later dancing is directed. Although this could possibly be a named dance tune, I think it is rather a reference to the supposed effects of a tarantula's bite, and the curative power of music.

Love's Riddle (1633)

Song "It is a punishment to love"

MS sources: GB-Cfm Mu. 118/377, p. 72 (a late C17th setting by Daniel Henstridge)
GB-Ob Don.c.57, no. 69, f. 40
US-NYp Drexel 4257, no. 164

Ptd source: Banister and Low, **New Ayres And Dialogues** (1678), p. 65 (William Webb)

'D., J.' (author or reviser?)

The Knave in Grain, New Vamped (1639)

Song snatch "Then three merry men, and three merry men be we"

This is likely to be from the song "Three merry men" which appears (although possibly not in full) in **The Old Wives Tale** (1590). However, it may also be from William Lawes' song "The wise men were but seven", which imitates this song with a refrain of "Three merry boys are we".

"Three merry men"

Chappell gives a tune for this which he says is from "a MS. common-place book, in the handwriting of John Playford" (1965:216). (This tune is also given in Gibbon 1930:79 and Naylor 1931:182.) I have not been able to trace this manuscript. A song beginning "Three merry boyes" survives in a Playford autograph (GB-STb pages from part-books GB-Ge R.d.58-61, a, f. 14; b, [not numbered]; c, f. 14). However, the melody differs from that quoted by Chappell (although it begins in the same way), and the words are different from his.

"The wise men were but seven" (refrain "Three merry boys are we")

Mod. edn/com.: Chappell 1965:362-63

MS sources: GB-En Adv.81.9.12, f. 8

GB-Eu La.III.491, p. 52

Ptd sources: Benson and J. Playford, **A Musicall Banquet** (1651), pt 3, p. 12

Hilton, **Catch that Catch can** (1652), p. 40 (William Lawes)

Hilton, **Catch that Catch can** (1658), pt 1, p. 39 (William Lawes)

J. Playford and Watkins, **Catch that Catch can** (1663), pt 1, p. 39 (William Lawes)

J. Playford, **Musick's Delight** (1666), no. 100

J. Playford, **Catch that Catch can** (1667), p. 43 [misnumbered 41] (William Lawes)

J. Playford, **The Musical Companion** (1673), p. 32 (William Lawes)

Dance tune "Gascoyne's Whibling"

A dance of this name is performed. Although I have found no sources for this dance tune, it may have been an actual tune rather than an invented title; the dialogue suggests that the dance involved a particular number of couples, and possibly that it was a galliard. 'Whibling' means 'thingummy' (**O.E.D.**). There is no character in the play named 'Gascoyne', but it can mean a braggart.

DAVENANT, William

The Just Italian (1629)

Song "This Lady, ripe, and calme, and fresh"

Mod. edn/com.: Spink ed. 1977: no. 100
MS source: US-NYp Drexel 4041, ff. 56-56v (John Atkins)

Love and Honour (The Courage of Love. The Nonpareilles, or The Matchless Maids) (1634)

Song "No morning red, and blushing faire"

Although no setting survives, the incipit to the text appears in US-NYp Drexel 4257, no. 123; evidently it was originally intended that the song be entered here.

Song "O draw your Curtaines and appeare"

Mod. edn/com.: Blezzard in Gibbs ed. 1972:294-95
MS sources: GB-Lbl Add. 31432, f. 39 (William Lawes); f. 25 (words only)
US-NYp Drexel 4041, no. 10, ff. 9-9v (William Lawes)
Ptd source: Banister and Low, **New Ayres And Dialogues** (1678), pp. 44-45 (William Lawes)

Song snatch "She was of Paris properly"

The play-text cites only "She was of Paris properly, etc." (II.i.368). This is a variation of the opening of a ballad entitled "A Rare Example of a Vertuous Maid in Paris", words for which are cited in **The Roxburghe Ballads** (Chappell and Ebsworth ed. 1871-99:I,35-37, where it begins "It was a Ladies Daughter of Paris properly"). It is directed there to be sung to the tune "O man of Desperation". Apparently no tune with this title has survived (see Simpson 1966:533-36 and Ward 1967:60-63). Simpson quotes, with many reservations, a possible tune (nameless in its source), but Ward establishes that this tune was known as "Wanton Season".

Simpson lists two ballads sung to "The Ladies Daughter (of Paris)", which he says "derives from a ballad to the tune of 'O man in desperation' and must therefore be congruent with that tune" (1966:536). A tune entitled "The Ladies Daughter" survives, and had appeared earlier under the title "Walking in a country towne" (see ibid.:739-40). Although the words of the ballad "It was a Ladies Daughter of Paris properly" could be fitted to this tune, there is no evidence that it was ever used for this ballad.

Tune bearing ascription "Love and Honour a Dance", which is likely to have been used at a Restoration revival of the play. It is ascribed to M.[atthew] L.[ocke].

Ptd sources: Greeting, **The Pleasant Companion** (1672), (1675), (1680), (1682), (1688), no. 15

The Spanish Lovers (The Distresses) (1639)

Instrumental tune "Dying dumps"

Although the reference to "Dying dumps" could be merely a figure of speech, I think it likely that a tune, or part of one, is played. However, it seems probable that, rather than "Dying dumps" being a specific tune, a tune of a particular type is implied. This could either be a 'dump' or, more generally, a mournful melody. (While the English dump may have been the equivalent of the French 'tombeau' [Ward 1951:120], Sternfeld has observed that in time the term 'dump' "was applied to any mournful or pensive melody" [1963:255].) I think that in this instance, a dump was probably played, since both the adjective 'dying' and the fact that Amiana has earlier talked of death link with the connotations of death implicit in Ward's suggestion of the dump as a piece in memory of a deceased person.

Various examples of dumps survive. Manuscript sources additional to those listed in Ward 1951 are given below.

Mod. edns/coms.: Chappell and Wooldridge 1893:I,85 ("The Irish Dumpe"); I,222 ("My Lady Carey's Dumpe")
Lumsden ed. 1954: no. 16 ("Militis Dump")

MS sources: EIRE-Dm Z3.2.13, pp. 142-44 [A Dump?]; 144-45; 150-51 [A Dump?]; 175-76; 243 ("A Doomp. E.E."); 280-82 [A Dump?]; 359 ("A Dump"); 426-28 ("Dump philli") (Untitled dumps identified in Lumsden 1955 and Ward 1969)
EIRE-Dt D.3.30/I, pp. 192-93 ("Queen Mary's Dump")
F-Pc Rés. 1186, ff. 35 ("The Queene of Bohemia's dump"), 93 ("Queen Mary's Dumpe")
GB-Cu Add. 2764(2), f. 2 ("Queene Maries Dumpe")
GB-Mp 832 Vu51, p. 11 ("Queen Maries Dumpe")

The Unfortunate Lovers (1638)

Song "Run to Loves Lott'ry! Run, Maids, and rejoyce"

Mod. edn/com.: Blezzard in Gibbs ed. 1972:331-36

Ptd sources: J. Playford, **Choice Songs and Ayres** (1673), pp. 5-7
J. Playford, **Choice Ayres, Songs, And Dialogues** (1675), pp. 5-6
J. Playford, **Choice Ayres, Songs, And Dialogues** (1676), pp. 5-6
(All attributed to Alphonso Marsh)

Song "You Fiends and Furies come along"

Mod. edn/com.: Blezzard in Gibbs ed. 1972:298-302

MS source: GB-Lbl Add. 31432, ff. 41v-42

Ptd source: Banister and Low, **New Ayres And Dialogues** (1678), pp. 60-64 (William Lawes)

The Wits (1634)

Song "With lanthorn on stall at Tree-trip we play"

Mod. edn/com.: Appendix 2, no. 12

DAVENPORT, Robert

King John and Matilda (1631)

Dance tune "A Hall, a hall"?

At first glance it seems a possibility that this is the name of a dance tune. The dialogue reads, "Come, come, a Hall, a hall", and the following stage direction indicates that "the masquers take the Ladies and fall to the Dance" (III.v.11-12). In fact, however, "A hall, a hall" was the traditional call for room to be made for a dance or masque.

DEKKER, Thomas ('S.R.' [Samuel Rowley?] on t.p.)

The Noble Spanish Soldier (The Noble Soldier, or A Contract Broken Justly Revenged) (1626)

Song "Oh sorrow, sorrow, say where dost thou dwell?"

Although these could be by Robert Smith (i), it is more likely that they are by Robert Smith (ii), given their appearance in

late seventeenth-century sources, and at a time when Robert Smith (ii) is known to have been writing songs for the theatre. However, neither Van Lennep (ed. 1965) nor Bentley (1941-68) lists a revival of this play during the Restoration.

MS source: GB-Lbl Add. 29397, ff. 16v-17 (Robert Smith)

Ptd sources: J. Playford, **Choice Ayres, Songs, And Dialogues** (1675), p. 77

J. Playford, **Choice Ayres, Songs, And Dialogues** (1676), p. 87

(Both attributed to Robert Smith)

DENHAM, John

The Sophy (1641)

Song "Somnus the umble God that dwels"

Mod. edn/com.: Appendix 2, no. 13

FLETCHER, John

The Chances (1625)

Song "As it fell on a holy day" (directed in play-text as "Song of John Dorry")

Mod. edns/coms.: Chappell and Wooldridge 1893:I,93-96

Duncan ed. 1905-09:I,68

Warlock ed. 1928:27

Chappell 1965:67-68

Simpson 1966:398

Ptd sources: Ravenscroft, **Deuteromelia** (1609), p. 59
J. Playford, **The Second Book of the Pleasant Musical Companion** (1686), pt 2, p. 22
J. Playford, **The Second Book of the Pleasant Musical Companion** (1687), pt 2, p. 22
H. Playford, **Wit and Mirth** (1699), pp. 25-26

Song "Come away, thou Lady gay"

Mod. edns/coms.: Cutts ed. 1971:52-53 (but see Williams ed. 1979:548-49 for argument that the first two of the 'answers' or responses 'within' are spoken and the third sung)
Spink ed. 1974:37-39
MS source: GB-Ob Don.c.57, f. 67v (Robert Johnson)

FLETCHER, John (with Philip Massinger? William Rowley? and John Ford?)

The Fair Maid of the Inn (1626)

Dance tune "Leap-frog"

I have not discovered any tune with this name, but speculate that this dance, which is performed by boys dressed as frogs, could be the "Frog Galliard" (the instrumental piece as which the song "Now O now I needs must part" was known), sources of which are listed below. Alternatively, this "new dance calld leap-frog" (IV.i.622) may have been invented for the play.

"Frog Galliard"

Mod. edns/coms.: Chappell and Wooldridge 1893:I,274-76
Beck ed. 1959: no. 10

Boston ed. 1962:18-21

Chappell 1965:127-29

Simpson 1966:242-44

Ward 1967:44

Dart ed. 1969: no. 10

Ferguson ed. 1974: no. 11

Poulton and Lam ed. 1981: nos. 23, 23a, 90

Casey ed. 1982: no. 10

MS sources: GB-Ckc Rowe 2, f. 2v

GB-Cu Dd.2.11, ff. 40v, 93

GB-Cu Add. 3056, ff. 42-43

GB-En 9448, ff. 29v-32 ("The Frogge")

GB-En Adv.5.2.15, pp. 35-40

GB-Ge R.d.43, ff. 26v-27

GB-Lm Tangye Coll.46.78/748, f. 12

GB-Och 439, p. 45

GB-PLgreen Bunbury virginal book, f. 28v

NL-Lt Thysius 1666, f. 28v ("Frayge Gallarde")

US-Ws V.b.280, f. 12v

Ptd sources: J. Dowland, **The First Booke of Songes or Ayres** (1597), no. 6 (with words "Now O now I needs must part")

Morley, **The First Booke of Consort Lessons** (1599, 1611), no. 10

Robinson, **New Citharen Lessons** (1609), sig. G ("The Frogge")

Camphuysen, **Stichtelycke Rymen** (1647), pp. 24 ("Forgs Gaillarde"), 80

FORD, John

The Fancies Chaste and Noble (1635)

Song snatch "The fits upon me now"

Mod. edns/coms.:Chappell and Wooldridge 1893:II,27-28
Chappell 1965:176-77
Simpson 1966:218-19
Ward 1967:41
Barlow ed. 1985: no. 243

MS source: GB-En 9454, f. 28v ("The fit is come over me now")

Ptd sources: J. Playford, **Dancing Master** (1686), p. 205 ("The fit's come on me now"), and continued in **Dancing Master** until 1698 edn, and in C18th edns

Song snatch "Whope do me no harme good Woman"

Presumably this was sung to the tune "Whoop! do me no harm, good man", sources of which are listed below.

Mod. edns/coms.:Chappell and Wooldridge 1893:I,96-97
Naylor 1931:184
Chappell 1965:208
Simpson 1966:777
Ward 1967:85
Sabol ed. 1978:507-8

MS sources: F-Pc Rés. 1186 bis II, pp. 35-36 ("Do me no harm")
GB-Lbl Add. 30486, f. 21 ("Hoope do me no")
GB-Mp 832 Vu51, pp. 14-15 ("R.S.")
GB-Och 47, p. 46
GB-Och 431, ff. 2v-3
GB-PLgreen Bunbury virginal book, f. 1 (incomplete)
US-CAward John Ridout's commonplace book, f. [70] ("Doe me noe harme")

Ptd source: Corkine, **Ayres to Sing And Play** (1610), sigg. F1v-F2

The Lady's Trial (1638)

Song "Pleasures, Beauty, Youth attend thee"

Mod. edn/com.: Spink ed. 1977: no. 82
MS sources: GB-Lbl Add. 31432, f. 19 ("W.L.")
US-NYp Drexel 4041, no. 68, f. 48
US-NYp Drexel 4257, no. 178
Ptd source: J. Playford, **Select Ayres And Dialogues** (1669), p. 23 (erroneously attributed to Henry Lawes)

Song "What Hoe. Wee come to be merry"

Mod. edn/com.: Appendix 2, no. 14

Whistled tune "The spanish Pavin"

See Poulton 1961b concerning this tune and for listing of additional foreign sources.

Mod. edns/coms.: Chappell and Wooldridge 1893:I,251-52
Maitland and Squire ed. 1899: no. 139
Dart ed. 1963: no. 76
Stephens ed. 1963: no. 14
Chappell 1965:240-41
Simpson 1966:678-81
Evans ed. 1967:181-82,260
Ward 1967:75-77
Souris ed. 1970:125-27,211-12
Lumsden ed. 1971:61-64
Kanazawa ed. 1973: no. 14
Sabol ed. 1978:466-67
MS sources: EIRE-Dtc D.1.21, p. 112
EIRE-Dtc D.3.30/I, p. 162
F-Pc Rés. 1186, f. 117
F-Pc Rés. 1186 bis II, pp. 6-7

GB-Cfm Mu. 168, p. 256

GB-Cu Dd.2.11, f. 66v

GB-Cu Dd.3.18, ff. 14v-15

GB-Cu Dd.4.22, f. 3

GB-Cu Dd.4.23, f. 26

GB-Cu Dd.5.21, f. 2

GB-Cu Dd.9.33, ff. 82v-83

GB-Cu Nn.6.36, f. 23v

GB-Cu Add. 3056, ff. 20v-21

GB-En Dep. 314/23, ff. 23-24

GB-Lbl Add. 15118, f. 30v

GB-Lbl Add. 31392, f. 25v

GB-Lbl Eger. 2046, ff. 10v-11

GB-Och 437, f. 3

GB-Rcr Trumbull Add. MS 6, ff. 23v-24v

GB-WGspencer Mynshall lute book, ff. 5-5v

GB-WGspencer Sampson lute book, f. 3v

GB-WPforester Weld lute book, f. 1

NL-Lt Thysius 1666, f. 140

US-CAward Matthew Otley's cittern book, ff. 4, 4v

US-Ws V.b.280, f. 1v (fragment)

Ptd sources: Arbeau, **Orchesography** (1589), f. 96v

Holborne, **The Cittharn Schoole** (1597), sig. 2Cv

Robinson, **The Schoole of Musicke** (1603), pp. 44-45

Vallet, **Le Secret des Muses** (1615), no. 46

Vallet, **Le Secret des Muses** (1616), no. 12

Valerius, **Neder-landtsche Gedenck-Clanck** (1626), p. 258

Matthysz, **'t Uitnemend Kabinet** (pt 1, 1646), f. 11v

Benson and J. Playford, **A Book of New Lessons** (1652), pt 1, p. 30

Pers and de Leeuw, **Bellerophon** (1669), pt 3, pp. 149-50

The Lover's Melancholy (1628)

Song "Fly hence shaddowes that doe keepe"

Mod. edn/com.: Appendix 2, no. 15

GLAPTHORNE, Henry

Argalus and Parthenia (1638)

Song "Loves a Child and ought to be"

Mod. edn/com.: Appendix 2, no. 16

The Hollander (1636)

Dance tune "The Twibill dance"?

Although this might be a named dance tune, I think 'twibill' here refers to an axe (**O.E.D.**), and that the knights perform a dance with axes (they are supposedly of the order of Twibill). Certainly no musical source for a tune with this title has been found.

The Lady Mother (1635)

Instrumental tune "One fitt of mirthe"?

The dialogue "Ile play him one fitt of mirthe on my treble" (II.vertically in margin alongside 719-36) could suggest that an instrumental tune with this name is performed. However, I think it is merely a verbal allusion to some lively and entertaining music. (Cf. "Some of your old companions have brought you a fit

of Mirth", referring to a masque, in **The Northern Lass** II.vi.82-83.)

GLAPTHORNE, Henry (?) ('George Chapman' on t.p., 'Henry Glapthorne' in Stationers' Register. Glapthorne probably author rather than reviser)

Revenge for Honour (The Parricide, or Revenge for Honour) (1640)

Song "The Souldiers Joy"

This ballad has been identified with "The souldiers delight"; see entry under Massinger's **The Unnatural Combat.**

GOUGH, John

The Strange Discovery (1640)

Dance tune "Pyrricha"?

A dance performed is referred to by this name: "Please you to see a dance in armour, call'd Pyrricha, which we use in Thessalie"; "The Thessalian youths with Theagenes their Captaine, dance Pyrricha in armour" (III.ii.49-50; 52.1-52.2). Although this might suggest a named dance tune, I think it does not, and have found no sources for a tune with such a name. Rather, I think the name is used as a generic term meaning an armoured dance. The 'Pyrrhic' was "the war-dance of the ancient Greeks, in which the motions of actual warfare were gone through, in armour, to a musical accompaniment" (**O.E.D.**). Burney in his **History of Music** describes military dances called Pyrrhics in which the dancers have swords (1789, ed.

1957:I,278). Arbeau describes a pyrrhic dance in **Orchesography** (ed. 1967:182-83). Cf. **Coelum Britannicum** (dating from six years before this play), in which the eighth antimasque dance "a Perica or Marshall dance".

Military dances seem to have been popular on the Caroline stage: there are several other examples of them in other Caroline plays (for instance, **Hannibal and Scipio** IV.v, **The Picture** II.ii, **The Royal Slave** V.v and **The Seven Champions of Christendom** V).

HABINGTON, William

The Queen of Aragon (Cleodora) (1640)

Song "Fine young folly, though you were"

MS source: GB-Ge R.d.61, f. 5 (basso continuo; other parts lacking)

Ptd sources: J. Playford, **Select Musicall Ayres And Dialogues** (1653), pt 3, p. 33

J. Playford, **Select Ayres And Dialogues** (1659), p. 103

J. Playford, **The Treasury of Musick** (1669), p. 103

(These three attributed to William Tompkins)

J. Playford, **Catch that Catch can** (1667), p. 182

(Another setting, attributed to William Howes)

HATTON, Sir Richard

[Play(s) unidentified; settings are described as "Songs made for some Comedyes A. 4. voc.: 1631 Sr R. Hatton" (GB-Lbl Add. 10338, f. 33). See Thompson 1989:329 concerning identity of author.]

Song "Cupid blushes to behold"

MS source: GB-Lbl Add. 10338, ff. 36v-38

Song "Fond maydes, take warninge while you may"

MS source: GB-Lbl Add. 10338, ff. 34v-36

Song "Hymen hath together tyed"

MS source: GB-Lbl Add. 10338, ff. 38v-41v

Song "You that have been this Evenings light"

MS source: GB-Lbl Add. 10338, ff. 33-34

HAUSTED, Peter

The Rival Friends (1632)

Song "But why do the wing'd minutes fly"

Mod. edn/com.: Appendix 2, no. 17

Song "Cruell but once againe, againe, but one poor Kisse"

This song does not appear in the play-text but is identified in GB-Lbl Add. 10338. A note after the song on f. 46 reads, "This Song was made for the Comodie but I thinke not sunge".

Mod. edn/com.: Spink ed. 1977: no. 98
MS sources: GB-Lbl Add. 10338, f. 46
GB-Lbl Add. 53723, f. 44

Song "Cupid if a god thou art"

MS source: GB-Lbl Add. 10338, ff. 46v-47

Song "Drowsie Phaebus come away"

Mod. edn/com.: Spink ed. 1977: no. 96
MS source: GB-Lbl Add. 10338, ff. 43-45

Song "Have pitty (Griefe) I can not pay"

Mod. edn/com.: Spink ed. 1977: no. 97
MS sources: GB-Lbl Add. 10338, f. 45v
GB-Lbl Add. 53723, ff. 43v-44 (Henry Lawes) (here the second stanza, "Woo then the heavens", occurs as a separate song)

Song "Have you a desire to see"

MS source: GB-Lbl Add. 10388, ff. 49v-51

Song "Newly from a Poatcht Toad and"

Mod. edn/com.: Appendix 2, no. 18

Song "To the ladies, Joy, delight"

MS source: GB-Lbl Add. 10338, ff. 47v-48

Dance tune "Put on thy smocke on munday"

The two dances performed in IV.x are very probably the two which Merda calls for in IV.ix, namely "Sellengers round in sippits" and "Put on thy smocke on munday". Sources of the latter are as follows:

Mod. edns/coms.: Chappell and Wooldridge 1893:I,234
Chappell 1965:193
Barlow ed. 1985: no. 210

MS sources: GB-En 349, f. 7v
GB-En 9450, f. 41
GB-En Adv.5.2.15, pp. 97-99; pp. 146-47
GB-En Adv.5.2.18, p. 8

Ptd sources: J. Playford, **Dancing Master** (1670), p. 90, and continued in **Dancing Master** until 1690 edn

Dance tune "Sellengers round in sippits"

See note above with "Put on thy smocke on munday" regarding probable performance of this dance. The **O.E.D.** defines a 'sippet' (or 'sippit') as "a small piece of something; a mere fragment", so presumably "Sellengers round in sippits" means that "Sellenger's Round" was performed in small parts; perhaps, instead of the normal expansion of a short dance tune by immediate repetition of strains and of the whole tune, a pause was made between the repetitions.

Edns and sources: see entry under Brome's **The Court Beggar.**

HEYWOOD, Thomas

II The Fair Maid of the West, or A Girl Worth Gold (1631)

Dance tune "Sellenger's round"

The dialogue suggests that this might have been danced between Acts I and II.

Edns and sources: see entry under Brome's **The Court Beggar.**

Dance tune "Tom Tiler"

The dialogue suggests that this might have been danced between Acts I and II. No sources have been found, but it evidently did exist: it is referred to in **A Tale of a Tub** I.iv.

JOHNSON, William

Valetudinarium (1638)

Song "Dulcis somne, qui perduras"

Mod. edn/com.: Appendix 2, no. 19

JONES, John

Adastra, or The Woman's Spleen and Love's Conquest (1635)

Instrumental tune "Tigellius"?

The call "Strike up Tigellius" (III.i.440) might suggest a named instrumental tune, but I think that 'Tigellius' is a name referring to the fiddler. No sources have been found for a tune with this name; nor any reference to a famous musician named 'Tigellius'.

The New Inn, or The Light Heart (1629)

Instrumental tune "The bels"

There are two calls for the bells to be rung. The dialogue reveals that, rather than actual bells, 'the bells' must have been a tune representing bells ringing, performed by string players: "Play the bels, Fidlers, crack your strings with joy" (V.iv.23). Either they play the same tune twice or they play a different tune on the two occasions, both tunes representing bells. It is slightly ambiguous whether a particular tune is called for, and it seems more likely that a tune of a particular type is implied. Various tunes depicting bells pealing are extant, and presumably something like one of these was played. Sources of some are listed below. One of them is called "The Bells", so perhaps this was performed.

"Bow Bells"

Mod. edns/coms.: Smith ed. 1812:II,177
Ward 1967:31

MS sources: GB-Mp 832 Vu51, p. 37
GB-Ob Mus.Sch.D.220, p. 88 ("Bow bells rung backward")
GB-Ob Mus.Sch.F.575, f. 20v
GB-Och 1236, ff. 12v-13
US-CAward Matthew Otley's cittern book, f. 19
US-NH Misc.Ms170, Filmer 3, a, f. 17; c, ff. 62v-62

Ptd sources: Benson and J. Playford, **A Musicall Banquet** (1651), pt 1, no. 12
Mathew, **The Lutes Apology** (1652), no. 17
Benson and J. Playford, **A Booke of New Lessons** (1652), pt 1, p. 19; pt 2, p. 11

J. Playford, **Musicks Hand-maide** (1663), no. 30

J. Playford, **Musick's Delight** (1666), no. 32

"St Peter's Bells"

MS sources: GB-Ob Mus.Sch.D.220, p. 103

GB-Och 1175, f. 9

US-NH Misc.Ms170 Filmer 3, a, f. 54; c, f. 62v; e, f. 54

Ptd source: J. Playford, **Courtly Masquing Ayres** (1662), no. 119

"The Bells"

Mod. edns/coms.: Maitland and Squire ed. 1899: no. 69 [Byrd's "The Bells"]

Andrews ed. 1926:38 ("The buriing of the dead")

Fellowes ed. 1937-50:XX,96

Dart ed. 1963: sectn labelled "The Bells of Osney" of no. 108, "A Battell and no Battell"

Lumsden ed. 1971:4-5

MS sources: F-Pc Rés. 1185, pp. 290-97 - sectn at the end of "A Battell and no Battell" labelled "bells of Osney, very quick: 20: times" (N.B. This is preceded by "the knell, first slow, then quick tenn times", and followed by "The conclusion, after the battle, and knell")

F-Pc Rés. 1186, f. 92v ("The bells of Osney") (2 settings)

GB-Cfm Mu. 168, p. 132

GB-Cu Dd.6.48, ff. 32v-33 ("The Bells")

GB-Lbl Add. 10337, f. 18 ("The buriing of the dead")

J-Tn BM-4540-ne, sig. Cv ("The Bells of Osn[ey]")

Ptd source: Robinson, **The Schoole Of Musicke** (1603), p. 14 ("Twenty waies upon the bels")

"The Lady Katherine Audley's Bells" (also called "Mr Jenkins Bells" and "The [Five] Bells, the Mourners and the Ringers")

See Roger North (Wilson ed. 1959:345-46) concerning their popularity.

Mod. edns/coms.: Smith ed. 1812:II,168-69
A. and N. Dolmetsch ed. 1955

MS sources: GB-Lbl Add. 31427, ff. 12v, 25v, 39v
GB-Ob Mus.Sch.C.88, no. 16
GB-Ob Mus.Sch.D.220, pp. 104-5
US-NH Misc.Ms170, Filmer 3, a, ff. 53*-52*; c, ff. 64*-63v*; e, ff. 52v*-52*
(Other sources, in manuscripts I have not examined, are listed in the Viola da Gamba Society's Thematic Index [Dodd 1980-].)

Ptd source: J. Playford, **Courtly Masquing Ayres** (1662), no. 102

"The 24 Changes on 6 Bells"

Ptd source: J. Playford, **Musick's Delight** (1666), no. 2

"What strikes the clocke"

Mod. edn/com.: Doe ed. 1988: no. 126

MS source: GB-DRc Hunter 33, ff. 6v-7 is the bell part (f.6v) and separate bass and treble parts (f. 7) of "What strikes the clocke". The bell part depicts the striking of the hour from 4 to 12. Each hour is 'tolled' in the requisite number of repeated minim beats.

The Sad Shepherd, or A Tale of Robin Hood (1637)

Song "Though I am young, and cannot tell"

Two different settings survive: one by John Wilson (only in GB-Ob Mus.b.1) and one by Nicholas Lanier (in all the other sources).

Mod. edn/com.: Hunter ed. 1963:409-10 (Lanier's setting)

MS sources: GB-Ge R.d.58, f. 45; R.d.59, f. 32v*; R.d.60, f. 43*; R.d.61, f. 31* ("J.P.")

GB-Ob Mus.b.1, no. 164, ff. 137v-38 (John Wilson)

Ptd sources: J. Playford, **Select Musicall Ayres, And Dialogues** (1652), pt 2, p. 24

J. Playford, **Select Musicall Ayres And Dialogues** (1653), pt 3, p. 24 [misnumbered 21]

J. Playford, **Select Ayres And Dialogues** (1659), p. 92

J. Playford, **Catch that Catch can** (1667), pp. 216-17

J. Playford, **The Treasury of Musick** (1669), p. 92

J. Playford, **An Introduction To The Skill** (1672), pt 1, p. 68

J. Playford, **The Musical Companion** (1673), pp. 202-3

(All attributed to Nicholas Lanier)

JORDAN, Thomas

The Walks of Islington and Hogsdon (Tricks of Youth) (1641)

Song refrain "For tis a Health to Betty"

Four lines beginning with "My Mistris hath a Rosie Cheek" are sung, followed by "For tis a Health to Betty", apparently a refrain. There is extant a tune called "A Health to Betty" (see Chappell and Wooldridge 1893:I,320, Chappell 1965:366-67, Simpson 1966:298-99 and Ward 1967:46), and I raise the

possibility that this lyric might have been sung to this tune. (The words do fit easily to it, not that this is proof in itself.) Chappell and Simpson quote the first lines of ballads sung to the tune "A Health to Betty"; none uses the words in this play.

Song "I have been a Fidler these fifteen year"

The words of this song almost fit the tune which appears in John Ridout's commonplace book, and Ward has suggested that it could be an excerpt from a previously unreported ballad sung to a version of this tune (see 1979-81:194-95,234).

MS source: US-CAward John Ridout's commonplace book, f. [80v] ("I have bene a ffedler this 14 yeare")

KILLIGREW, Thomas

The Princess, or Love at First Sight (1636)

Song "To Bacchus we to Bacchus sing"

Mod. edn/com.: Appendix 2, no. 20

The Prisoners (1635)

Song "Ha! Posanes, by my loss of peace tis shee"

It has been suggested that this song may be associated with Killigrew's play because the latter features a character called Pausanes.

MS source: GB-Lbl Add. 53723, no. 272, ff. 133-35 (Henry Lawes)

LOWER, William

The Phoenix in Her Flames (1639)

Tune with title similar to that of play ("The Phoenix"), so possibly associated with it, although it seems unlikely.

Mod. edn/com.: Barlow ed. 1985: no. 208
MS sources: GB-Lbl Add. 10337, f. 34
GB-Lbl Add. 31429, f. 40v
Ptd sources: J. Playford, **Dancing Master** (1670), p. 112, and continued in **Dancing Master** until 1698 edn

MARMION, Shackerly

A Fine Companion (1633)

Dance tune "The fine Companion"

Mod. edn/com.: Barlow ed. 1985: no. 25
Ptd sources: J. Playford, **English Dancing Master** (1651), p. 33, and continued in **Dancing Master** until 1690 edn

MASSINGER, Philip

Love's Cure, or The Martial Maid (1625) (revising Beaumont and Fletcher?)

Song "Turn, turn thy beauteous face away"

Mod. edns/coms.:Cutts ed. 1971:110
Spink ed. 1977: no. 24

MS sources: GB-Eu Dc.1.69, no. 34, p. 78
GB-Ob Mus.b.1, f. 28v (John Wilson)
GB-Ob Mus.d.238, p. 76
US-NH Misc.Ms.170, Filmer 4, a, f. 15v; b, f. 11; c, f. 15

Ptd source: Wilson, **Cheerfull Ayres** (1660), a, pp. 140-41; b, p. 84; c, p. 84 (John Wilson)

The Picture (1629)

Song "The blushing rose and purple flower"

Mod. edn/com.: Edwards and Gibson ed. 1976:III,289-92

MS source: US-NYp Drexel 4257, no. 78

The Unnatural Combat (1626)

Song "The souldiers delight"

The lyric is not cited in the play-text. The ballad "The souldiers delight" apparently underwent several transformations during its lifespan, and it is not certain what was sung in this play. A ballad entitled "The Soldiers Delight" was entered in the Stationers' Register on 16th March 1635; "The Souldiers Joy" (which has been identified with "The souldiers delight") is called for in Glapthorne's **Revenge for Honour**; and the text of a ballad entitled "The Soldier's Delight; or, The She=Voluntier" (1676) (to be sung to the tune of "Amoret and Phillis") is to be found in **The Roxburghe Ballads** (Chappell and Ebsworth ed. 1871-99:VII, pt 2, 723-33). "The souldiers delight" is referred to as a dance in **The Partial Law.**

There is one source for a tune entitled "The Souldiers delight" (GB-Lbl Add. 10337, f. 18v; Sargent ed. 1971: no. 28), and the

same tune is found elsewhere under other names ("The Soldier's Life", "The Soldier's Dance") (see Simpson 1966:773-74; there is an additional source in GB-WGspencer Board lute book, f. 38). Simpson lists two ballads sung to the tune "The Soldier's Delight" (ibid.:774-75), but neither ballad itself bears this title. See too Chappell 1965:144.

MAY, Thomas

The Old Couple (1636)

Song "Deare, do not your fair beauty wrong"

This is a parody of Herrick's "Gather ye rosebuds".

Mod. edns/coms.: Smith ed. 1812:I,53
Duncan ed. 1905-09:II,48-49
Spink ed. 1974:6-8
Cutts ed. 1971:49-51 (both versions)

MS sources: GB-Lbl Add. 29396, ff. 21v-22 (Robert Johnson)
US-NYp Drexel 4175, nos. 41 (Robert Johnson) and 51

MAYNE, Jasper

The City Match (1637)

Song "Wee show noe monsstrous crockadell"

Mod. edn/com.: Appendix 2, no. 21

NABBES, Thomas

Hannibal and Scipio (1635)

Song "On bravely, on; the foe is met"

Mod. edn/com.: Cutts 1963a:79
MS source: US-NYp Drexel 4041, no. 120, ff. 101-101v

PERCY, William

Necromantes, or The Two Supposed Heads (1632)

Dance "Trichuris"; tune "Dowlands Cock"

The dialogue calls for "the Three=footed Trichuris", danced to the accompaniment of "the song underwritten, or with some ditty to the tune of Dowlands Cock, which may do well and best in this place, els some other note to this our ditty" ([a] II.i.53.7-53.9). No source of "Dowlands Cock" has been found, but it was most likely by John or Robert Dowland.

QUARLES, Francis

The Virgin Widow (1641)

Whistled tune "As I went to Walsingham"

This popular tune was also known as "Walsingham".

Mod. edns/coms.:Chappell and Wooldridge 1893:I,69-71
Maitland and Squire ed. 1899: nos. 1, 68

Andrews ed. 1926: no. 31

Fellowes ed. 1937-50:XX,24

Lumsden ed. 1954: no. 25

Dart and Coates ed. 1962: no. 109

Dart ed. 1963: no. 85

Stephens ed. 1963: no. 21

Chappell 1965:121-23

Simpson 1966:741-43

Kanazawa ed. 1967: no. 51

Ward 1967:79-82

Jeffery ed. 1968: no. 16

Kanazawa ed. 1973: no. 16

Poulton and Lam ed. 1981: no. 67

MS sources: F-Pc Rés. 1185, pp. 217-41

GB-ABmarquess Lady Nevil's virginal book, f. 135

GB-Cfm Mu. 168, pp. 1, 129 (2 settings)

GB-Cu Dd.2.11, ff. 29, 96, 96v-97, 98

GB-Cu Dd.5.21, f. 10

GB-Cu Dd.5.78.3, ff. 12, 50v-51

GB-Cu Dd.9.33, ff. 21, 26v-28, 67v-68

GB-Cu Nn.6.36, ff. 19, 20v-21

GB-Ge R.d.43, ff. 43v-44

GB-Lbl Add. 15118, f. 32v

GB-Lbl Add. 30486, f. 2

GB-Lbl R.M.23.l.4, ff. 74-79

GB-Lbl R.M.24.d.3, ff. 39v-46

GB-Och 1113, pp. 203-9

GB-WPforester Weld lute book, ff. 9v-10

Ptd sources: Barley, **A New Booke of Tabliture** (1596), sigg. D2-D3

Holborne, **The Cittharn Schoole** (1597), sig. C3v

Corkine, **The Second Booke Of Ayres** (1612), sigg. H1v-H2

Camphuysen, **Stichtelycke Rymen** (1647), pp. 101-2 ("Sang: As I went to Wallsingame")

Aristippus, or The Jovial Philosopher (1626)

Song "But come you Lads that love Canarie"

MS sources: GB-Lbl Add. 11608, f. 53 ("bass composed by T.C.")
GB-Ob Mus.Sch.B.2, p. 109
(Both "Come my lads"; only first two lines of lyric in play-text and setting agree)

Song "Slaves are they that heap up mountaines"

(First line in musical source: "Those are Slaves that heap up Mountains")

Ptd source: J. Playford, **Catch that Catch can** (1667), pp. 112-13 (William Gregory)

The Drinking Academy, or The Cheaters' Holiday (1629) (Thomas Randolph?)

Song "Tho it may seme rude for me to intrued"

The six stanzas which are sung here are from a ballad by Ben Jonson, sung by 'John Urson, the bearward' in **The Mask of Augurs** (1622). No direction for the tune was given there, but when the ballad was printed in Henry Playford's **Wit and Mirth** (1700) (pp. 38-39), the tune "Eighty-Eight" was called for, although the music was not printed until D'Urfey's **Wit and Mirth** (1719) (where the words appear on pp. 38-39 and the music on p. 32). As Simpson has noted, this tune survives in earlier sources entitled "Hansken" and "Jog On" (1966:392-94). He also identifies two other tunes called "Eighty-Eight" which survive but are unrelated.

Mod. edns/coms.:Chappell and Wooldridge 1893:I,159-60
Maitland and Squire ed. 1899: no. 297
Duncan ed. 1905-09:I,16-17
Chappell 1965:211-13
Ward 1967:49-50
Sabol ed. 1978:104
Barlow ed. 1985: no. 48
(Of the above, only Sabol edits words and music for "Tho it may seme rude"; all the others deal only with "Eighty-Eight", "Hansken" or "Jog On".)

MS sources: GB-Cfm Mu. 168, p. 416 ("Hanskin")
NL-Lt Thysius 1666, f. 435 ("Courante van Hansken") (two settings)

Ptd sources: Van den Hove, **Florida** (1601), f. 110 ("Hansken is so fraeyen gesel")
J. Playford, **English Dancing Master** (1651), p. 53 ("Jog On"), and continued in **Dancing Master** until 1698 edn

The Muses' Looking Glass (The Entertainment) (1630)

Song "Say daunce how shall wee goe"

Mod. edn/com.: Appendix 2, no. 22

N.B. There is a possibility that the two songs which appear before this in GB-Lbl Add. 10338 ("Musick thou Queen of soules" [ff. 24v-26] and "Coy Caelia dost thou see" [ff. 26v-28]) also belonged to **The Muses' Looking Glass** but were omitted from the play-text: see Bentley 1941-68:V,988-89,1430-32. "They could conceivably have been appropriate to the Masque of the Virtues in V.1 and V.2 of the play" (ibid.:V,1431).

RANDOLPH, Thomas (revised by 'F.J.')

Plutopthalmia Plutogamia (Hey for Honesty, Down with Knavery) (1627)

Dance "Clatter-de-pouch"

The lyric of the song "My Jane and I full right merrily" suggests that the dance "Clatter-de-pouch" is performed to its accompaniment. It is referred to as an old dance in **Grobiana's Nuptials** iii ("slatter de pouch") and **A Jovial Crew** II.i ("clutterdepouch"). As far as I can discover, the existence of this dance has not previously been noted. No musical sources for a tune with the name have been discovered.

RIDER, William

The Twins (1635)

Tune with same title as play ("The Twins"), so possibly associated with it.

Mod. edn/com.: Barlow ed. 1985: no.133
Ptd sources: J. Playford, **Dancing Master** [1657], p. 112, and continued in **Dancing Master** until 1698 edn, and in C18th edns

RUTTER, Joseph

The Shepherds' Holiday (1634)

Tune with same title as play ("Shepherds' Holiday"), so possibly associated with it. Another possible connection is with Jonson's masque **Pan's Anniversary, or The Shepherds' Holiday** (1620).

Mod. edn/com.: Barlow ed. 1985: no. 91

Ptd sources: J. Playford, **English Dancing Master** (1651), p.101, and continued in **Dancing Master** until 1698 edn

RUTTER, Joseph (with Edward and Richard Sackville?)

II The Cid (Trans. Desfontaines' **La Vraie suite du Cid**) (1638)

Song "Twas not his person nor his parts"

MS sources: GB-Eu Dc.1.69, no. 97, p. 156

(GB-Lbl Add. 29396, f. 47v, contains a lyric by "Mr Rich: Watkins" ["I will noe more enamoured bee"] which is headed "In Answer to. Twas not his Person: etc". Apparently it was intended that "Twas not" be entered on the page opposite, although this was not done. There is no music for the answer.)

GB-Ob Mus.d.238, p. 152

US-NYp Drexel 4041, no. 26, f. 19

SALUSBURY, Thomas

Love or Money (1642)

Dance tune "Trenchmore"

Mod. edns/coms.: Chappell and Wooldridge 1893:I,224-27

Duncan ed. 1905-09:I,20-22

Jackson ed. 1910:31

Bantock and Anderton ed. 1916:195-96

Chappell 1965:82-84

Simpson 1966:716-18

Ward 1967:77-78

Sabol ed. 1978:437-48

Barlow ed. 1985: no. 111

MS sources: EIRE-Dm Z3.2.13, pp. 139-41

F-Pc Rés. 1186, ff. 32-32v

GB-Cu Dd.3.18, ff. 12v-13

GB-En Acc.9769,84/1/6, p. 67

GB-Lbl Eger. 2046, f. 51v

GB-WPforester Weld lute book, ff. 11v-12

US-CAward Boteler cittern book, f. 46v

US-CAward John Ridout's commonplace book, ff. [66], [78]

US-Wc M1490.M535A5, no. 4 of the part-songs ("Tomorrow the Fox")

Ptd sources: Ravenscroft, **Deuteromelia** (1609), tune set to songs "Tomorrow the Fox will come to towne" (no. 20) and "Willy prethe goe to bed" (no. 21). The latter is also in H. Playford, **Wit and Mirth** (1699), pp. 51-52 ("Willy prithee go to bed")

J. Playford, **Dancing Master** (1652), p. 103, and continued in **Dancing Master** until 1698 edn, and in C18th edns

SAMPSON, William

The Vow Breaker (1625)

Song "You dainty Dames so finely dek'd"

This is from a ballad entitled "A Warning for Maidens; or, Young Bateman", which is based on the same story as the play. The

twelve lines of the ballad which are given in the play-text are the first half of the first verse and all of the second verse of the ballad as it appears in **The Roxburghe Ballads** (Chappell and Ebsworth ed. 1871-99:III, pt 1, 193-97) (though with some alterations), which is directed to be sung to "The Lady's Fall". This tune may be the same as "In Peascod Time", since the ballad "The Lady's Fall" was sung to the latter, and tunes were named from the titles of ballads. Musical sources survive for "In Peascod Time". Chappell notes that "You dainty Dames" and "Bateman" are sometimes quoted as tunes (1965:197). Concerning "In Peascod Time" and "You dainty Dames", see Chappell and Wooldridge 1893:I,89-90, Chappell 1965:196-98 and Simpson 1966:368-71.

Instrumental / dance tune "Trench-more"

This tune is played offstage, supposedly accompanying wedding dancing.

Edns and sources: see entry under Salusbury's **Love or Money.**

SHIRLEY, James

The Arcadia (1640) (James Shirley? An older play falsely ascribed?)

Tune with same title as play ("Arcadia"), but unlikely to be associated with it.

Mod. edn/com.: Barlow ed. 1985: no. 238
Ptd sources: J. Playford, **Dancing Master** (1686), p. 197, and continued in **Dancing Master** until 1698 edn, and in C18th edns

The Ball (1632) (Chapman's name associated with Shirley's probably through error)

Dance tune "Pardonne moy"

Although it is possible that some of this dance is performed, it is more likely that the name is being exploited for word-play. No musical sources have been found for a tune with this name. Perhaps it is an alternative name for the dance "Excuse me" (see entry for this under Shirley's **Hyde Park**).

The Bird in a Cage (The Beauties) (1633)

Song "There was an Invisible Foxe by chance"

MS source: GB-Lcm II.c.15, ff. 45-45v
Ptd source: J. Playford, **Catch that Catch can** (1667), p. 66 (John Hilton)

Song refrain "With a Fading"

Morello improvises a lewd song beginning "What other is the world then a Ball", which uses the double-entendre refrain of bawdy ballads, "With a Fading". There is an Irish dance called "Fading", and Simpson notes that "'With a fading' became a refrain tag and so a tune name" (1966:792). He quotes music for the tune (ibid.:793), and the words of the **Bird in a Cage** song could be fitted to this; whether a song with this refrain would necessarily have been sung to this tune remains open to question. Concerning "With a Fading", see Chappell and Wooldridge 1893:II,104-5, Naylor 1931:81-82, Chappell 1965:234-36 and Simpson 1966:792-95.

The Cardinal (1641)

Song "Come my Daphne, come away"

Mod. edns/coms.:Jackson ed. 1910:90-91
Forker ed. 1964:123-24
Jesson ed. 1964:26-28

MS sources: GB-Lbl Add. 11608, ff. 2-3 (William Lawes)
GB-Lbl Add. 31432, f. 43v (William Lawes)

Ptd sources: J. Playford, **Select Musicall Ayres, And Dialogues** (1652), pt 2, pp. 6-7
J. Playford, **Select Musicall Ayres And Dialogues** (1653), pt 2, pp. 4-5
J. Playford, **Select Ayres And Dialogues** (1659), pp. 74-75
J. Playford, **The Treasury of Musick** (1669), pp. 74-75
J. Playford, **Catch that Catch can** (1667), pp. 90-91
J. Playford, **The Musical Companion** (1673), pp. 63-64
Banister and Low, **New Ayres And Dialogues** (1678), pp. 84-87
(All attributed to William Lawes)

The Constant Maid (Love Will Find Out the Way) (1638)

Song snatch "An old man with a bed full of bones"

Lyric and tune do not survive in the same source. There is a tune with the name "An old man is a bed full of bones" in all editions of **The Dancing Master**, and four lines of a lyric beginning thus occur in **A Match at Midnight** (1622). The tune is more often called "Cook Lorrel". Ben Jonson wrote the lyric "Cook Lorrel" for his masque **The Gypsies Metamorphosed** (1621).

Mod. edns/coms.:Chappell and Wooldridge 1893:II,40-41
Chappell 1965:160-61
Simpson 1966:129-33

Sabol ed. 1978:102-3

Barlow ed. 1985: no. 72

(The above give the tune only, apart from Sabol, who gives the tune with the words of "Cook Lorrel")

Ptd sources of tune called "An old man is a bed full of bones":

J. Playford, **English Dancing Master** (1651), p. 76, and continued in **Dancing Master** until 1698 edn, and in C18th edns

Ptd sources of tune called "Cook Lorrel":

Broadside ballad (1683) (with words "A Tory came late through Westminster-Hall" [Simpson 1966:130 lists copies])

A Choice Collection Of 180 Loyal Songs (1685), p. 103 (with same words as above)

H. Playford, **Wit and Mirth** (1700), pp. 101-3 (with words of "Cook Lorrel")

The Court Secret (1642)

Song "What help of tongue need they require"

Ptd source: King, **A Second Booke of Songs** (c. 1695), pp. 41-42 (A late C17th setting, possibly for one of the Restoration performances of the play)

The Duke's Mistress (1636)

Song "What should my mistrisse doe with haire"

I think it very likely that this is the blank song from **The Duke's Mistress** which is read aloud in Act III and sung in Act IV. The song is described in the play as "something to shew I hate all hansome women" (III.254), and this is indeed the implication of the lyric of "What should my mistrisse", which concerns how ugly the woman is. This lyric, which was written by

James Shirley, the author of the play, is entitled "One that loved none but deformed Women" in his **Poems** (1646:33-34). (Gifford and Dyce suggested in their edition of Shirley's works [ed. 1833:IV,226] that this lyric was probably the one read aloud in Act III of the play, although they did not extend this suggestion to the lyric sung in Act IV.) It is similar to a lyric which appears in a similar context in another Caroline play: "Her face - - lovely, though she hath had the pox" in **Wit's Triumvirate** I.iv.

Mod. edn/com.: Cutts ed. 1971:65-66 (music only, underlaid with words from Fletcher's **The Mad Lover**)
MS sources: US-NYp Drexel 4041, no. 110, f. 88v-89 (William Lawes)
US-NYp Drexel 4257, no. 24

The Grateful Servant (The Faithful Servant) (1629)

Song snatch "For I did but kisse her"

This snatch, which is possibly sung, is taken from the last line of the first stanza of Robert Jones' song "My Mistris sings no other song", which reads "I did but kisse her and let her goe". Sources of this song are listed below. See Bowden 1951:75 for examples of the use of "For he did but kiss her" in two pre-Caroline plays.

Mod. edn/com.: Fellowes and Dart ed. 1959: no. 19
MS source: GB-Eu La.III.488, f. 26
Ptd source: Jones, **The First Booke Of Songes And Ayres** (1600), no. 19

Hyde Park (1632)

Dance tune "Excuse me"

It is implied that this tune is played and danced to. Chappell was wrong in stating that the name "Buff Coat" referred to the same tune (Simpson 1966:72).

Mod. edns/coms.:Simpson 1966:72-73
Maas ed. 1974:68
Barlow ed. 1985: no. 242
MS source: F-Pc Rés. 1186, f. 117v
Ptd sources: Robinson, **New Citharen Lessons** (1609), sig. F3v
Van Eyk, **Der Fluyten Lust-Hof** (1654), ff. 30-30v
J. Playford, **Dancing Master** (1686), p. 188

Tune with same title as play ("Hyde Park"), so possibly associated with it.

Mod. edns/coms.:Chappell and Wooldridge 1893:I,314-15
Chappell 1965:326
Simpson 1966:327-28
Maas ed. 1974:88-89
Barlow ed. 1985: no. 41
MS sources: GB-Ob In MS on back page of Hudgebut's **A Vade Mecum** (1679), GB-Ob copy (Douce M.440)
GB-Och 92, f. 12
US-NH Misc.Ms170 Filmer 3, a, f. 58; e, f. 58
US-NYp Drexel 5612, pp. 107 ("New hidd parke"), 123 ("Hidd Parke")
Ptd sources: J. Playford, **English Dancing Master** (1651), p. 91, and continued in **Dancing Master** until 1665 edn

Dance tune "Monsieure"

Apparently either this, the canaries or "Pardonne moye" is danced. I speculate that "Monsieure" could be "Monsieur's Almain", sources for which survive. It could also be one of two

other extant tunes, "Corant la Mounsier" or "New la Monsieur", though this is less likely.

"Corant la Mounsier"

MS source: US-NH Misc.Ms170, Filmer 3, a, f. 59

Ptd sources: J. Playford, **Dancing Master** [1657], sectn of French dances, no. 1

J. Playford, **Dancing Master** (1665), sectn of French dances, no. 1

J. Playford, **Musicks Hand-maide** (1663), no. 26

J. Playford, **Apollo's Banquet** (1669), no. 161

"Monsieur's Almain"

Mod. edns/coms.: Maitland and Squire ed. 1899: nos. 61, 62

Andrews ed. 1926: no. 38

Hunt ed. 1956:41-44

Beck ed. 1959: no. 15

Stephens ed. 1963: no. 19

Simpson 1966:495-96

Ward 1967:58-59

Dart ed. 1969: no. 4

Kanazawa ed. 1973: no. 17

Brown ed. 1976: nos. 87, 88

Casey ed. 1982: no. 15

MS sources: EIRE-Dm Z3.2.13, p. 18 ("Mownser")

GB-ABmarquess Lady Nevil's virginal book, f. 173v

GB-Cfm Mu. 168, pp. 114, 116

GB-Cu Dd.4.22, f. 12

GB-Cu Dd.4.23, f. 24

GB-Cu Dd.5.20, ff. 2, 26v

GB-Cu Dd.5.21, f. 2v

GB-Cu Dd.9.33, f. 47

GB-Cu Dd.14.24, f. 11

GB-Cu Add. 3056, ff. 15v-17, 44v-46

GB-En 9448, ff. 10v-14v

GB-Ge R.d.43, f. 19v

GB-Lbl Add. 15118, f. 31v

GB-Lbl Add. 30485, f. 92v

GB-Lbl R.M.24.d.3, nos. 42, 60

GB-Mp 832 Vu51, p. 16

GB-WGspencer Mynshall lute book, f. 10

GB-WPforester Weld lute book, ff. 14v-15

NL-Lt Thysius 1666, f. 484

US-CAward John Ridout's commonplace book, f. [73]

US-CAward Matthew Otley's cittern book, ff. 4v, 35v*

US-NH Ma.21.W.632, f. 17

US-Ws V.b.280, f. 13

Ptd sources: Holborne, **The Cittharn Schoole** (1597), sig. C4

Morley, **The First Booke of Consort Lessons** (1599, 1611), no. 15

Van den Hove, **Florida** (1601), ff. 99v, 108v ("Almande Monsieur")

R. Dowland, **Varietie of Lute-lessons** (1610), sigg. O-O2v

Corkine, **The Second Booke Of Ayres** (1612), sigg. H2v-I

Valerius, **Neder-landtsche Gedenck-Clanck** (1626), p. 286

"New la Monsieur"

Ptd sources: H. Playford, **Apollo's Banquet** (1687), pt 2, no. 43

H. Playford, **Apollo's Banquet** (1690), pt 2, no. 43

Dance tune "Pardonne moye"

See notes with "Monsieure" above (concerning possible performance) and under Shirley's **The Ball.**

The Lady of Pleasure (1635)

Tune with same title as play ("Lady of Pleasure"), but unlikely to be associated with it.

Mod. edn/com.: Barlow ed. 1985: no. 298
Ptd sources: H. Playford, **Apollo's Banquet** (1687), no. 88
J. Playford, **Dancing Master** [1688], p. 3, and continued in **Dancing Master** until 1698 edn, and in C18th edns

Love's Cruelty (1631)

Song snatch "For he did but kisse her"

See entry under Shirley's **The Grateful Servant.**

The School of Compliment (Love Tricks) (1625)

Song "God off warr to Cupid yeild"

Mod. edn/com.: Appendix 2, no. 23

Song "Turne, Amarillis, to thy Swane"

Settings survive by John Hilton and Thomas Brewer.

Mod. edn/com.: **St Cecilia. A Collection** ed. 1919b (Brewer's setting)
MS sources: GB-Eu La.III.491, p. 47
GB-Ge R.d.58, f. 34v; R.d.59, f. 28; R.d.60, f. 39*; R.d.61, f. 24* (Thomas Brewer)
GB-Lbl K.1.e.9, written in under printed nos. 87-

88 (Hilton)

GB-Ob Harding Mus.e.1, p. 5

US-Ws V.a.409, f. 1

Ptd sources: Benson and J. Playford, **A Musicall Banquet** (1651), pt 3, p. 8

Hilton, **Catch that Catch can** (1652), p. 2

Hilton, **Catch that Catch can** (1658), pt 1, p. 2

J. Playford and Watkins, **Catch that Catch can** (1663), pt 1, p. 2

J. Playford, **Catch that Catch can** (1667), p. 57

J. Playford, **The Musical Companion** (1673), p. 2

(All the above attributed to John Hilton; all the following attributed to Thomas Brewer)

J. Playford, **Select Ayres And Dialogues** (1659), pp. 112-13

J. Playford, **A Brief Introduction To the Skill** (1660), pp. 46-47

J. Playford, **A Brief Introduction To the Skill** (1662), pp. 46-47

J. Playford, **A Brief Introduction To the Skill** (1664), pt 1, pp. 38-39

J. Playford, **Catch that Catch can** (1667), pp. 130-32

J. Playford, **The Treasury of Musick** (1669), pp. 112-13

J. Playford, **An Introduction To The Skill** (1672), pt 1, pp. 70-71

J. Playford, **The Musical Companion** (1673), pp. 176-77

J. Playford, **An Introduction To The Skill** (1674), pt 1, pp. 68-69

J. Playford, **An Introduction To The Skill** (1679), pt 1, pp. 66-67

J. Playford, **An Introduction To The Skill** (1683 and 1687), pt 1, pp. 56-57

H. Playford, **An Introduction To The Skill** (1700), pp. 36-38

Song snatch "When Cannons are roaring"

This is the refrain of the ballad "Brave Mars begins to rouse", sources of which are listed below.

Mod. edn/com.: Simpson 1966:757-58
MS source: GB-P N.16, no. 38
Ptd sources: Forbes, **Cantus** (1662), no. 38
Forbes, **Cantus** (1666), (1682), no. 37

SIMONS, Joseph

Zeno sive Ambitio Infelix (Fratrum Concordia Saeva) (1631)

Song "Astrorum iubar"

Mod. edn/com.: Appendix 2, no. 24

STRODE, William

The Floating Island (Passions Calmed. Prudentius) (1636)

Song "Com heavy Soules, Oppressed with the weight"

Mod. edn/com.: Appendix 2, no. 25

Song "Hayle thou great Queene of various Humours"

Mod. edn/com.: Appendix 2, no. 26

Song "My Limbs I will flinge"

Mod. edn/com.: Appendix 2, no. 27

Song "Once Venus cheekes that sham'd the morn"

Mod. edn/com.: Whittaker ed. 1937a
MS sources: GB-Ge R.d.58, f. 6; R.d.59, f. 5; R.d.60, f. 8; R.d.61, f. 4 (Henry Lawes)
GB-Lbl Add. 53723, no. 118, f. 62 (Henry Lawes)
Ptd source: H. Lawes, **Ayres, And Dialogues** (1658), pp. 38-39
H. Lawes, **Select Ayres And Dialogues** (1669), pp. 38-39

Song "Sweet Morphe Lend A feelinge Eare"

Mod. edn/com.: Appendix 2, no. 28

Dance tune "Loves Trenchmore"

Hilario sings and dances and says, "This is Loves Trenchmore" (II.iii.26-27). Given that the context is one of teasing courtship, perhaps he sings the words with which the tune "Trenchmore" appears as no. 21 of Ravenscroft's **Deuteromelia** (1609): "Willy prethe goe to bed". Alternatively, perhaps he sings a wordless accompaniment as he dances "Trenchmore", and refers to it as "Loves Trenchmore" because the movements of his dance represent wooing, or because the tune had associations of courtship. It is performed in two other Caroline plays, both times as a wedding dance, which could suggest such associations, although it could merely be because it was a lively popular dance suitable for occasions such as wedding celebrations. Editions and sources of the dance tune "Trenchmore" are listed under Salusbury's **Love or Money.**

Aglaura (1st version 1637, 2nd version 1638)

Song "No, no, faire Heretique, it needs must bee"

Two different settings of this lyric survive, one by Henry Lawes, and the other very probably by William Lawes.

Mod. edns/coms.: Spink ed. 1976: no. 9 (the setting by Henry Lawes)
Spink ed. 1977: nos. 50 and 80 (the settings by Henry and [probably] William Lawes respectively)

MS sources: GB-Lbl Add. 53723, nos. 99-100, ff. 52v-53 (Henry Lawes)
US-NYp Drexel 4041, no. 9, ff. 8v-9 (erroneously attributed to Henry Lawes)
US-NYp Drexel 4257, no. 89

Ptd sources: J. Playford, **Select Musicall Ayres, And Dialogues** (1652), pt 1, p. 38
J. Playford, **Select Musicall Ayres And Dialogues** (1653), pt 1, p. 12
J. Playford, **Select Ayres And Dialogues** (1659), p. 46
J. Playford, **The Treasury of Musick** (1669), p. 46
(All attributed to Henry Lawes)

Song "Why so pale and wan fond Lover?"

Mod. edns/coms.: Gibbon 1930:186
Lefkowitz 1960:201-2
Spink ed. 1977: no. 79

MS sources: GB-CAR Bishop Smith's Bassus part book, p. 88
US-NYp Drexel 4041, no. 7, ff. 7v-8v (William Lawes)

Brennoralt, or The Discontented Colonel (1639)

Song "A hall a hall"

Mod. edn/com.: Appendix 2, no. 29

The Goblins (1638)

Song "A Health to the Notherne lasse"

Mod. edn/com.: Appendix 2, no. 30

Song "A Round, - A Round, - A Round, - / Preethee, preethee, Sirra, Sirra"

MS sources: GB-Lcm II.c.15, ff. 47v-48 (Edmund Nelham)
US-Ws V.a.409, f. 3

Ptd sources: J. Playford, **Catch that Catch can** (1667), p. 73
J. Playford, **The Musical Companion** (1673), p. 52
(Both attributed to Edmund Nelham)

Song "Some drink, Boy some drink"

Mod. edn/com.: Appendix 2, no. 31

The Sad One (1637)

Song "Come, come away, to the Tavern I say"

MS sources: GB-En Adv. 81.9.12, f. 8v
GB-Eu La.III.491, p. 51
GB-Lbl K.1.e.9, written in under printed nos. 7 to 11 (John Hilton)
GB-P N.16, 13th item added after copy of Forbes' **Cantus** (1662)
GB-Ob Harding Mus.e.1, p. 45 (John Hilton)

US-Ws V.a.409, f. 5

Ptd sources: Benson and J. Playford, **A Musicall Banquet** (1651), pt 3, p. 10

Hilton, **Catch that Catch can** (1652), p. 15 [misnumbered 11]

Hilton, **Catch that Catch can** (1658), pt 1, p. 18

J. Playford and Watkins, **Catch that Catch can** (1663), pt 1, p. 18

J. Playford, **The Musical Companion** (1673), pt 1, p. 25 [misnumbered 24]

Synopsis of Vocal Musick (1680), p. 100

(All but the first attributed to John Hilton)

Song "Hast thou seen the Doun ith' air"

This parodies "Have you seen the white lily grow", and was perhaps sung to the original music. See entry for "Have you felt the wooll of Beaver" under Cavendish (and Shirley?)'s **The Variety.**

'W., J.'

The Valiant Scot (1637)

Instrumental tune "th' English march"

The "English march" is apparently played offstage, although the dialogue is slightly ambiguous here.

A warrant of Charles I (c. 1632), countersigned by the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, directs the revival of the old English march in the form given in the warrant. The warrant is in Horace Walpole's **Catalogue of the royal and noble authors of England** (1759), along with musical notation for the march (before the

title-page in volume II). It reads, "Whereas the ancient custome of nations hath ever bene to use one certaine and constant forme of March in the warres, whereby to be distinguished one from another. And the March of this our English Nation, so famous in all the honourable Atchievments and glorious warres of this our Kingdome in forraigne parts [being by the approbation of strangers themselves confest and acknowledged the best of all marches] was thorough [sic] the negligence and carelesness of Drummers, and by long discontinuance so altered and changed from the ancient gravitie and majestie thereof, as it was in danger utterly to have bene lost and forgotten. It pleased our late deare Brother Prince Henry to revive and rectifie the same, by ordayning an Establishment of one certaine measure which was beaten in his presence at Greenwich anno 1610" (Walpole 1759:I,201).

The warrant is quoted by Hawkins, who also reproduces the musical notation for the march (ed. 1963:I,229). Randle Holme's notes for his 'Academy of Armory' (before 1688) contain a copy of the royal warrant (GB-Lbl Harl. 2034, f. 75) and the music for "The Voluntary before the March".

Mod. edns/coms.:Naylor 1931:201
Winstock 1970:18
Long 1971:272

WILD, Robert

The Benefice (1641)

Song snatch "God prosper long our Noble King"

The tune is untitled in the musical sources listed below, but is specifically identified as the ballad tune "Chevy Chase" in an early eighteenth-century source.

Mod. edns/coms.:Chappell and Wooldridge 1893:I,90-92
Duncan ed. 1905-09:203
Chappell 1965:198-99
Simpson 1966:96-101

MS sources: GB-Eu Dc.1.69, p. 4* ("EL") (begins "O prosper")
GB-Ob Mus.d.238, p. 201* (begins "O prosper")
GB-Och 17, f. 9 (Edward Lowe)

Song "I am confirm'd a Scholar can"

This parodies Suckling's famous lyric "I am confirmed a woman can", settings of which survive in the musical sources listed below. Presumably the words of the parody were fitted to the existing setting by Henry Lawes, which was well known.

Mod. edns/coms.:Dolmetsch ed. 1898:20-23
Gibbon 1930:185

MS sources: GB-Lbl Add. 53723, no. 89, f. 47v (Henry Lawes)
US-NYp Drexel 4041, no. 16, f. 13 (Henry Lawes)
US-NYp Drexel 4257, no. 114

Ptd sources: J. Playford, **Select Musicall Ayres, And Dialogues** (1652), pt 1, p. 10
J. Playford, **Select Musicall Ayres And Dialogues** (1653), pt 1, p. 15 (Henry Lawes)
J. Playford, **Select Ayres And Dialogues** (1659), p. 38 (Henry Lawes)
J. Playford, **Musick's Delight** (1666), no. 94
J. Playford, **The Treasury of Musick** (1669), p. 38 (Henry Lawes)

[UNKNOWN]

[Unknown ("St Johns Play"); possibly **The Converted Robber** (1637) by J. Speed (?) or **Love's Hospital** (1636) by George Wilde]

[Symphonies before three songs]

Mod. edn/com.: Appendix 2, nos. 32a, b, c

ALPHABETICAL INDEX OF FIRST LINES OF SONGS AND NAMES OF INSTRUMENTAL TUNES

APPENDIX 2

EDITION OF SURVIVING MUSIC FOR CAROLINE PLAYS

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

This edition makes available a selection of the extant songs connected with specific Caroline plays which have not previously been published in a modern edition. These thirty-one songs, and symphonies for three further songs, were chosen in order that all the songs analyzed in the text of the thesis be accessible here if they have not already been edited; and in order to provide examples both of various types of play-song, and of settings by those who seem to have been the most important composers of songs for Caroline plays.

The arrangement of this edition reflects that of the Catalogue of Surviving Music (Appendix 1): the songs are grouped together by dramatist and play, and are numbered according to the order in which they appear in the Catalogue. The Catalogue thus acts as an index by dramatist and play to this edition. It is stressed that the songs are settings of Caroline dramatic lyrics, and were not necessarily all used in the original productions of plays.

After the edition there is a listing and brief discussion of the manuscript and printed sources of the songs edited. The settings survive not in large collections consisting solely of theatre music, but scattered amongst commonplace books, autographs, and other manuscripts, and in printed volumes postdating the Caroline period. From what we can piece together, it seems likely that there was no concern to keep a record of the music used in performances of plays, and hence the survival of theatre music was hazardous. As we have seen, it was not the practice to include music in play-texts. If play-songs were kept on separate sheets containing both words and music, they would have been particularly vulnerable; and indeed none has yet been discovered in this form, unless my hypothesis concerning

the **Valetudinarium** manuscript is correct. Play-songs were separated from their dramatic context, and apparently circulated in manuscript. We are fortunate to retain those songs which were copied into manuscripts, for example, composers' records of their work. Only one of the manuscripts containing play-songs edited here may have had theatrical connections: it probably belonged to a theatre musician.

When the printing of secular vocal music began again in England in 1652 with the publication of John Playford's **Select Musicall Ayres, And Dialogues**, play-songs were amongst those published. The majority of them were presented as songs in their own right, and publication was presumably stimulated by the general rise of music publishing and by financial motives; however, the ascription of some of the songs to plays suggests that changes in demand and some retrospective interest in these settings should also be allowed for. Perhaps one reason why more play-songs were not published is that public interest in them had not been envisaged earlier and so they had not been kept.

Notes on Editorial Procedure

In general, procedures have been drawn from Ian Spink's **English Songs 1625-1660 (Musica Britannica** 33, ed. 1977), John Caldwell's **Editing Early Music** (1985) and the "Musica Britannica Guidelines for Editors" (1986).

In my editions of the settings, I have attempted to preserve the character of the originals as closely as possible. The music has been transcribed exactly as it occurs in the copy-texts except that any obvious mistakes have been corrected, readings have been suggested where the text is ambiguous (wherever possible, these have been derived from other sources), and the version has been presented according to modern

notational conventions. My general policy is to make the music available in the form in which it survives in seventeenth-century sources, so no continuo realization has been provided.

A prefatory stave precedes each song, supplying original clefs, key-signatures, time-signatures and the first note of each part. The original key-signatures are retained unless noted in the Commentary. Redundant accidentals are retained. Accidentals which are not present in the main source but are certainly to be understood - those necessitated by the insertion of an editorial barline and cancelling accidentals required by modern convention - are shown in square brackets before the note affected, and affect subsequent notes of the same pitch in the bar. Superscript accidentals, again in square brackets, indicate the editor's presumption or recommendation; they do not affect subsequent notes. It is not always easy to distinguish between a corrupt text and clumsy composition, and the temptation to clean up all solecisms has been resisted. Editorial cautionary accidentals are given in parentheses before the note affected. The modern form ♮ replaces ♯ or ♭ wherever appropriate.

Original note-values have been retained. When the time changes during the course of a song, the original signature has been given above the basso continuo line. This includes a change from ¢ to 𝅗𝅥 or vice versa during a song, which denotes a change in tempo. Redundant ties have been removed, but tied notes in the basso continuo line are retained, as they may indicate reiteration or position of change of chord in the harmony instrument.

Modern clefs are used. Barlines have been added (or rearranged) where necessary in order to conform to the modern practice of regular barring. The beaming of the original is reproduced. All original slurs are retained. Editorially added slurs (required by the underlay) are

shown with a stroke through them. Ornaments have been given as they appear in the copy-text. The exact interpretation of certain of these symbols is not always known. (Concerning ornamentation, see Duckles 1957, Spink ed. 1977:xx [a summary of Playford's instructions] and Jones 1989:116-44.) Catches have been expanded into full score.

The following standardizations have been adopted. Whatever the duration of the final note of a song in the sources, it has been treated as lasting for or completing a single bar. When a fermata (𝄐) occurs in the main source this is shown, and is added editorially to other parts if it occurs only in one part. This sign does not necessarily denote a pause, but may simply indicate the end of a piece or of a strain. Editorial fermate are in square brackets. Double barlines, with or without dots, are used in the sources to divide the strains of songs: these are transcribed here as double barlines without dots. Dots did not necessarily imply repetition of the preceding strain, nor did their absence preclude it. In general it is open to performers to repeat any strain. The sign  , or a similar sign, occurs in a number of pieces and signifies "a repetition from that place only where it is set" (Simpson ed. 1970:13); it is here transcribed as  .

The musical copy-texts have usually been given with their own reading of the lyric. Although these versions often differ from the lyric as it appears in the play-text, and occasionally obfuscate or even change its sense, they have, following Spink's practice, been altered very little, in order that the musical and literary integrity of the copy-text be retained. The version in the musical source is presumably that which the composer actually set. The possible significance of variant readings is a complicated issue. Textual variants might reflect intentional alteration by a

composer, perhaps to facilitate singing, or they might result from scribal error or idiosyncrasy. They may also reflect changes in the playwright's intentions: they could be an earlier or later version of the lyric, depending on the source of the composer's copy of the lyric. For instance, I suggest that the composer could have set an early version of a lyric which a playwright then changed, and the later lyric was that included in the version of the play-text which we know; or the composer could have set a later version, but the copy from which the play-text was printed contained the earlier version. Much depends on the relationship between sources, and the source of the composer's copy, an area concerning which much is likely to remain unknown.

The lyrics have been reproduced as they appear in the copy-texts, except for the following silent alterations: contractions have been expanded; superscripts have not been retained; the long 's' has been modernized; and 'i' has been substituted for 'j', 'u' for 'v', and vice versa, where appropriate. The original spelling, capitalization and punctuation are preserved, except that some punctuation necessary to the sense of the lyrics has been added and any punctuation which might seriously hinder intelligibility has been amended (with due reference made to this in the Commentary), and elisions have been added where necessary. Again, any obvious mistakes (such as typographical errors) have been corrected, with note of this in the Commentary. In some cases it is unclear whether an initial letter was intended to be upper or lower case; this has been decided to the best of my judgment and by comparison with similar letters in the same copy-text.

Where the original simply uses a sign to indicate repetition of words, these have been written out. Text supplied editorially is underlined. For such text, I

adopt the same spelling, capitalization and punctuation of the phrase concerned as on its first occurrence in that vocal part, if the words have already appeared there; if they have not, that of the highest vocal part which first uses these words. The sources do not include hyphenation to clarify textual underlay, and words are not necessarily underlaid correctly. Sometimes the intention is unclear; in such cases, I have underlaid the lyric as seems best.

In the notes on the music, the method of abbreviation is based on that in **Musica Britannica** 33 and the "Musica Britannica Guidelines for Editors".

For ease of reference in the Textual Commentary, the lyric has been written out in full and lineated after the music of each song (omitting repeated words and restoring to their original form words elided editorially in the underlay). Where there is more than one vocal part, the words have been taken from their first occurrence in the highest voice which uses them. Where stanza numbers are not present in the copy-text, I have added them in square brackets when underlaying the music, and also when writing out the lyric in full.

In the notes on the lyrics, the reading in the copy-text is located by its line number, referring to the lineation of the lyric as written out after the music. This is followed by the variant reading and the siglum for the source of the variant. In the comparison with lyrics in other sources, variants of spelling, capitalization and punctuation have not been noted, except for occasional spellings which are so different that they could be a different word. Comparison is made of the lyric as it appears in musical concordances and in the play-text. By the latter I mean here a critical old-spelling modern edition where one exists; if not, the first seventeenth-century edition and any

manuscripts; if no printed text survives, the manuscript(s).

The Commentary

The following information is included in each case: (a) the dramatic source of the lyric; (b) performance details; (c) the musical sources, listing copy-text first; (d) a brief discussion of the musical sources and the setting; (e) notes on the music, listing any substantial variant readings; (f) notes on the lyric, listing any variant words. The abbreviations used are explained in the Notes on the Textual Commentary.

Regarding choice of copy-text, I refer to Spink's discussion and commend his principles (ed. 1977:xvii,xviii-ix), which provided the basis for my editorial policy as outlined below. Like him, I have selected the surviving version which, insofar as it can be ascertained, is closest to the composer's original, "yet having an integrity of its own and, in terms of the composer's idiom and that of his time, the best available" (ibid.:xvii). The decision as to which version to choose as a primary source can be difficult. A problem when attempting to assess authority is that the provenance or date of some sources remains unclear.

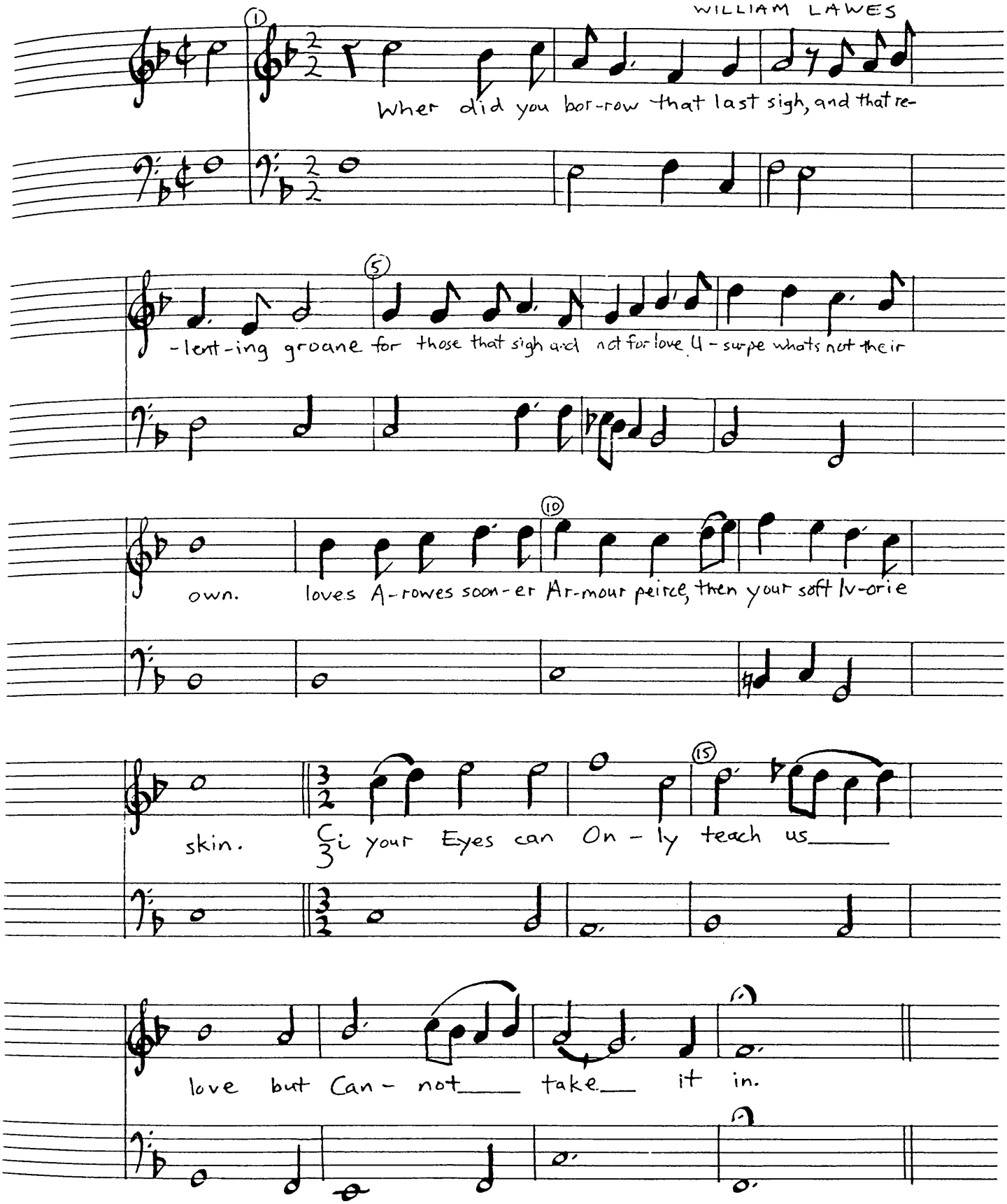
The principles by which copy-texts were chosen, and the manner in and extent to which other sources are taken into account, are summarized below.

1. Where one holograph or particularly authoritative source survives, this has been chosen; a general note on how other sources differ significantly has been included, but minor variants have been ignored. An exception here is the manuscript source M. For the purposes of this collection of play-songs, considerable importance is attached to this manuscript, since it probably belonged to a theatre musician, and so its contents may be significant as versions of songs

performed in the theatre. Thus all variants in this source have been given, either listed in abbreviated form in the Textual Commentary, or written in small notes above or below the version selected as copy-text.
2. Where two particularly authoritative sources survive, one of these has been chosen, and all variants in the other have been given, being indicated in the way described in note 1 for variants in M. Secondary sources are treated as in note 1 above, and again, all variants in M are listed.
3. Where composers' autographs or supervised publications do not survive, the earliest 'literate' version has usually been selected, except where a later source possesses an authority which persuades one to prefer its version to earlier ones. M is also significant here. Secondary sources are again treated as in note 1 above, and all variants in M are listed.

1. WHER DID YOU BORROW THAT LAST SIGH

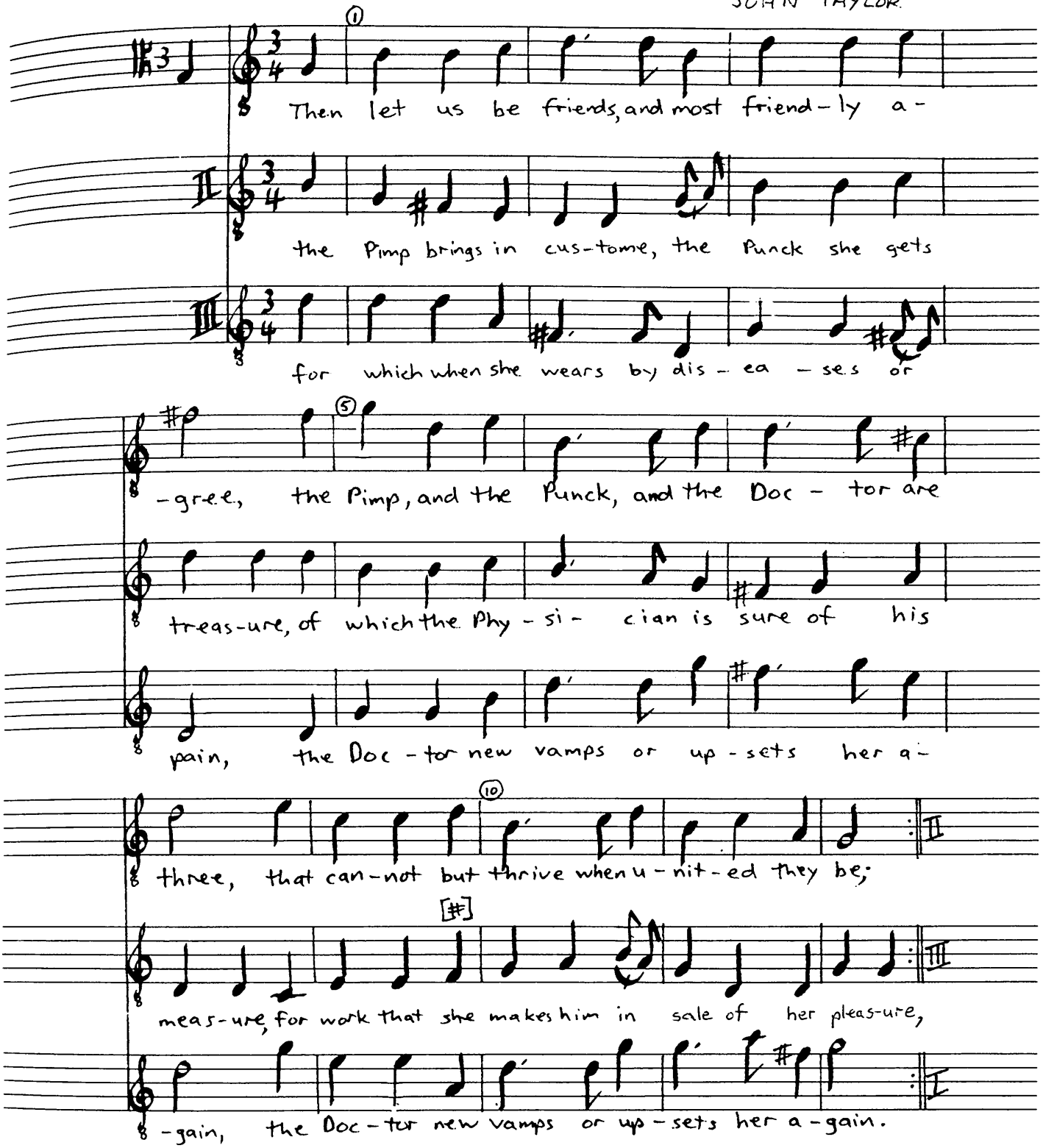
WILLIAM LAWES



Wher did you borrow that last sigh,
and that relenting groane
for those that sigh and not for love
Usurpe whats not their own.
loves Arowes sooner Armour peirce,
then your soft Ivorie skin.
your Eyes can Only teach us love
but Cannot take it in.

2. THEN LET US BE FRIENDS, AND MOST FRIENDLY AGREE

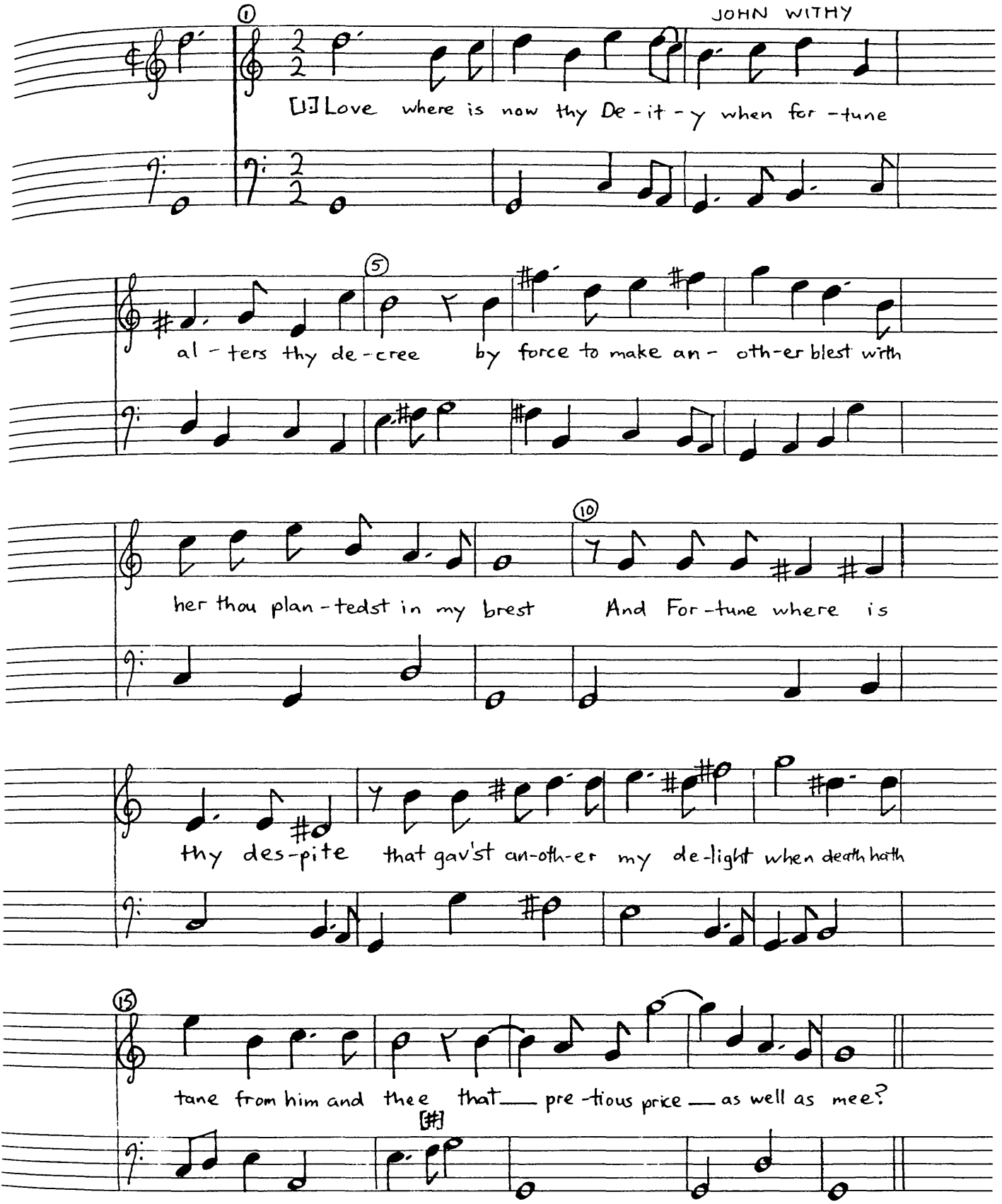
JOHN TAYLOR



Then let us be friends, and most friendly agree,
the Pimp, and the Punck, and the Doctor are three,
that cannot but thrive when united they be;
the Pimp brings in custome, The Punck she gets treasure,
of which the Physician is sure of his measure,
for work that she makes him in sale of her pleasure,
for which when she wears by diseases or pain,
the Doctor new vamps or upsets her again.

3. LOVE WHERE IS NOW THY DEITY

JOHN WITHY

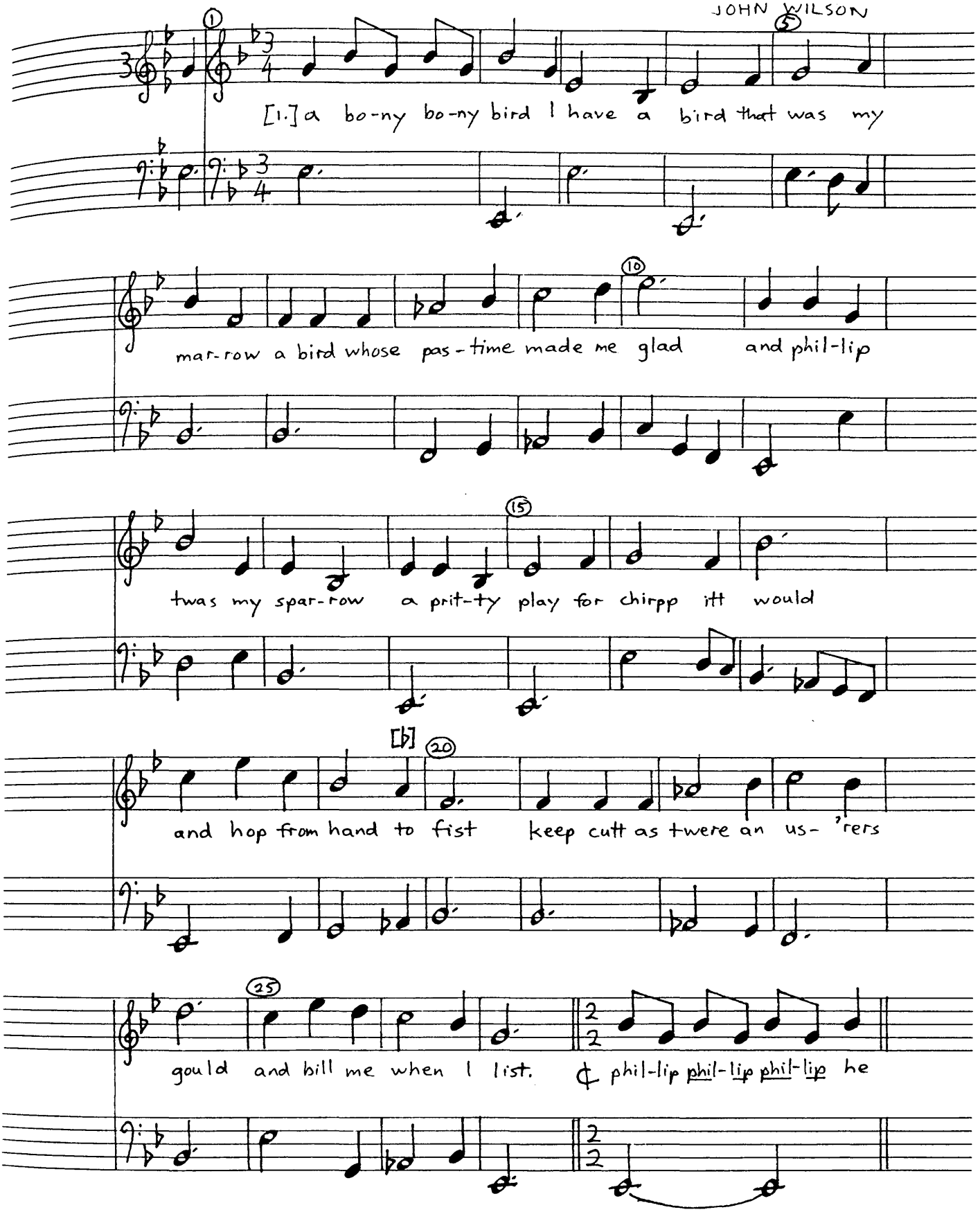


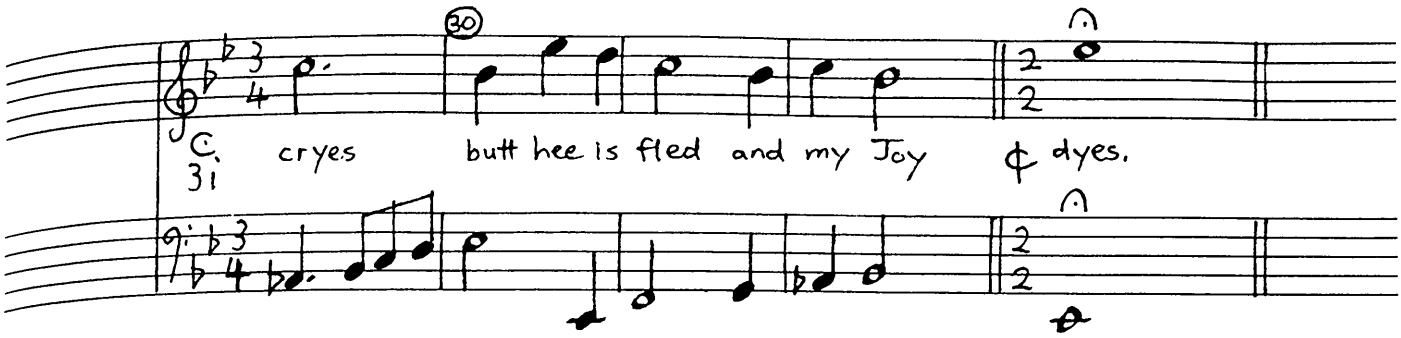
[1.] Love where is now thy Deity
when fortune alters thy decree
by force to make another blest
with her thou plantedst in my brest
And Fortune where is thy despite
that gav'st another my delight
when death hath tane from him and thee
that pretious price as well as mee ?

[2.] Of Love I blame the inconstancy
Of Fortune curse thy Crewilty
Death and my revenge yet shall scape
Though he has made the greatest rape
For hee is kindest of the three
Haveing tane her he calls for mee.
his kindnes still yet leaves this blott
Although he calls he takes mee not.

4. A BONY BONY BIRD I HAVE

JOHN WILSON



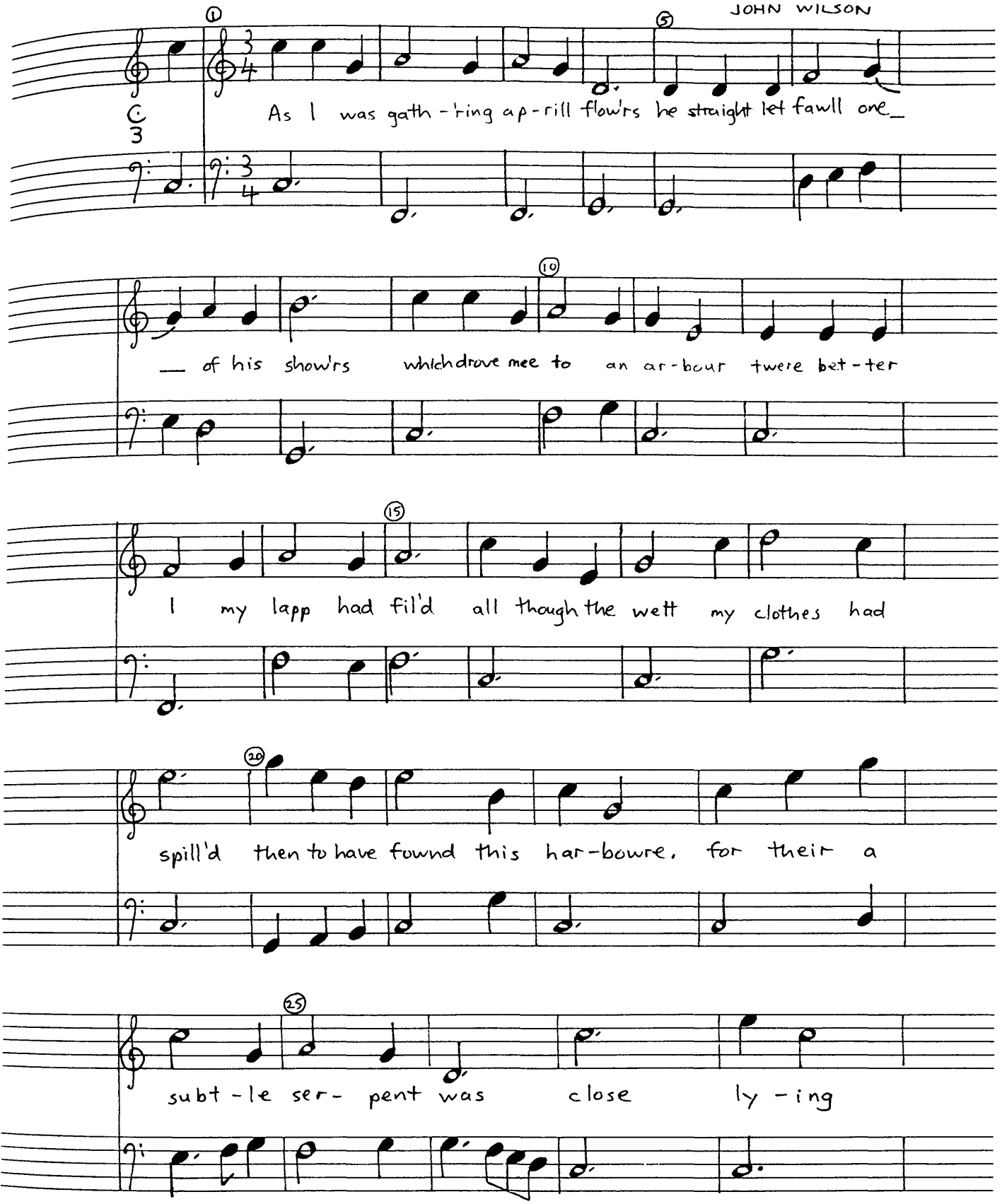


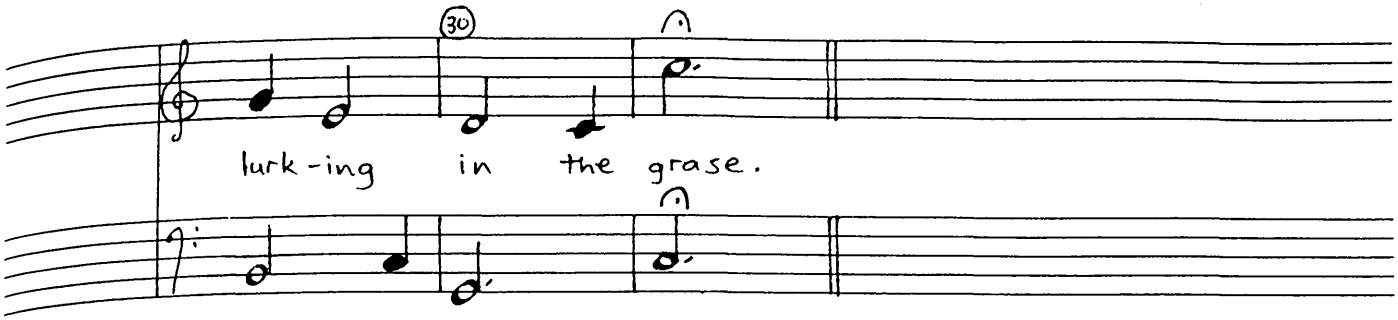
[1.] a bony bony bird I have
a bird that was my marrow
a bird whose pastime made me glad
and phillip twas my sparrow
a pritty play for chirpp itt would
and hop from hand to fist
keep cutt as twere an userers gould
and bill me when I list.
phillip phillip phillip he cryes
butt hee is fled and my Joy dyes.

[2.] nay would my phillipe come againe
I would nott change my love
for Junoes bird with gaudy traine
nor itt for venus dove
nay would my phillip come againe
I willd nott change my statt
for his greatt name sakes welth of spaine
to be anothers matte:
phillip phillip phillip he cryes
butt hee is fled and my Joy dyes.

5. AS I WAS GATHERING APRILL FLOWERS

JOHN WILSON



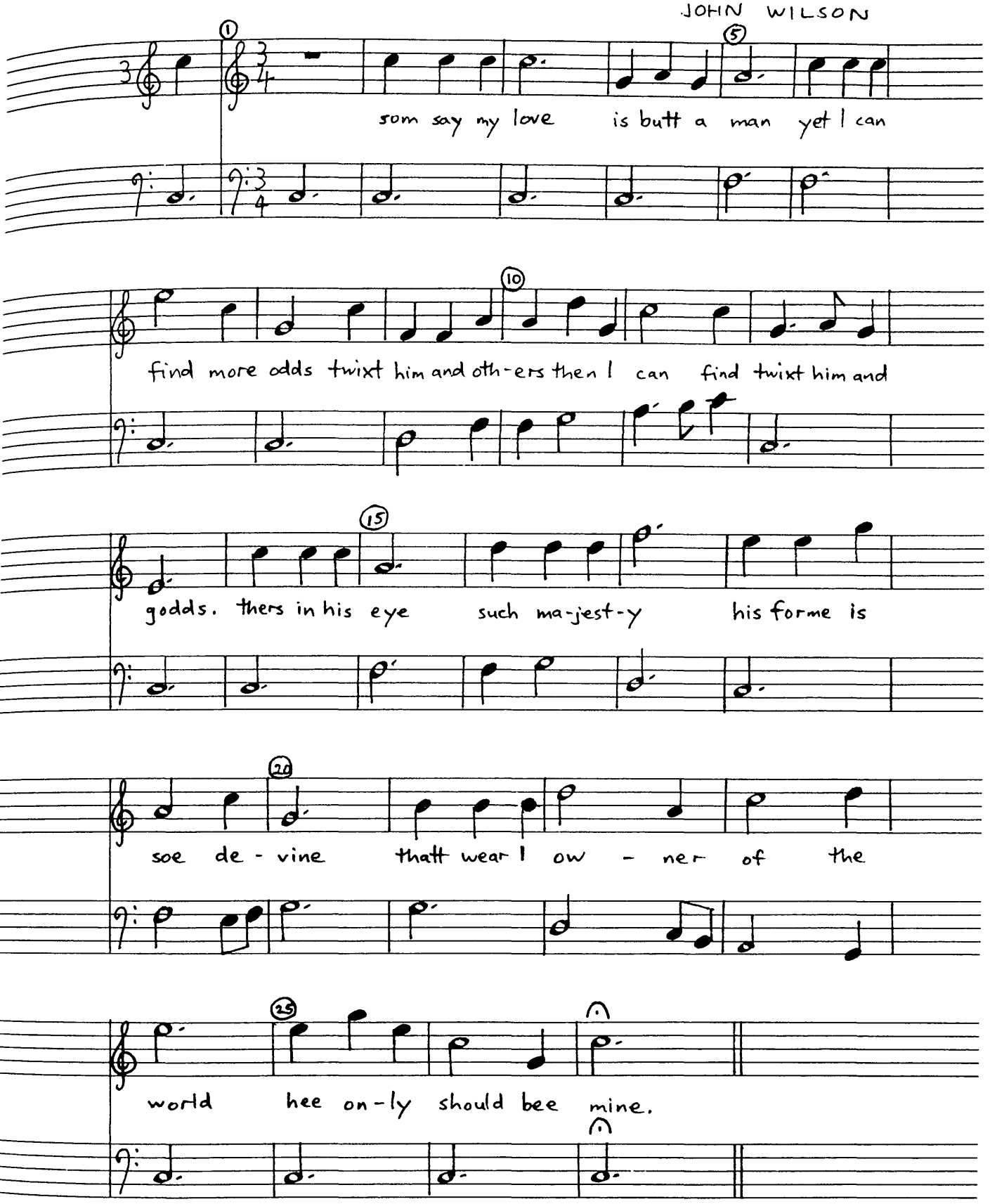


[1.] As I was gathering aprill flowers
he straight let fawll one of his showers
which drove mee to an arbour
~~twere better I my lapp had fil'd~~
all ~~though the wett my clothes had spill'd~~
then to have fownd this harbowre.
for their a subtle serpent was
~~close lying lurking in the grase.~~

[2.] ~~And their whilst harmles thinking I~~
still waching when the shower would dry
lay listning to a smale bird
~~that singing satt upon a bower~~
~~her note unto the fauling shower,~~
the snake beneath me sturd
and with his stinge gave mee a clap
~~that fil'd my belley not lapp.~~

6. SOM SAY MY LOVE IS BUTT A MAN

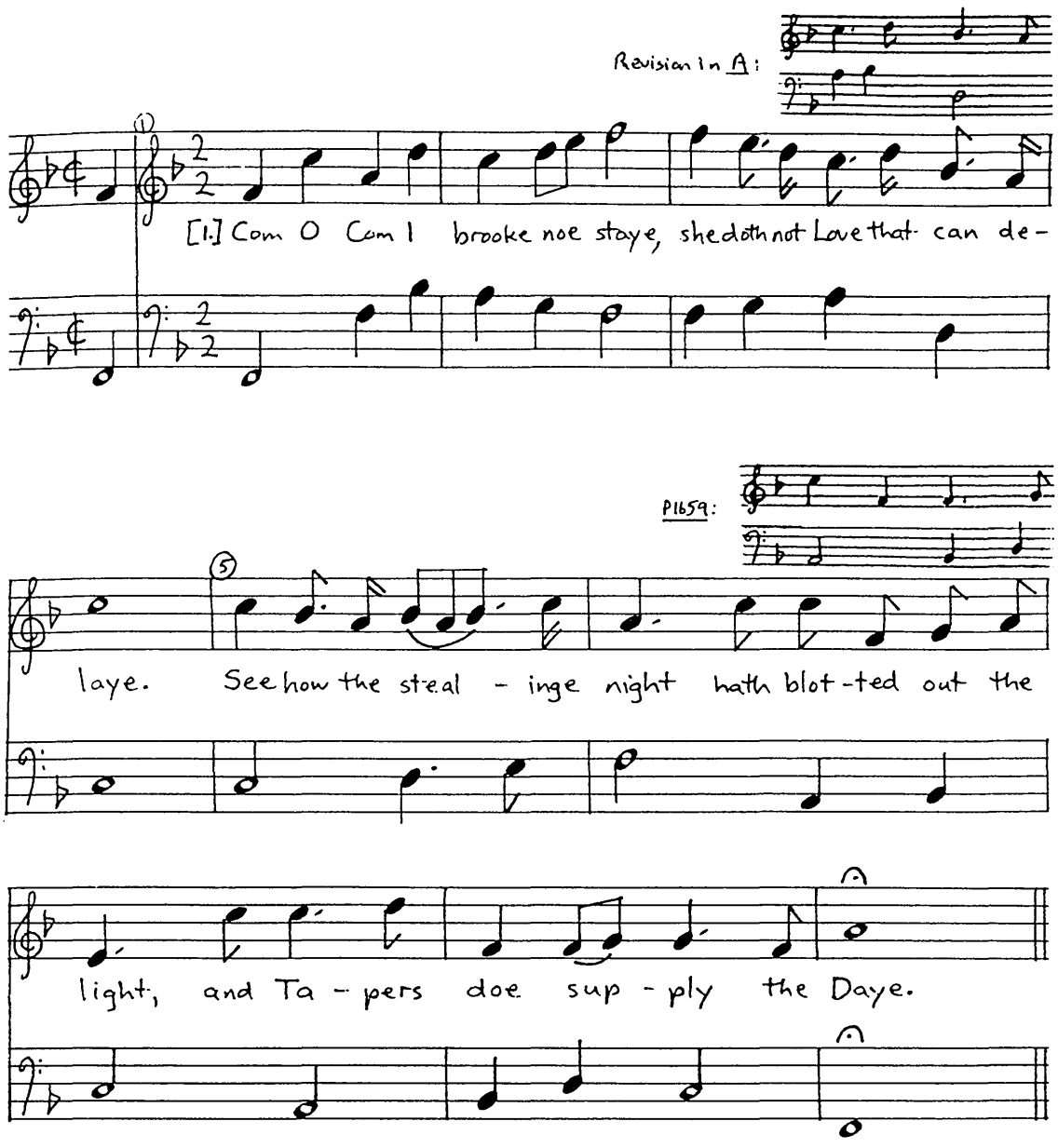
JOHN WILSON



som say my love is butt a man
yet I can find more odds
twixt him and others then I can
find twixt him and godds.
thers in his eye
such majesty
his forme is soe devine
thatt wear I owner of the world
hee only should bee mine.

7. COM O COM I BROOKE NOE STAYE

HENRY LAWES



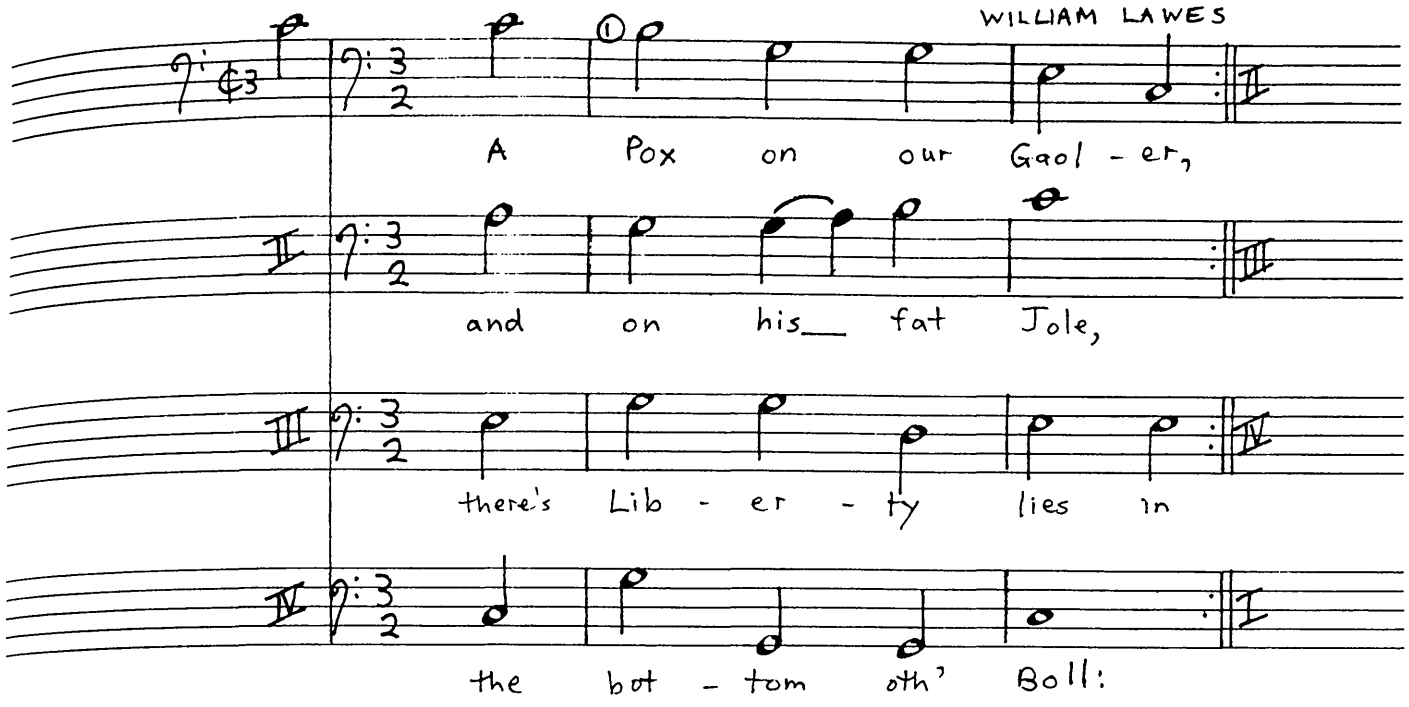
[1.] Com O Com I brooke noe staye,
she doth not Love that can delaye.
See how the stealinge night
hath blotted out the light,
and Tapers doe supply the Daye.

2. To be Chaste is to be Ould
And that Foolish Girle thats Colde
is fourscore at fifteene,
desires doe wryte us greene
and Looser flames our youth unfold.

3. See, the first Tapers almost gone
thy flame like that will streight be none,
and I as it Expire,
not able to hold fire
She Looseth tyme that lyes a lone.

4. let us cherrish then these powres
whyles wee yet may call them ours,
then wee best spend our tyme
when noe Dull zealous chyme
But sprightfull kisses strike the Howres.

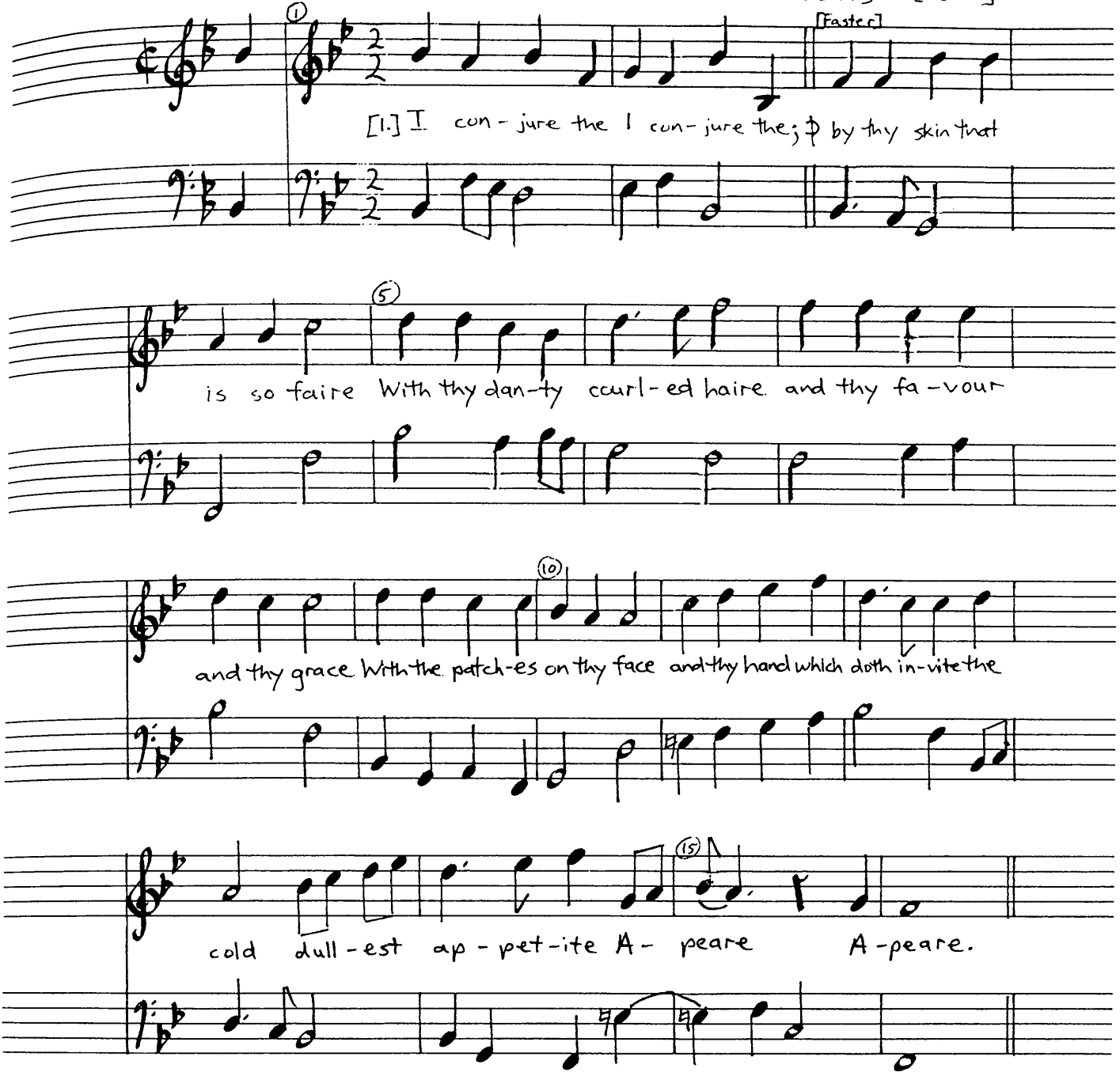
8. A POX ON OUR GAOLER, AND ON HIS FAT JOLE



A Pox on our Gaoler, and on his fat Jole,
there's Liberty lies in the bottom oth' Boll:
A fig for what ever the Rascal can doe;
our Dungeon is deep, but our Cups are so too:
Then drink we a Round in despight of our foes,
and make our hard Irons cry Clink in the Close.
Now laugh we, and quaff we until our rich Noses
grow red, and contest with our Chaplets of Roses.

9. I CONJURE THE I CONJURE THE

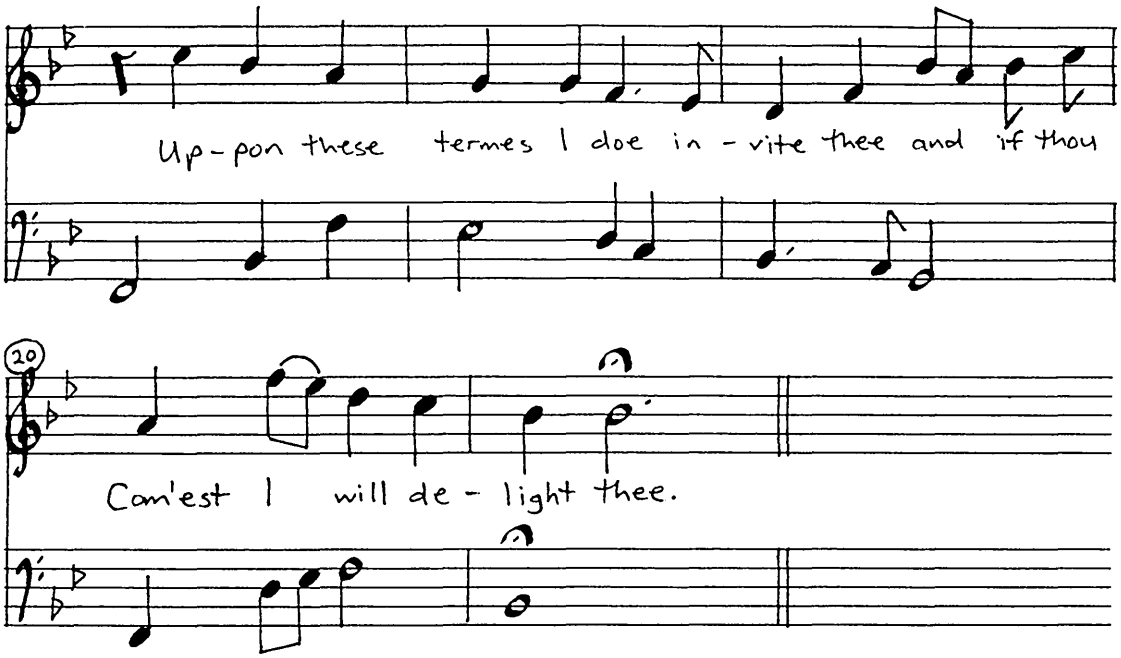
J[OHN] W[ILSON]



[1.] I conjure the I conjure the;
by thy skin ~~that~~ is so faire
With thy danty courled haire
and thy favour and thy grace
~~With the patches on thy face~~ 5
~~and thy hand which doth invite~~
the cold dullest appetite
Apeare Apeare.

[2.] If not so I doe not care
though thy breasts be neere so bare
Roses rich with shooes thats white
or thy venus best delight
if not touch thy softer skin.
What care I for thee A pinne
Appeare Appeare,

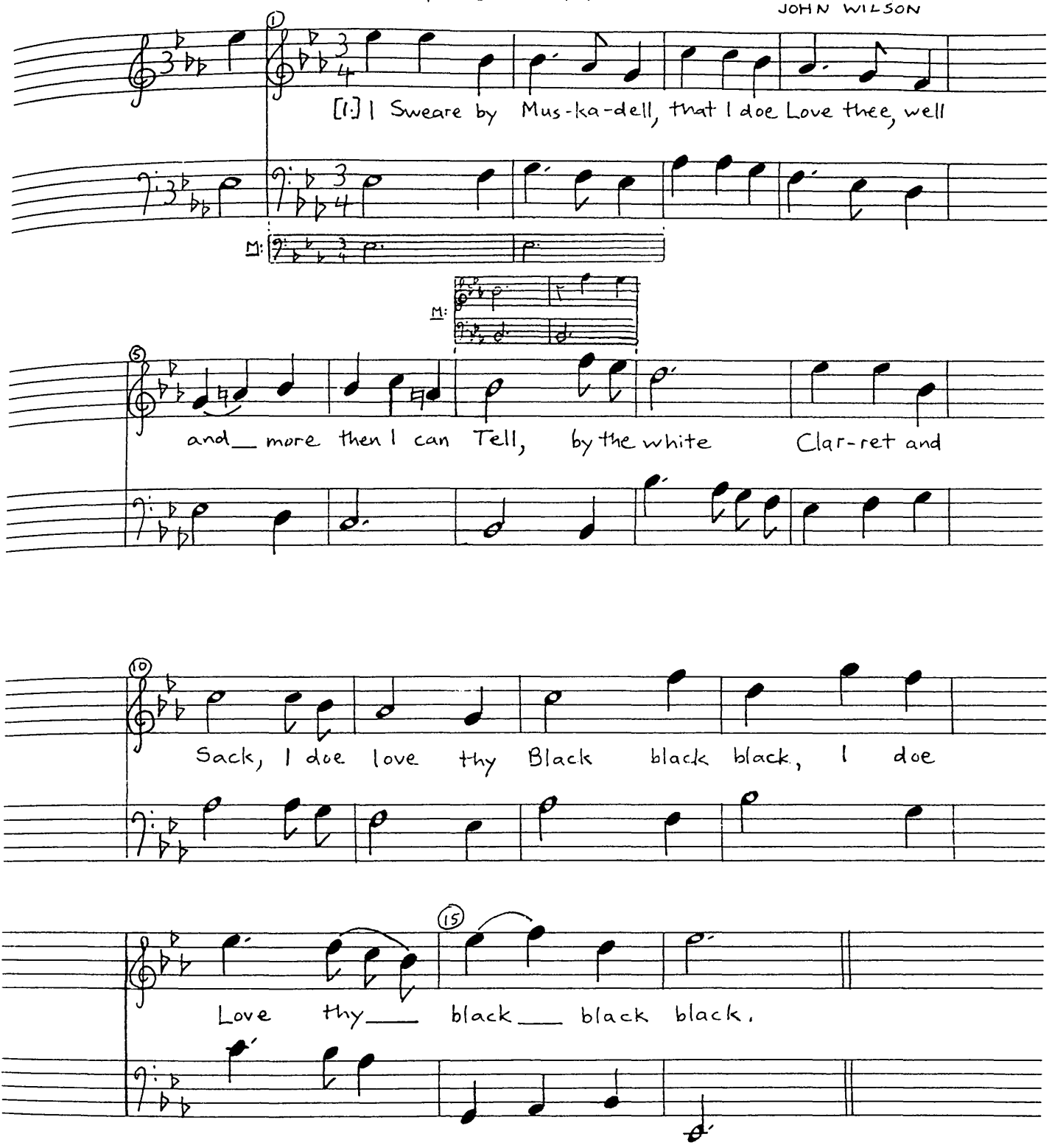
[3.] For to heare and not to see
is A dulle flatt historye
And to see and not to touch
if you thinke the last to much.
know all womens but one toy
if wee men them not enjoy.
Appeare Appeare,



Uppon these termes I doe invite thee
and if thou Com'est I will delight thee.

10. I SWEARE BY MUSKADELL

JOHN WILSON



[1.] I Sweare by Muskadell,
that I doe Love thee, well
and more then I can Tell,
by the white Clarret and Sack,
I doe love thy Black black black.

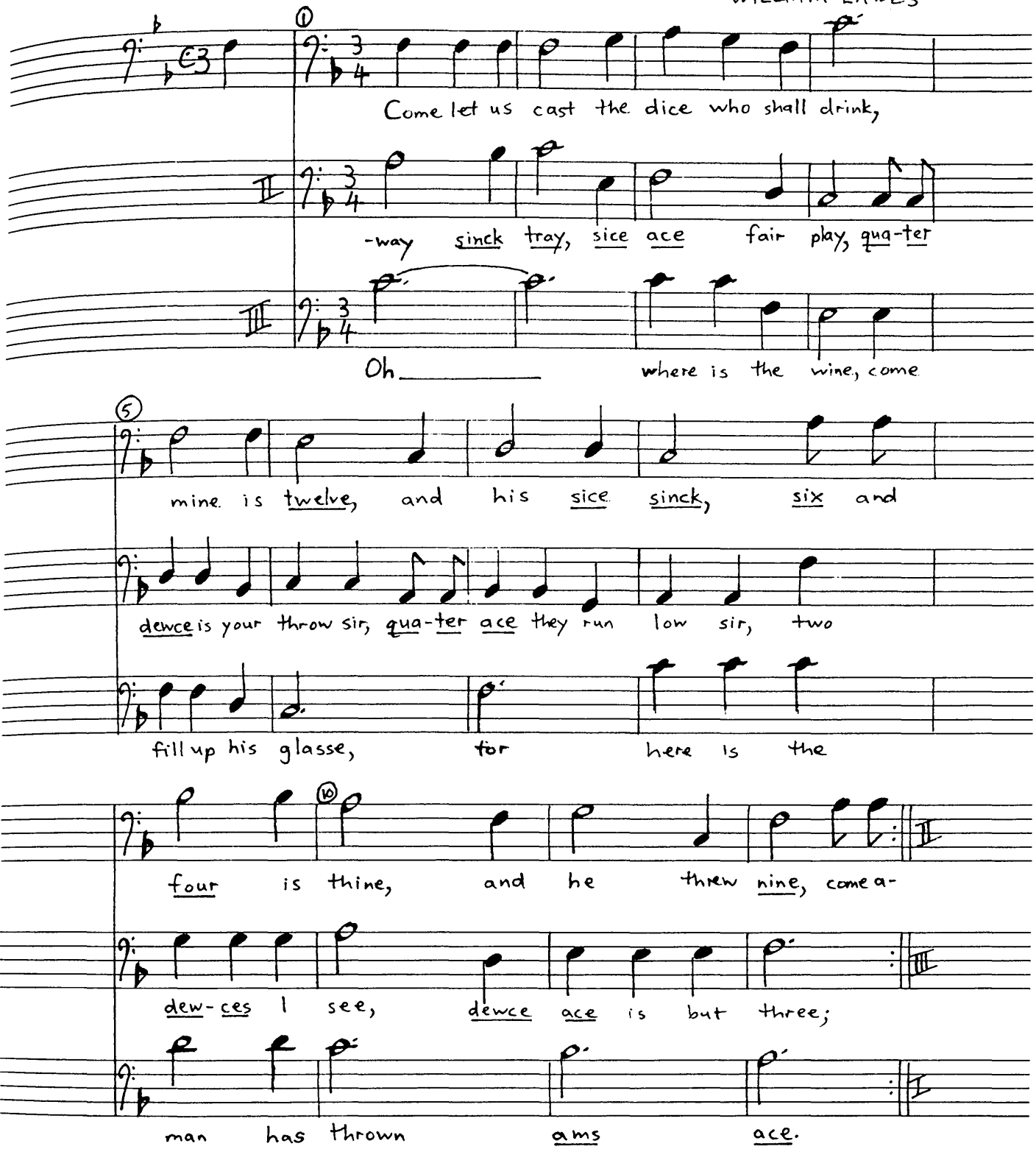
2. So lovely and so fayre
Ore shaddow'd with thy hayre,
So nimble just like aire,
All these set mee on loves rack,
For thy sweeter Black black black.

3. No goddesse 'mongst them all,
So slender and so tall,
And gracefull too withall,
Which makes my sinews to Crack,
For thy dainty Black black black.

4. Thy kinde and loving Eye,
When first I did Espye,
Our loves it did descrye,
Dumb speaking what d'yee lack,
Mine answered thy Black black black.

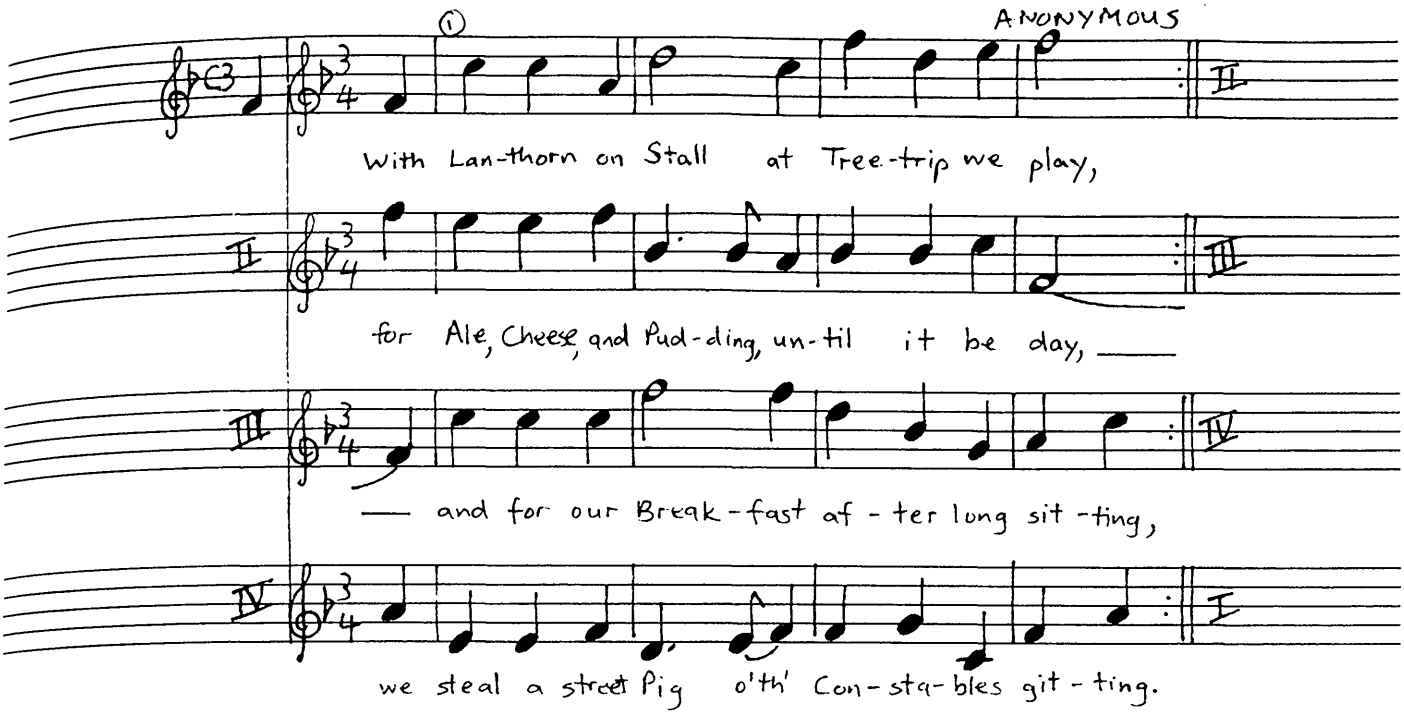
11. COME LET US CAST THE DICE WHO SHALL DRINK

WILLIAM LAWES



Come let us cast the dice who shall drink,
mine is twelve, and his sice sinck,
six and four is thine,
and he threw nine,
come away sinck tray,
sice ace fair play,
quater dewce is your throw sir,
quater ace they run low sir,
two dewces I see,
dewce ace is but three;
Oh where is the wine, come fill up his glasse,
for here is the man has thrown ams ace.

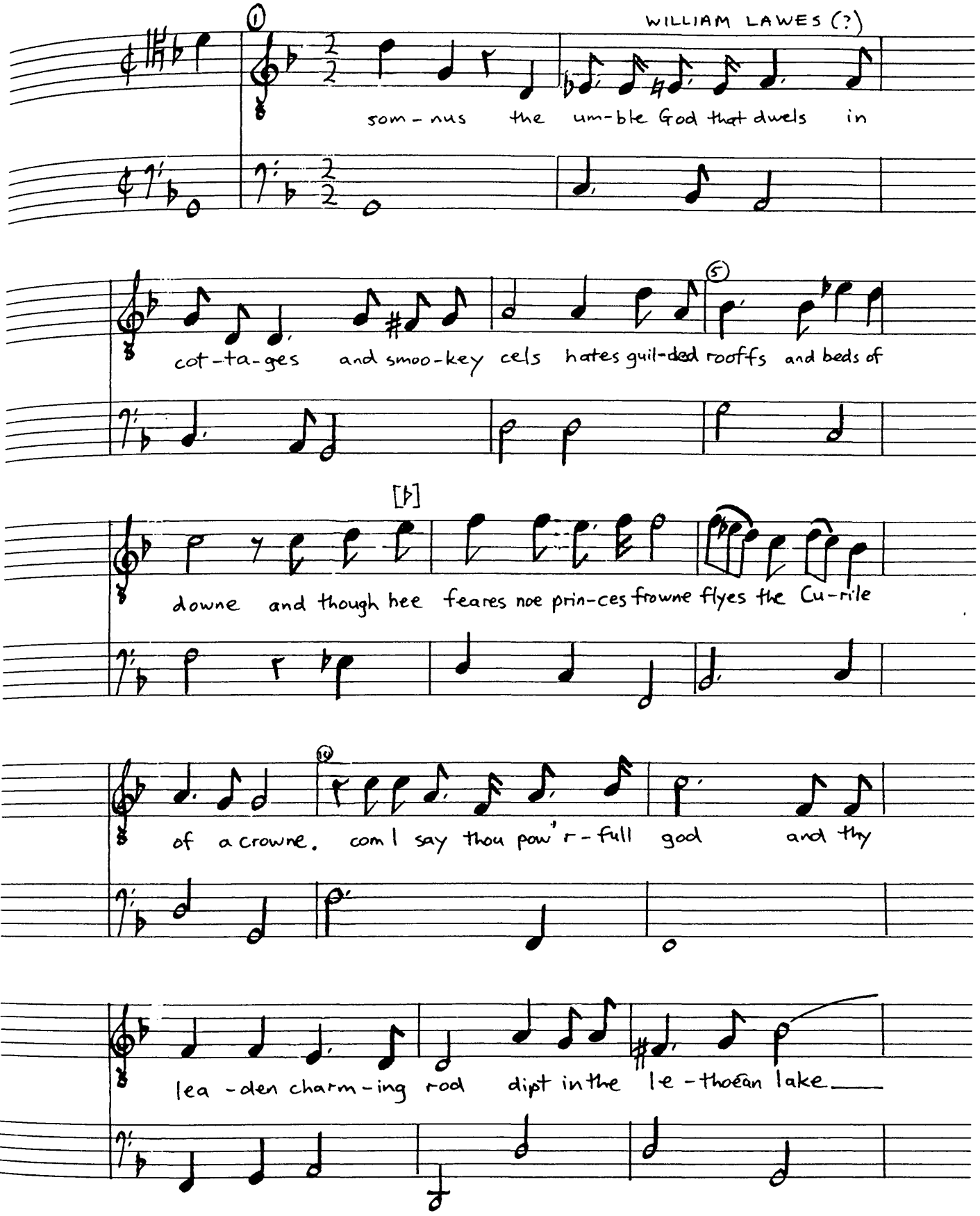
12. WITH LANTHORN ON STALL AT TREE-TRIP WE PLAY

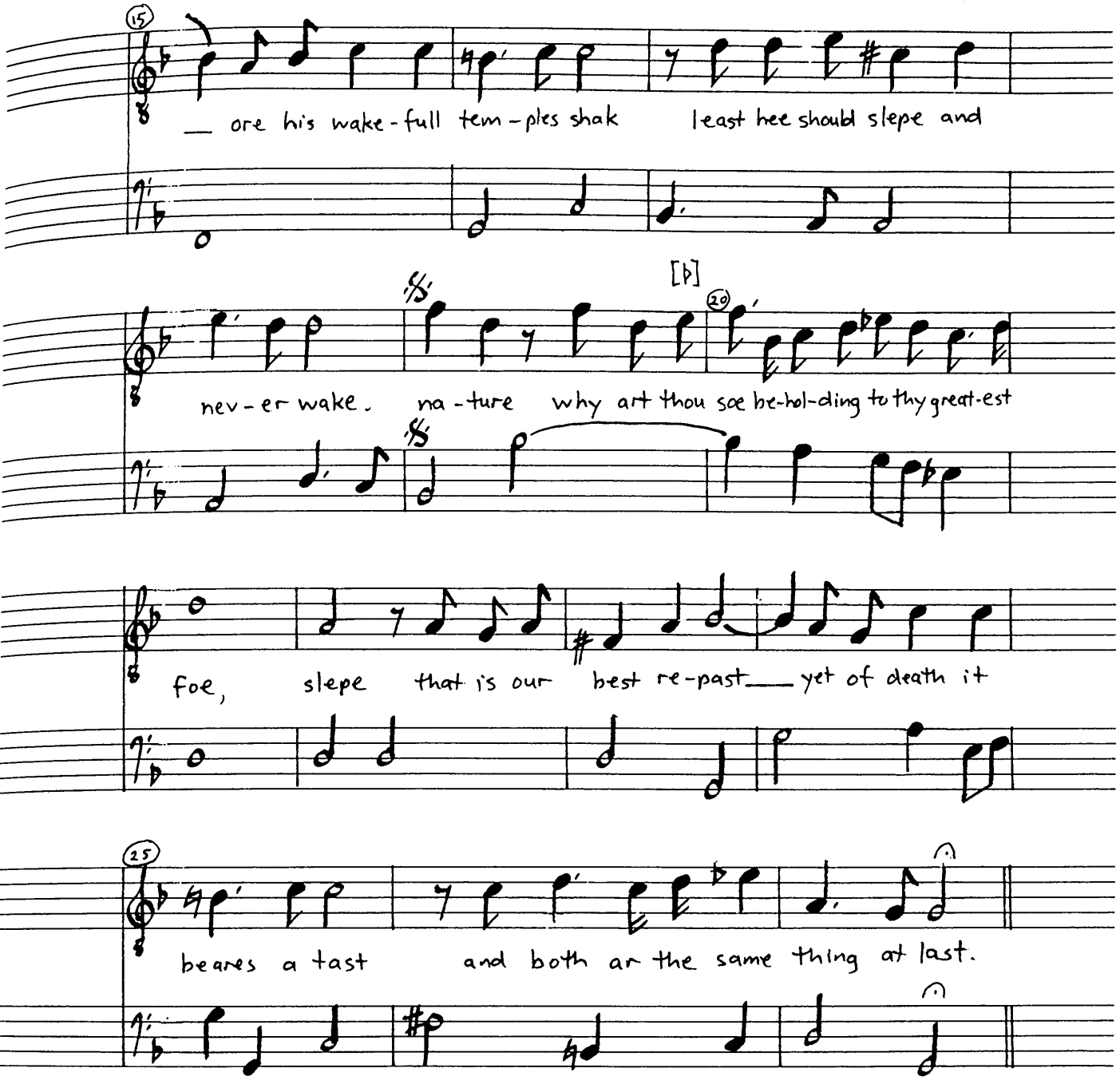


With Lanthorn on Stall at Tree-trip we play,
for Ale, Cheese, and Pudding, until it be day,
and for our Breakfast after long sitting,
we steal a street Pig o'th' Constables gitting.

13. SOMNUS THE UMBLE GOD THAT DWELS

WILLIAM LAWES (?)

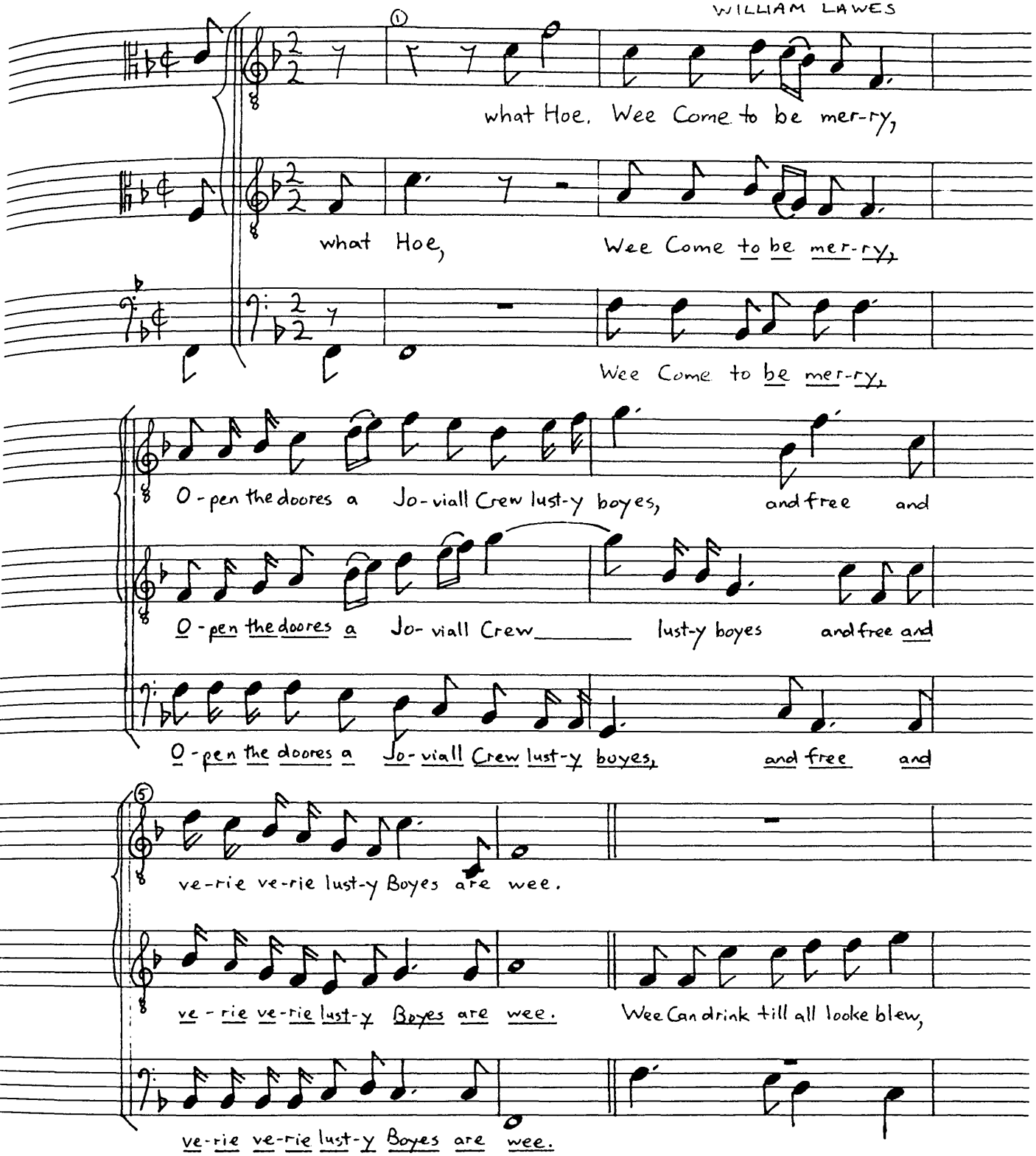


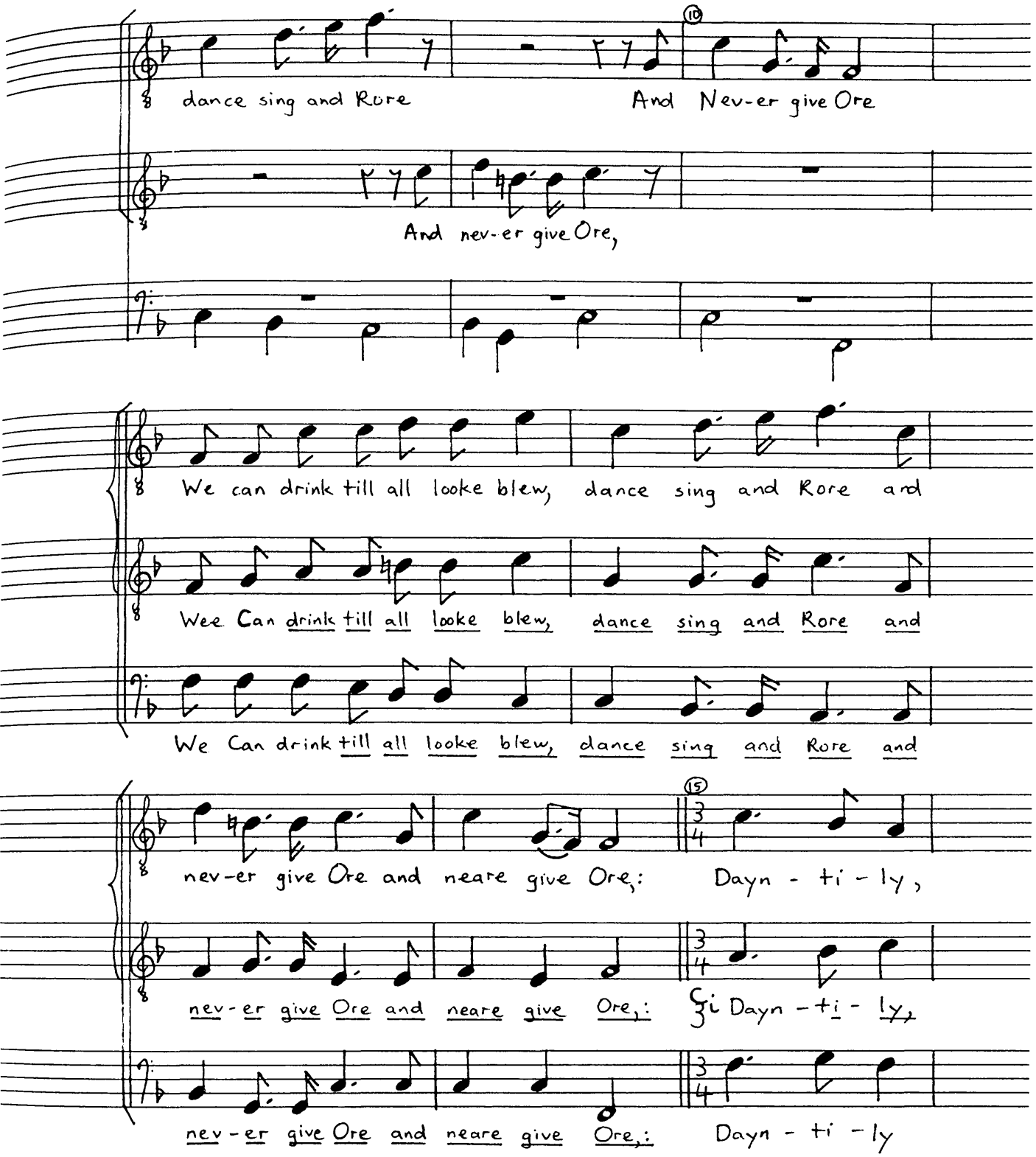

15
ore his wake-full tem-ples shak least hee shoubl slepe and
[♭]
20
nev-er wake. na-ture why art thou see be-hol-ding to thy great-est
foe, slepe that is our best re-past yet of death it
25
beares a tast and both ar the same thing at last.

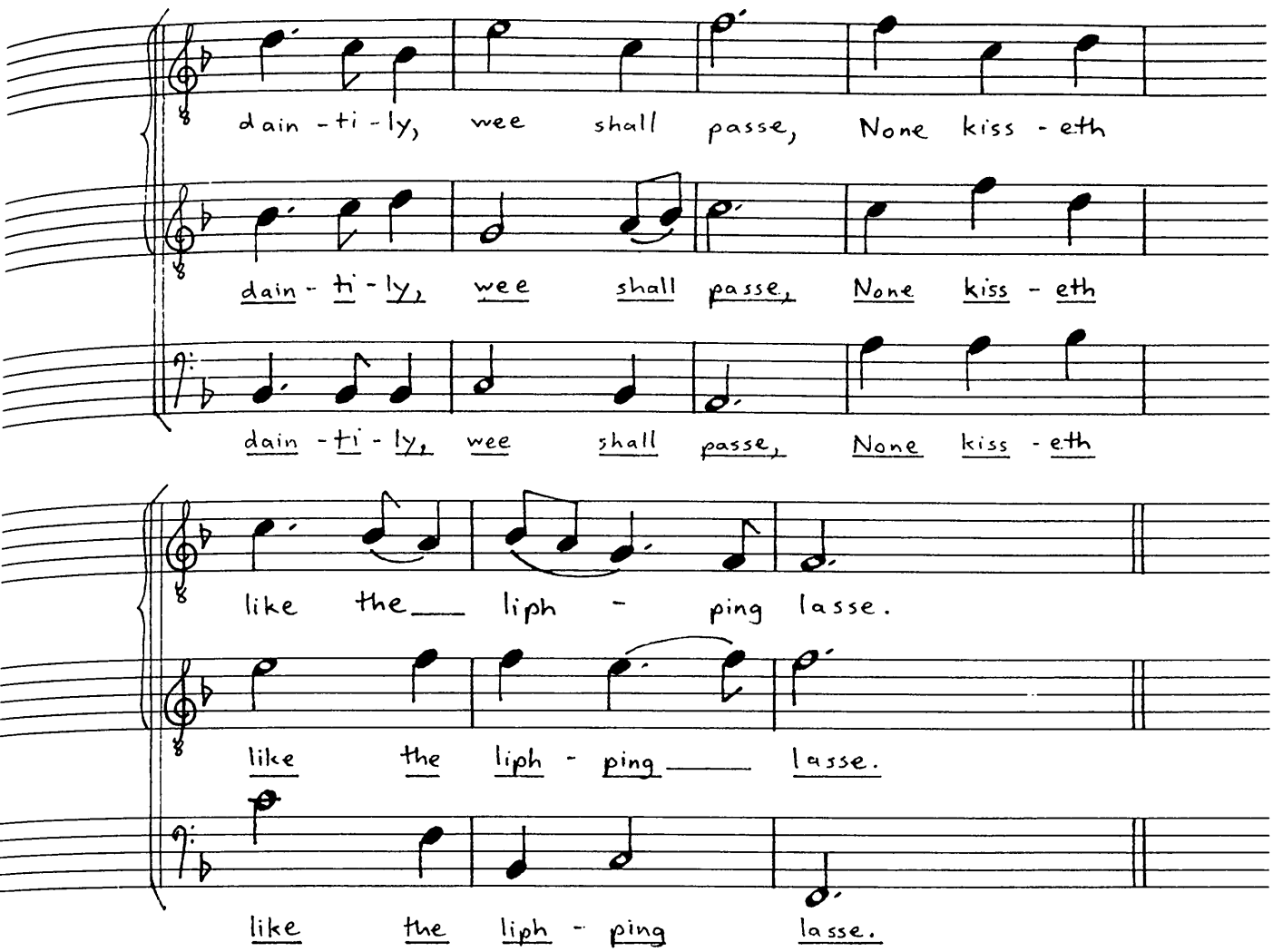
somnus the umble God that dwels
in cottages and smookey cels
hates guilded rooffs and beds of downe
and though hee feares noe princes frowne
flyes the Curile of a crowne.
com I say thou powerfull god
and thy leaden charming rod
dipt in the lethoean lake
ore his wakefull temples shak
least hee should slepe and never wake.
nature why art thou soe
beholding to thy greatest foe,
slepe that is our best repast
yet of death it beares a tast
and both ar the same thing at last.

14. WHAT HOE. WEE COME TO BE MERRY

WILLIAM LAWES



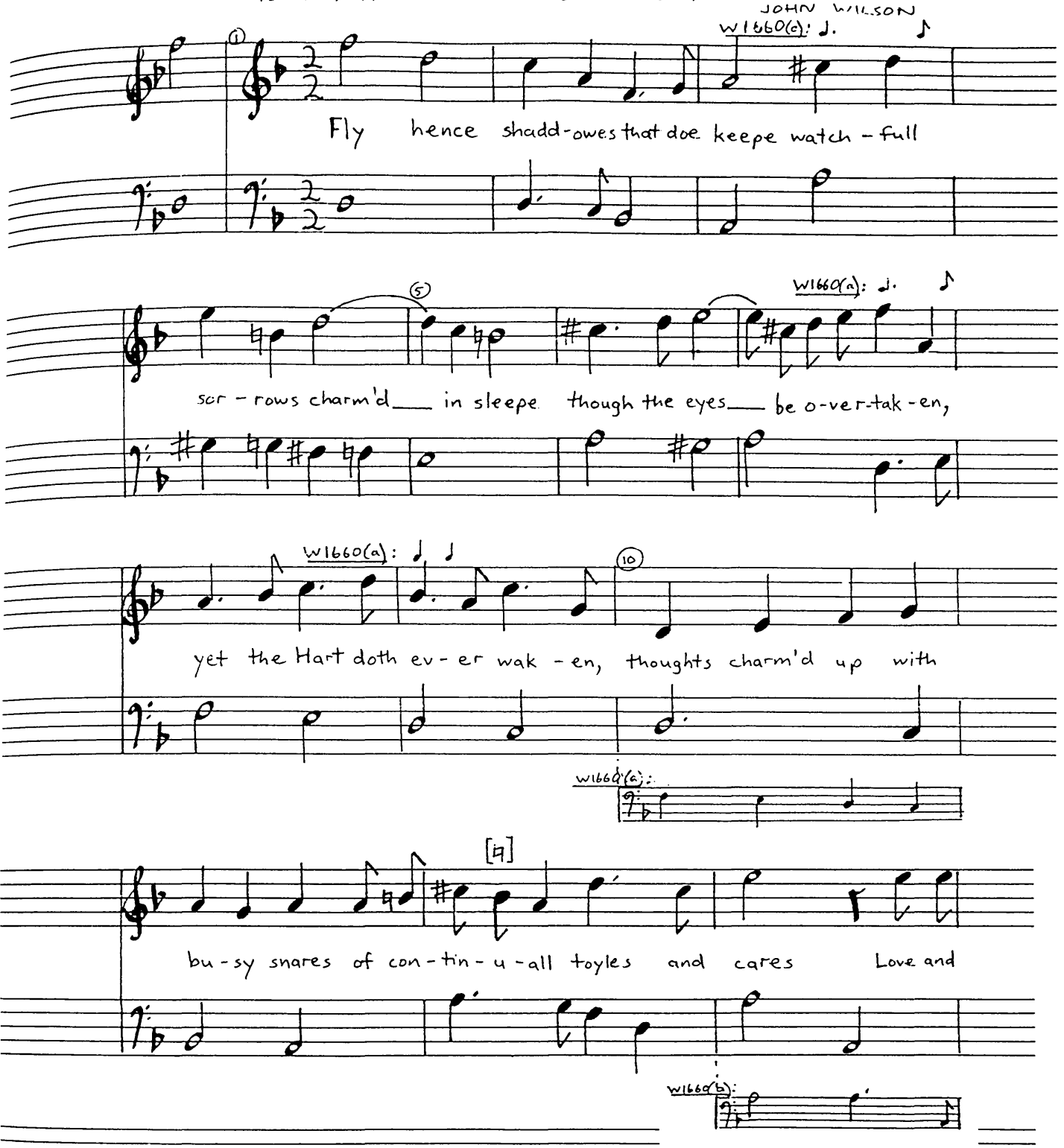

dance sing and Rore
And Nev-er give Ore
And nev-er give Ore,
We can drink till all looke blew, dance sing and Rore and
Wee Can drink till all looke blew, dance sing and Rore and
We Can drink till all looke blew, dance sing and Rore and
nev-er give Ore and neare give Ore,: Dayn - ti - ly,
nev-er give Ore and neare give Ore,: Dayn - ti - ly,
nev-er give Ore and neare give Ore,: Dayn - ti - ly

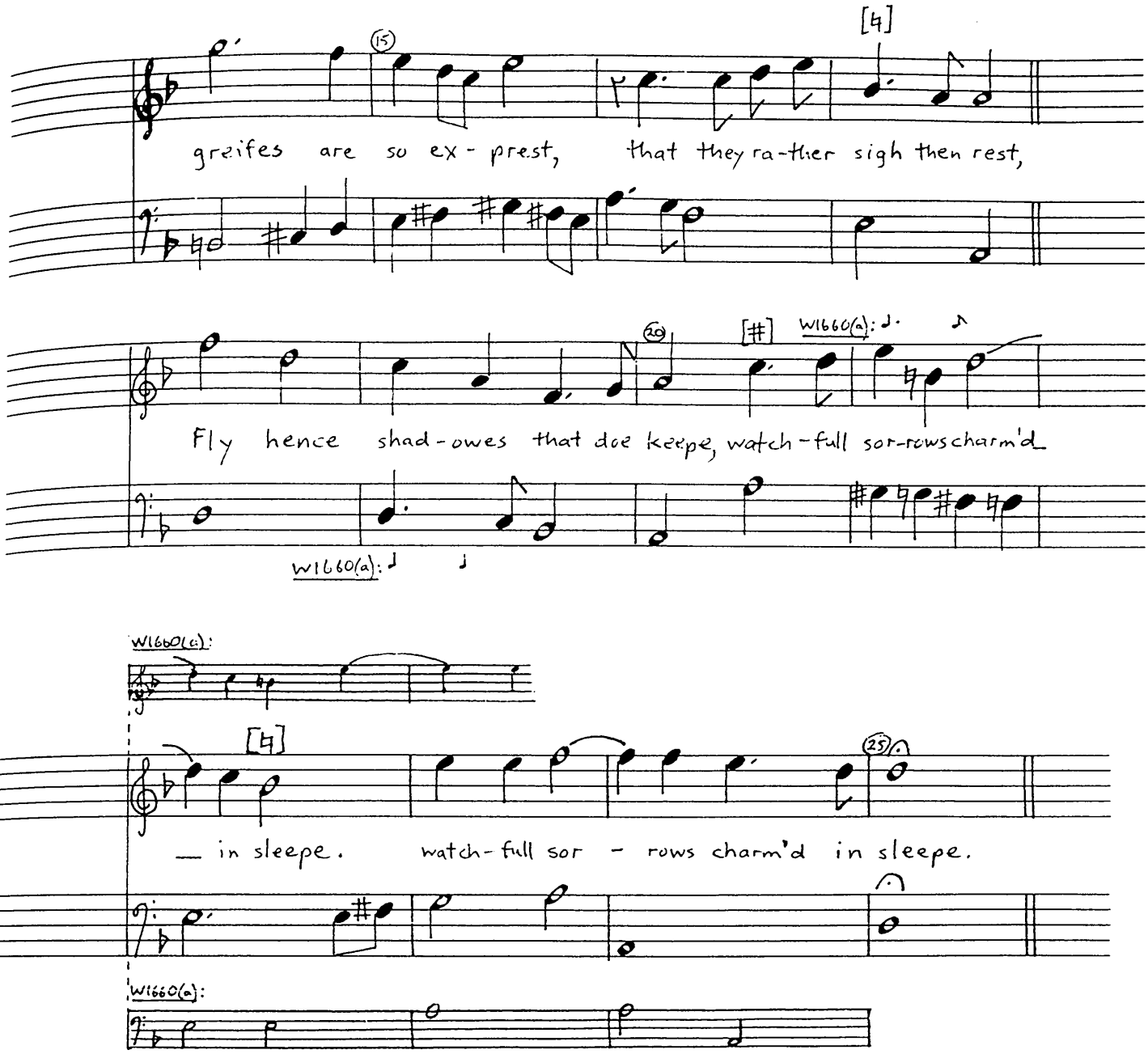


what Hoe. Wee Come to be merry,
Open the doores a Joviall Crew
lusty boyes, and free and verie
verie lusty Boyes are wee.
Wee Can drink till all looke blew,
dance sing and Rore
~~And Never give Ore,:~~
~~Dayntily, daintily, wee shall passe,~~
~~None kisseth like the liphping lasse.~~

15. FLY HENCE SHADDOWES THAT DOE KEEPE

JOHN WILSON

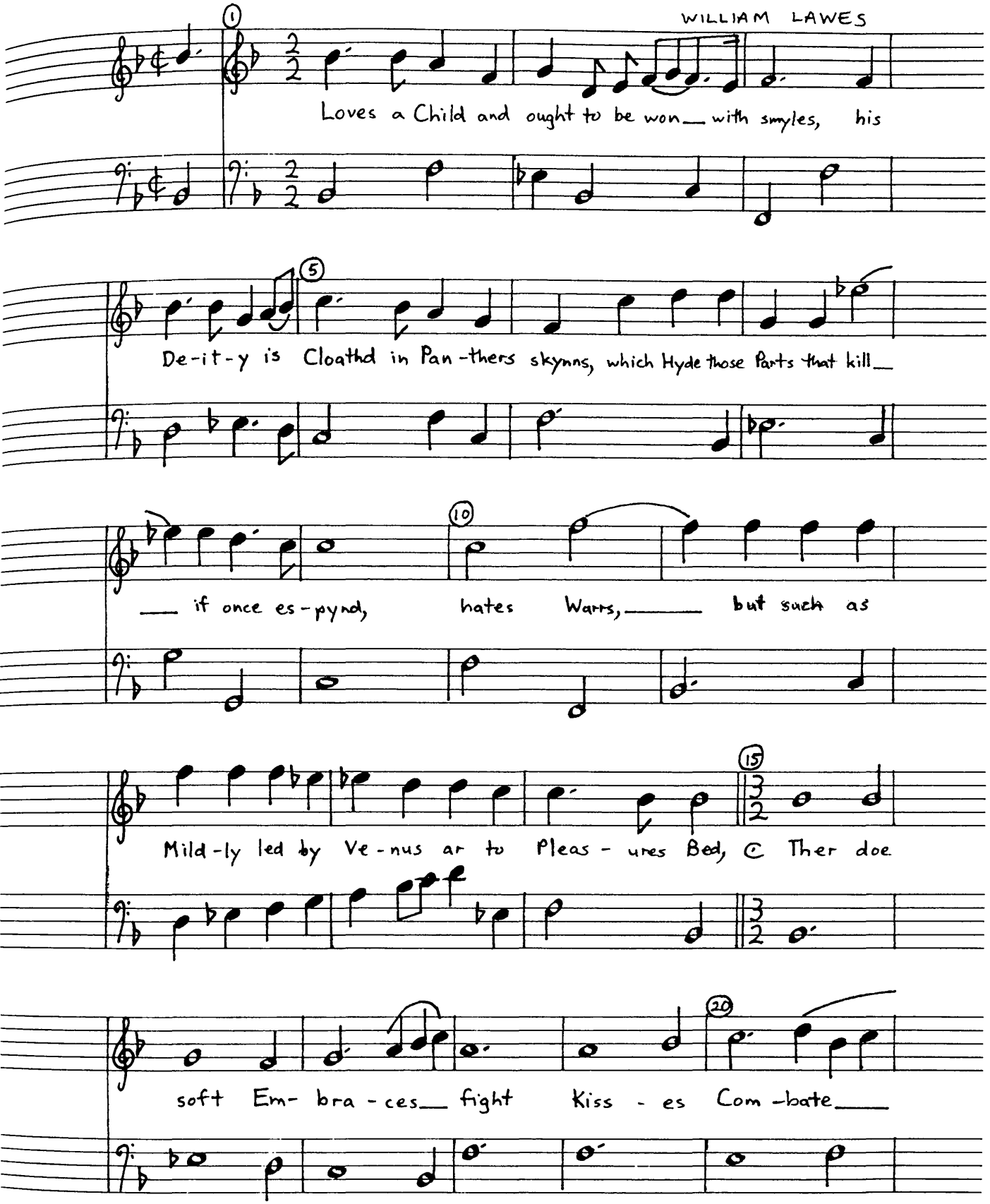


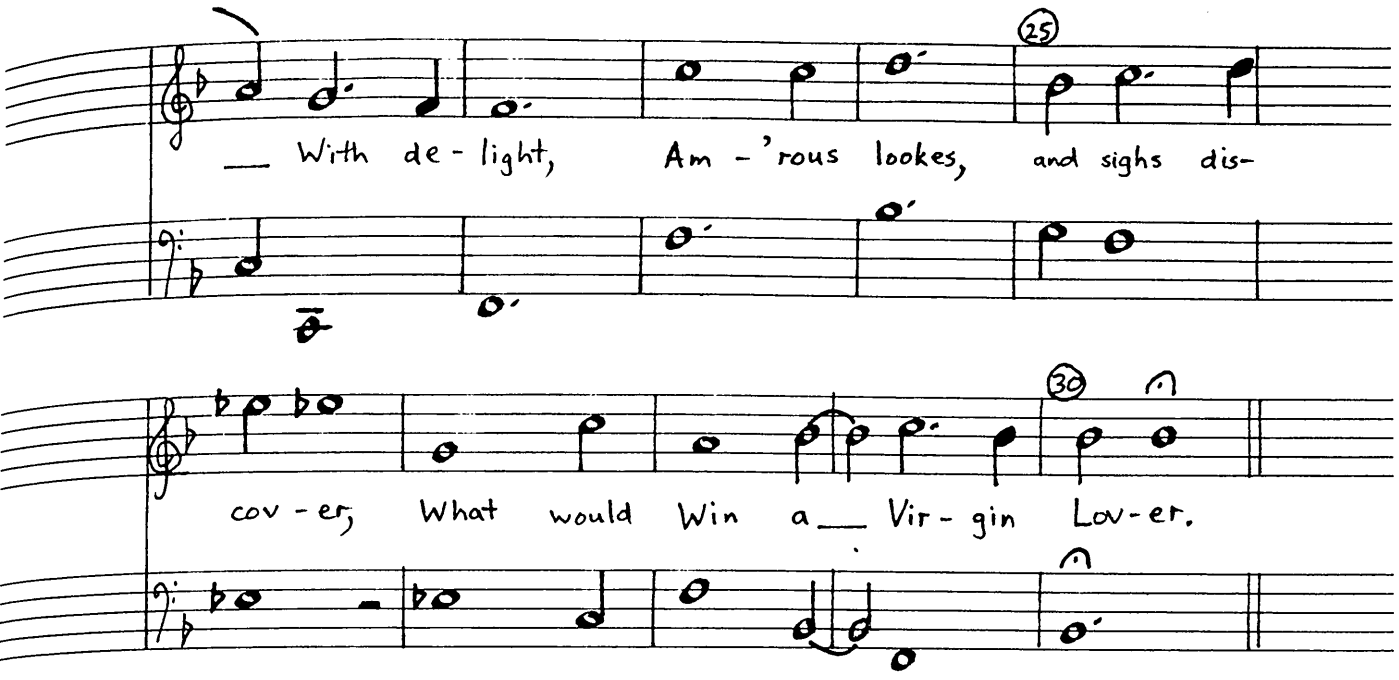


Fly hence shaddowes that doe keepe
watchfull sorrows charm'd in sleepe
though the eyes be overtaken,
yet the Hart doth ever waken,
thoughts charm'd up with busy snares
of continuall toyles and cares
Love and greifes are so exprest,
that they rather sigh then rest,
Fly hence shadowes that doe keepe,
watchfull sorrows charm'd in sleepe.

16. LOVES A CHILD AND OUGHT TO BE

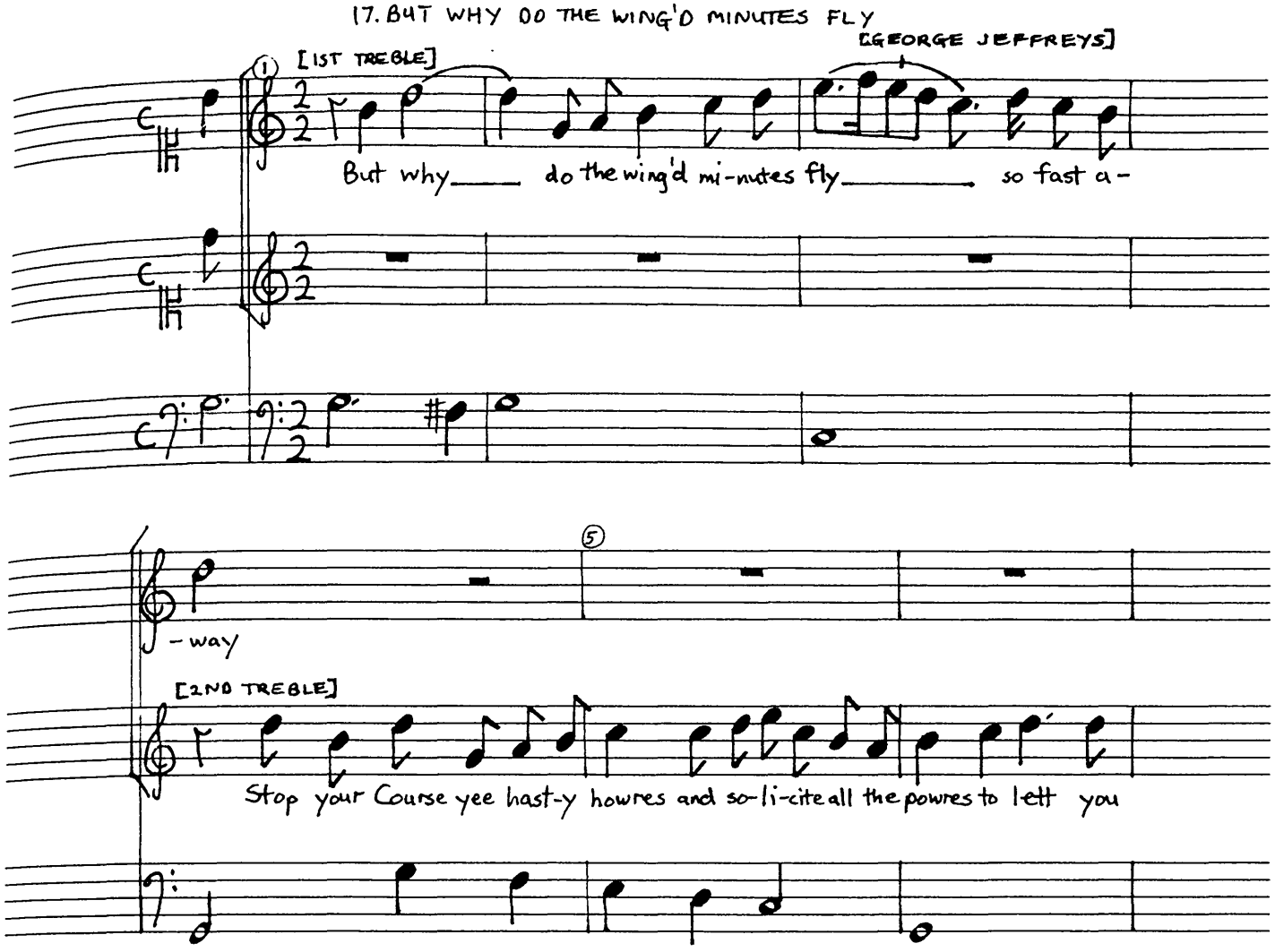
WILLIAM LAWES

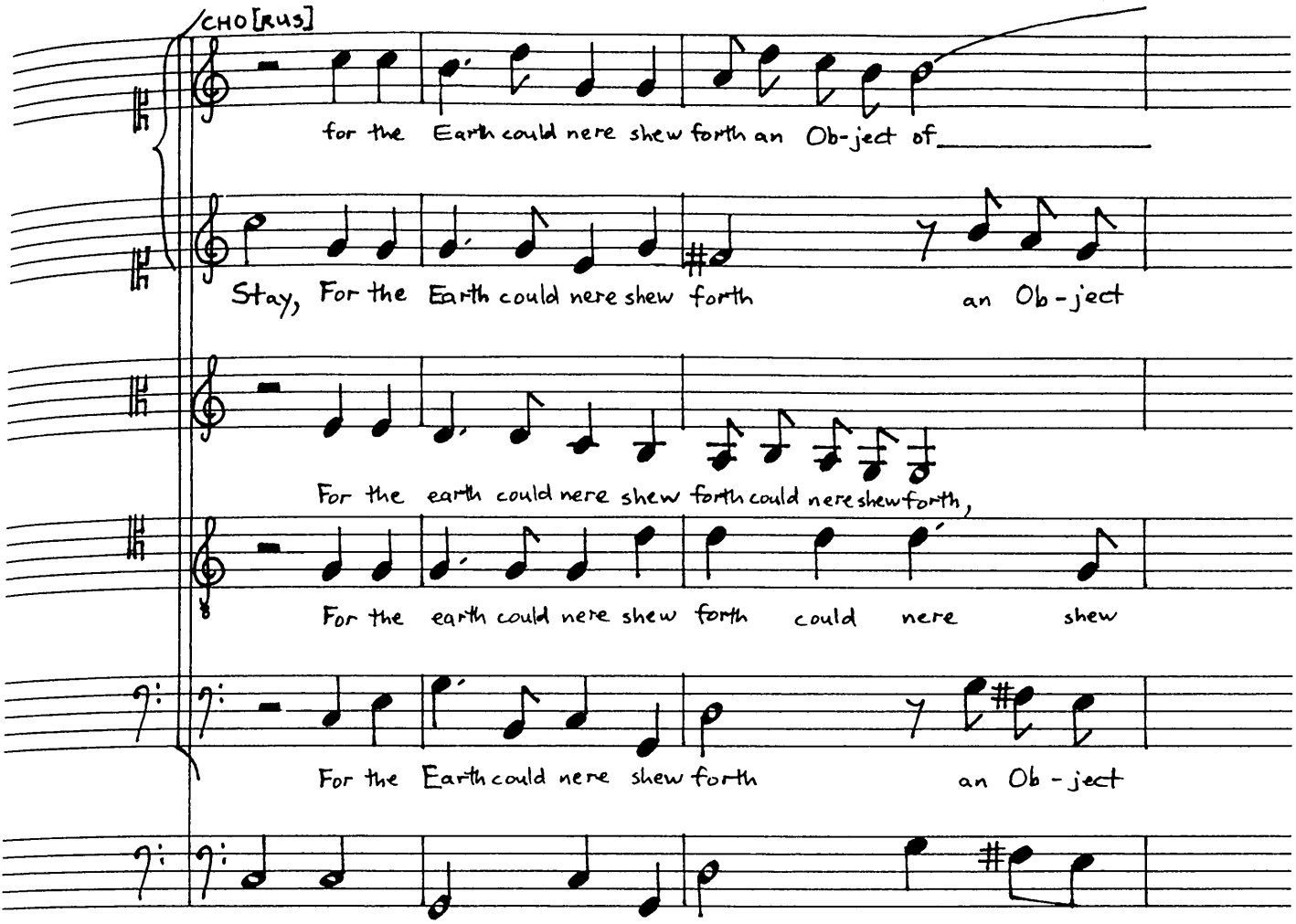


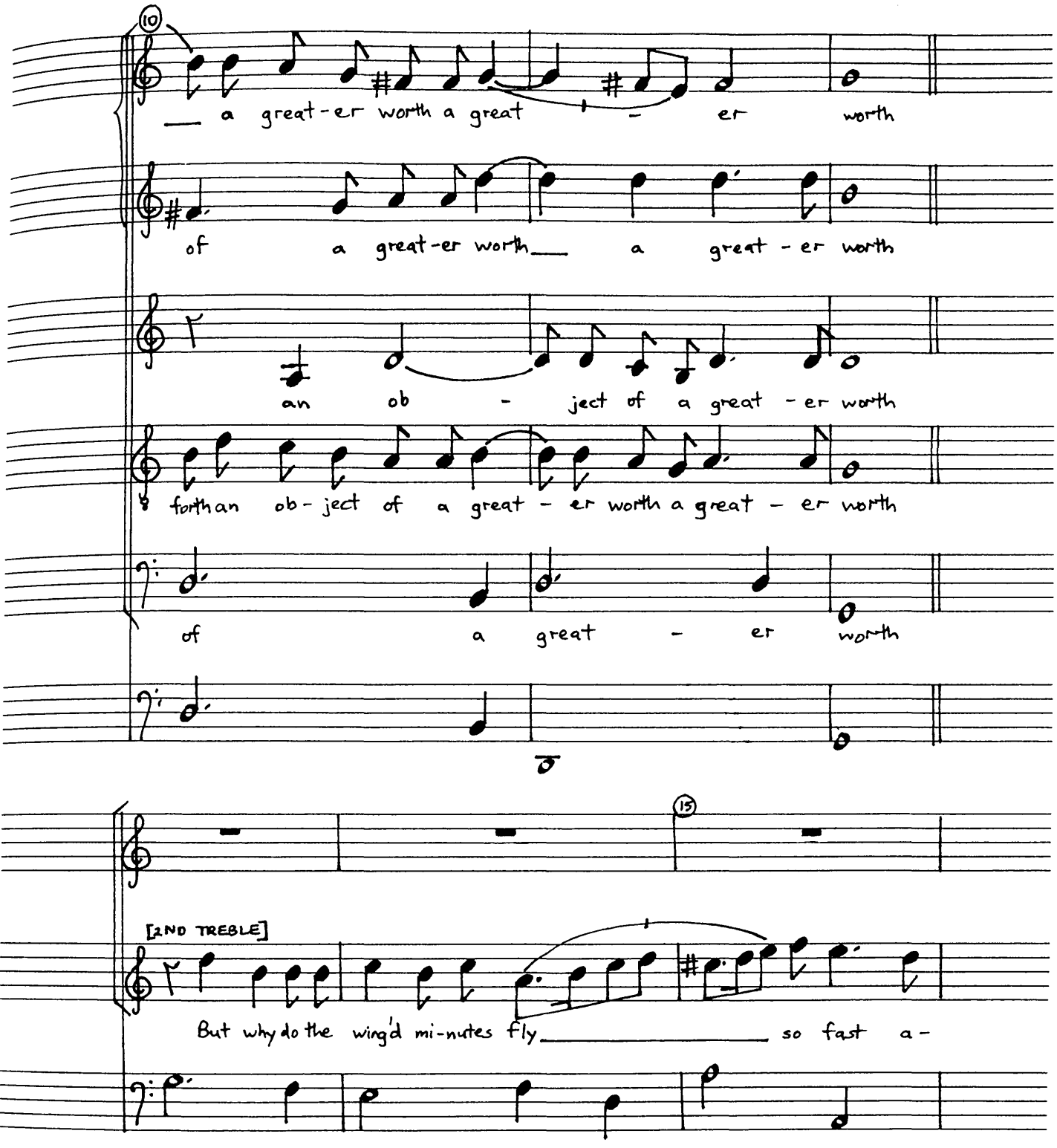


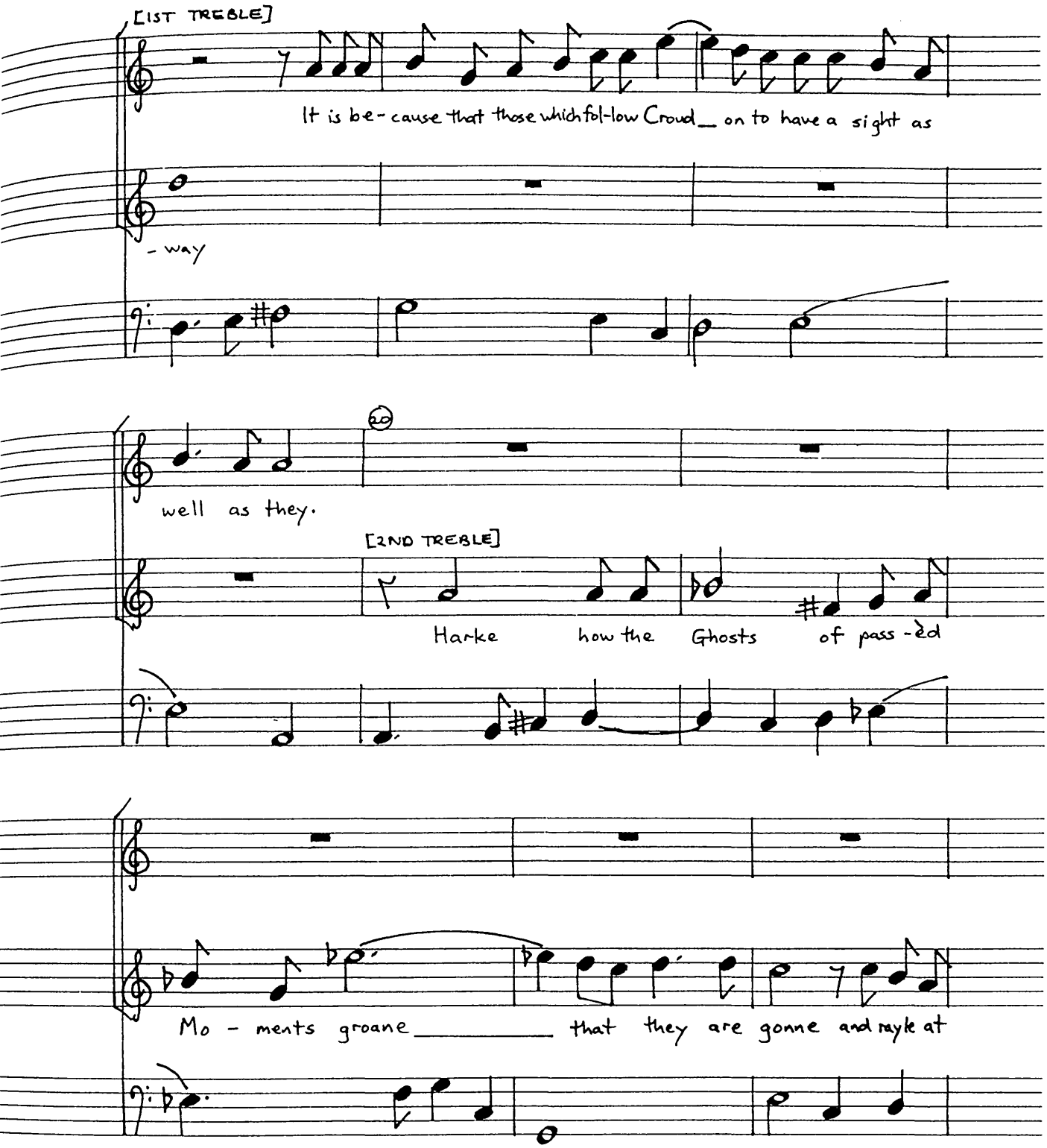
Loves a Child and ought to be
won with smyles, his Deity
is Cloathd in Panthers skynns, which Hyde
those parts that kill if once espynd,
hates Warrs, but such as Mildly led
by Venus ar to Pleasures Bed,
Ther doe soft Embraces fight
Kisses Combate With delight,
Amorous lookes, and sighs discover,
What would Win a Virgin Lover.

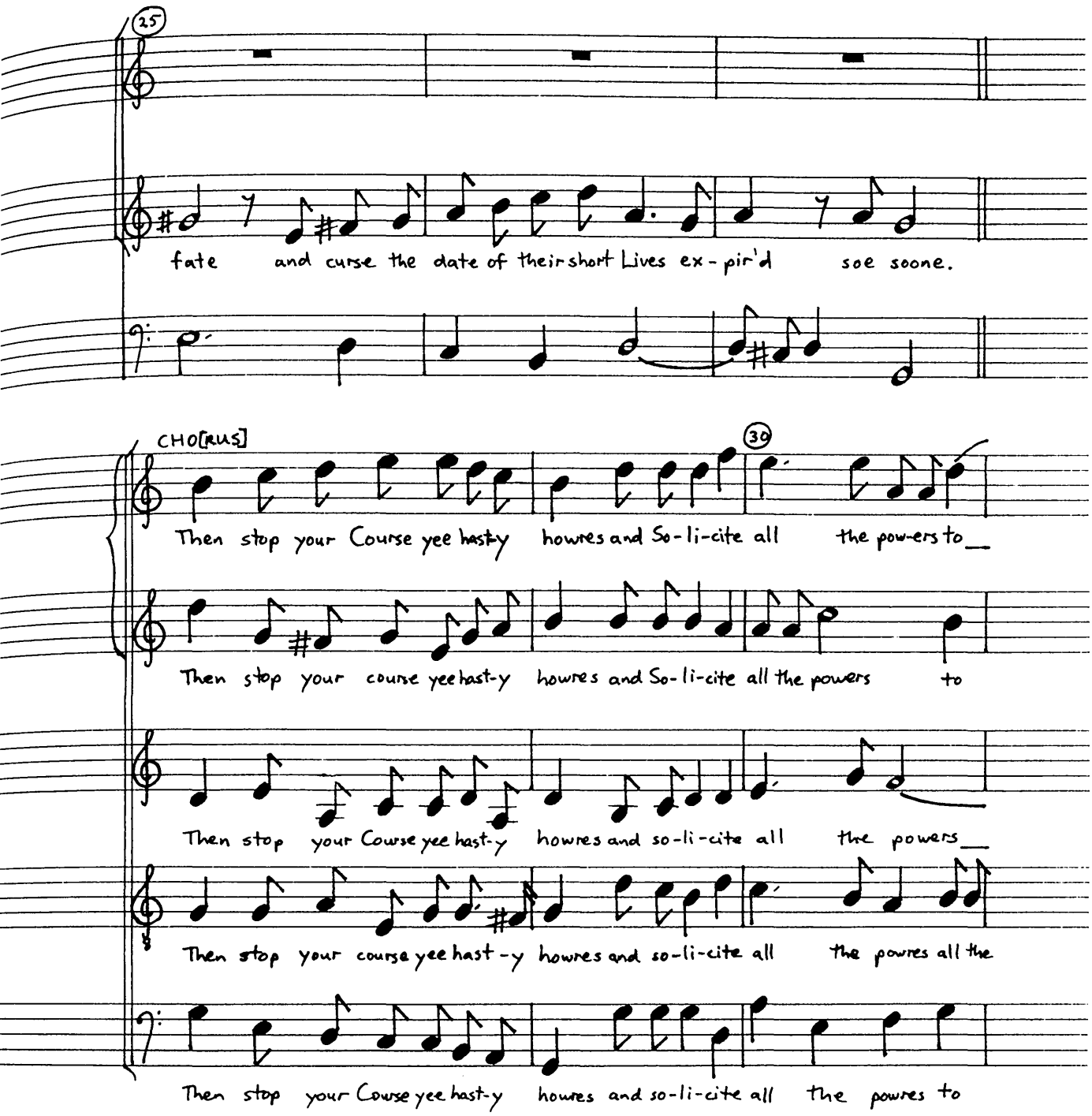
17. BUT WHY DO THE WING'D MINUTES FLY

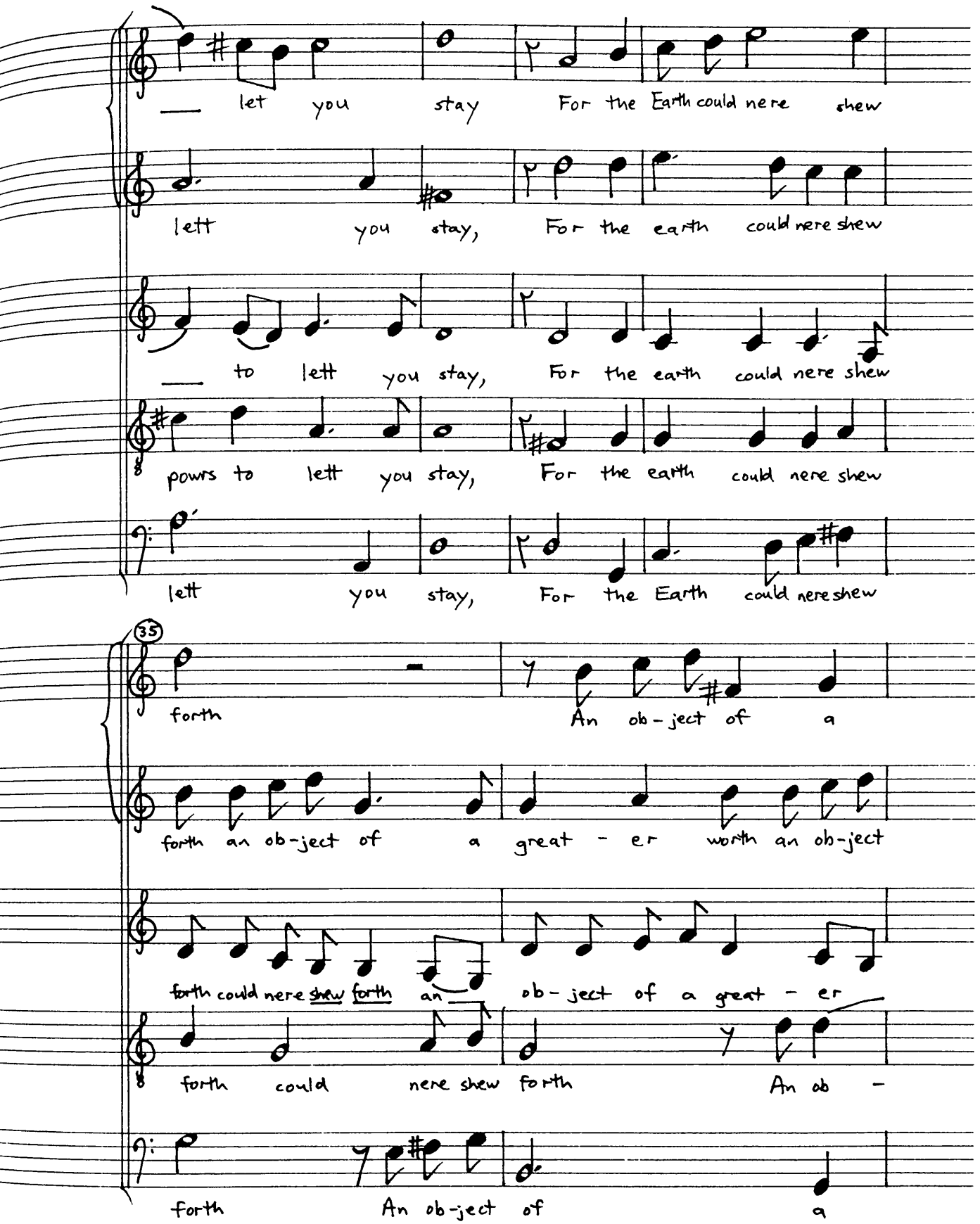


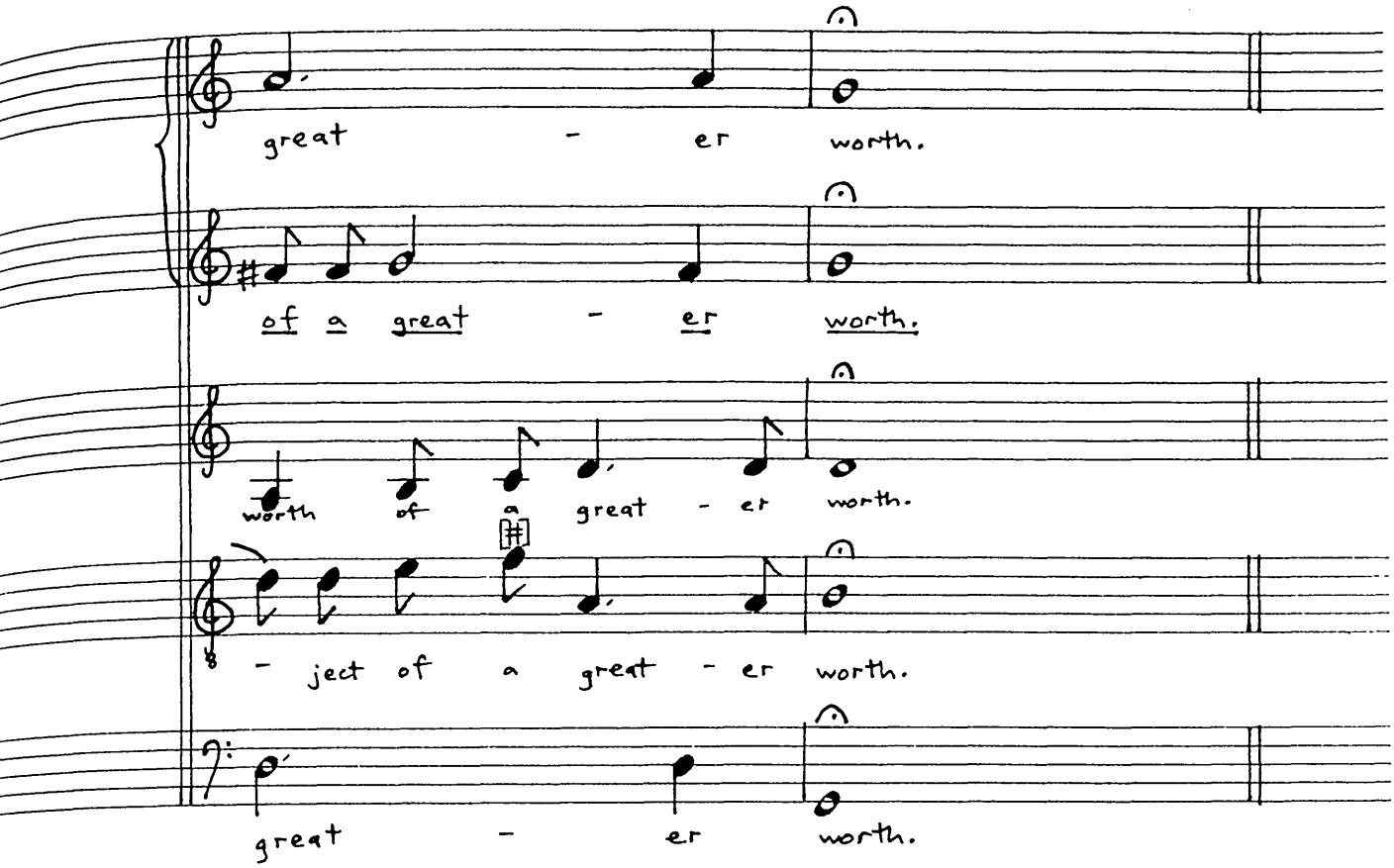

CHO[RUS]
for the Earth could nere shew forth an Ob-ject of
Stay, For the Earth could nere shew forth an Ob-ject
For the earth could nere shew forth could nere shew forth,
For the earth could nere shew forth could nere shew
For the Earth could nere shew forth an Ob-ject


10
a great-er worth a great - er worth
of a great-er worth a great - er worth
an ob - ject of a great - er worth
for than ob-ject of a great - er worth a great - er worth
of a great - er worth
15
[2ND TREBLE]
But why do the wing'd mi-nutes fly so fast a-


[1ST TREBLE]
It is be-cause that those which fol-low Croud_ on to have a sight as
-way
well as they.
[2ND TREBLE]
Harke how the Ghosts of pass-ed
Mo-ments groane_____ that they are gonne and rayle at


25
fate and curse the date of their short Lives ex-pir'd soe soone.
CHO[RUS]
30
Then stop your Course yee hast-y howres and So-li-cite all the pow-ers to__
Then stop your course yee hast-y howres and So-li-cite all the powers to
Then stop your Course yee hast-y howres and so-li-cite all the powers__
Then stop your course yee hast-y howres and so-li-cite all the powres all the
Then stop your Course yee hast-y howres and so-li-cite all the powres to

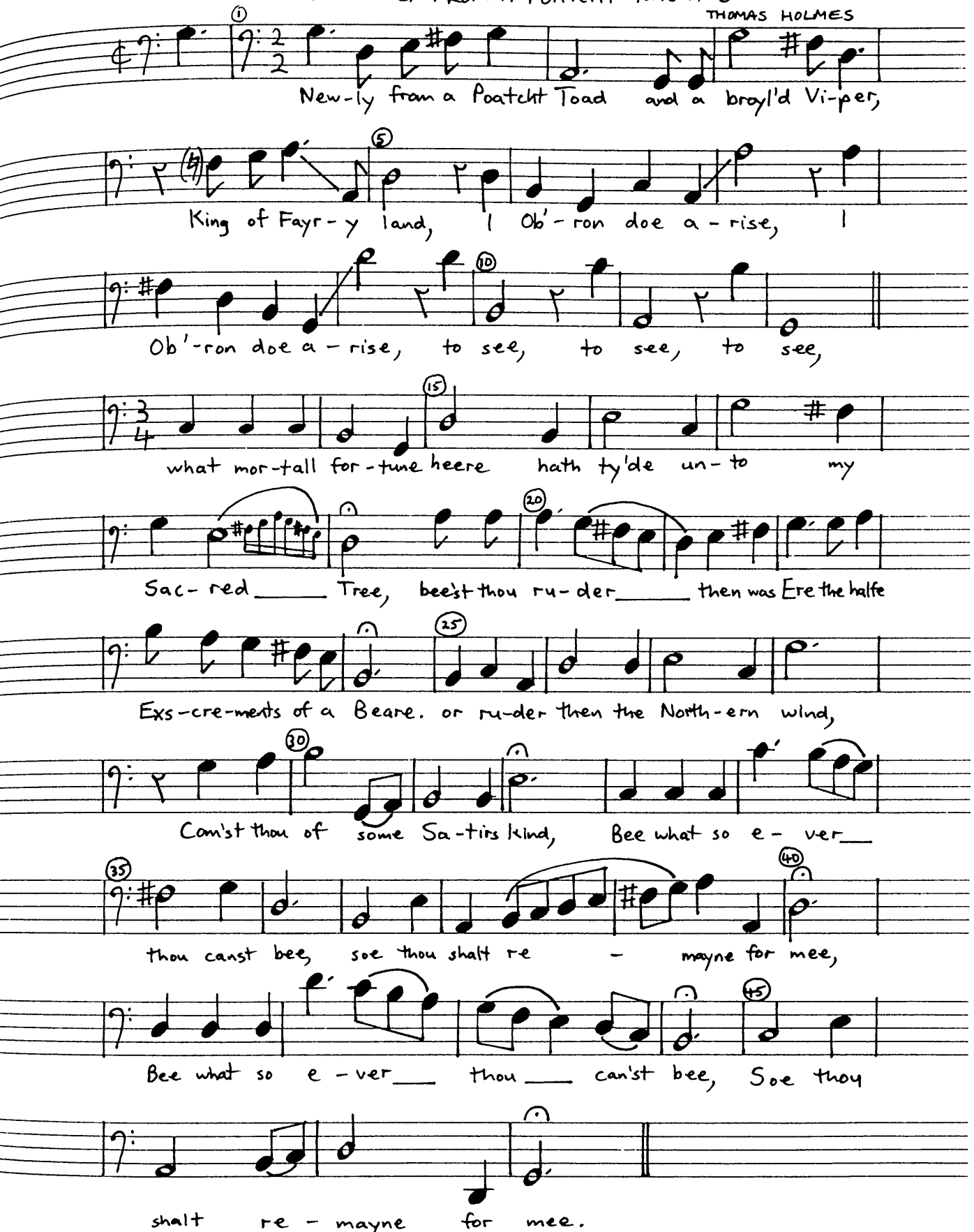

— let you stay For the Earth could nere shew
lett you stay, For the earth could nere shew
— to lett you stay, For the earth could nere shew
powrs to lett you stay, For the earth could nere shew
lett you stay, For the Earth could nere shew
35
forth An ob-ject of a
forth an ob-ject of a great-er worth an ob-ject
forth could nere shew forth an ob-ject of a great-er
forth could nere shew forth An ob-
forth An ob-ject of a

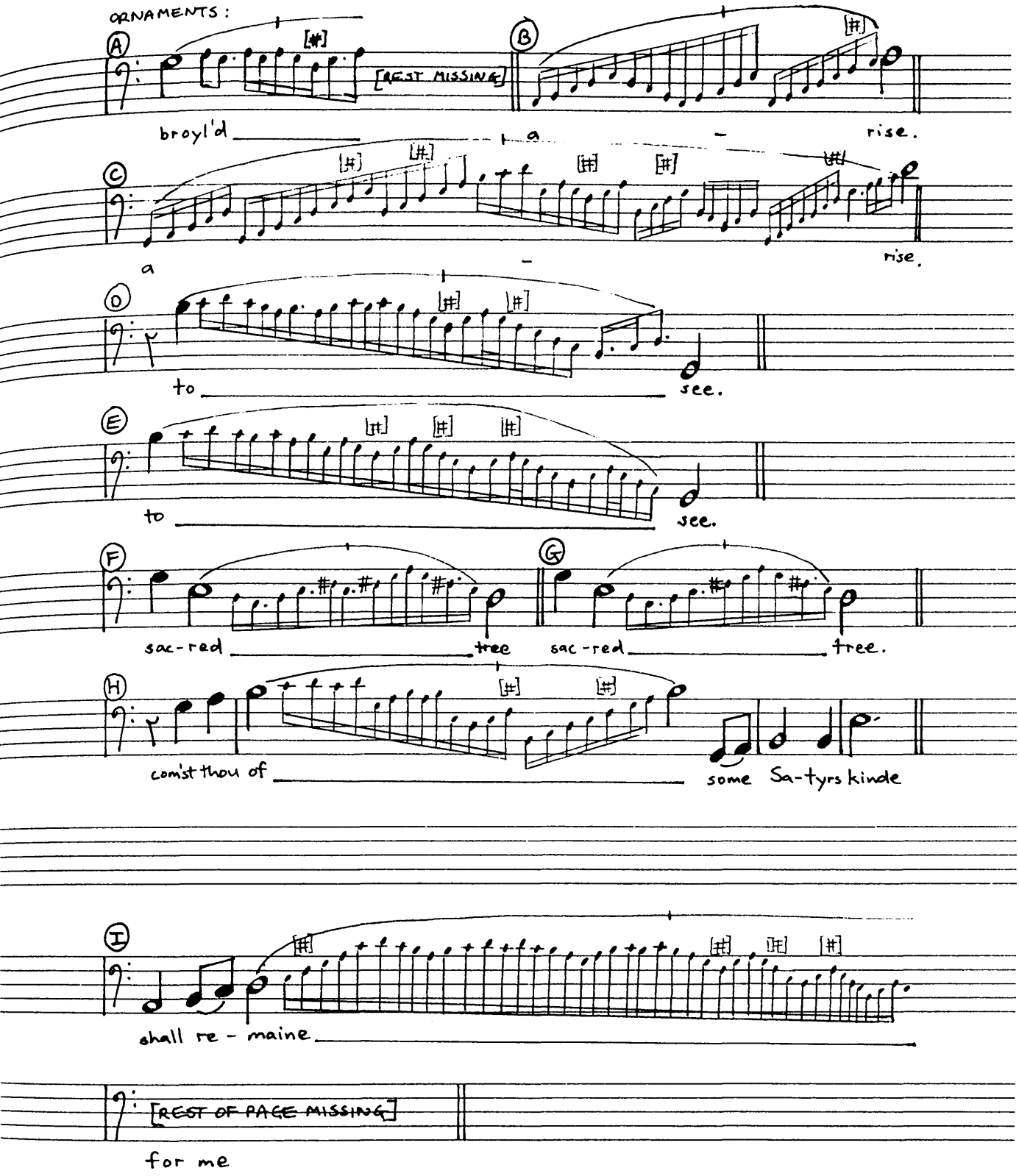


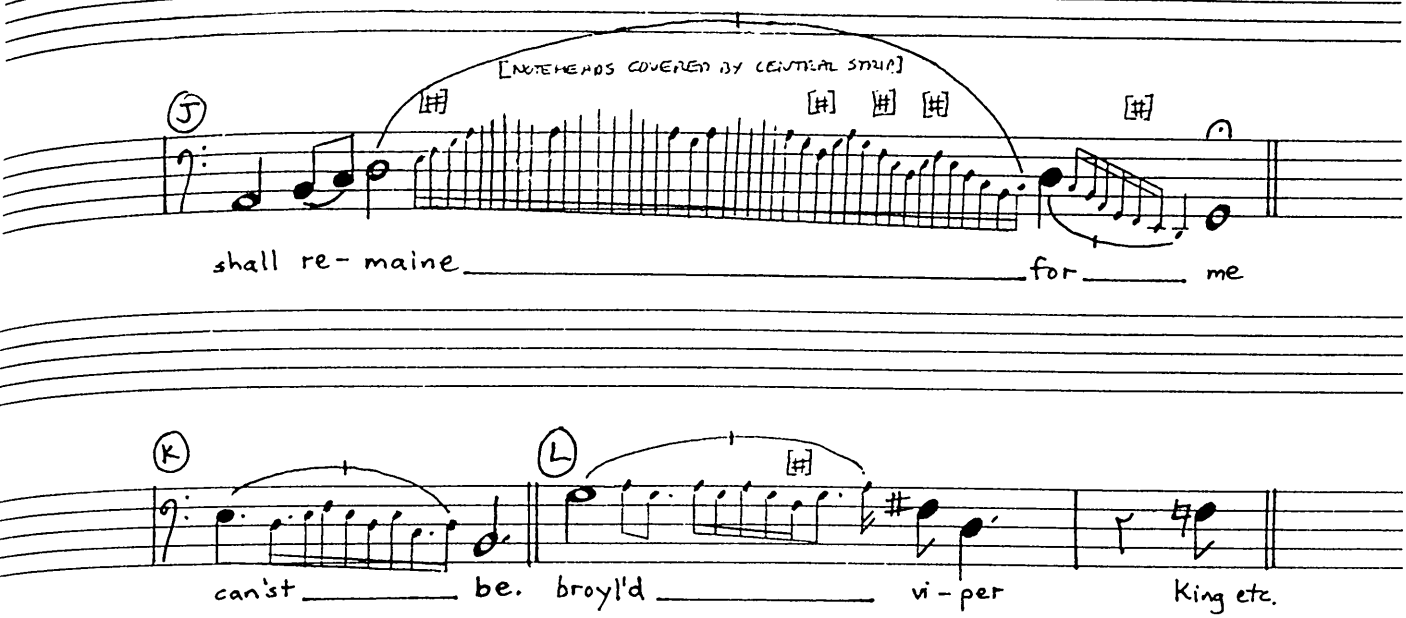
But why
do the wing'd minutes fly
so fast away
Stop your Course yee hasty howres
and solicite all the powres
to lett you Stay,
for the Earth could nere shew forth
an Object of a greater worth
But why
do the wing'd minutes fly
so fast away
It is because that those which follow
Craud on to have a sight as well as they.
Harke how the Ghosts of passed Moments groane
that they are gonne
and rayle at fate
and curse the date
of their short Lives expir'd soe soone.
Then stop your Course yee hasty howres
and Solicite all the powers
to let you stay
For the Earth could nere shew forth
An object of a greater worth.

18. NEWLY FROM A POATCHT TOAD AND

THOMAS HOLMES




ORNAMENTS:
A
[REST MISSING]
B
broyl'd a - rise.
C
a - rise.
D
to see.
E
to see.
F
sac-red tree
G
sac-red tree.
H
com'st thou of some Sa-tyrs kinde
I
shall re-maine
[REST OF PAGE MISSING]
for me

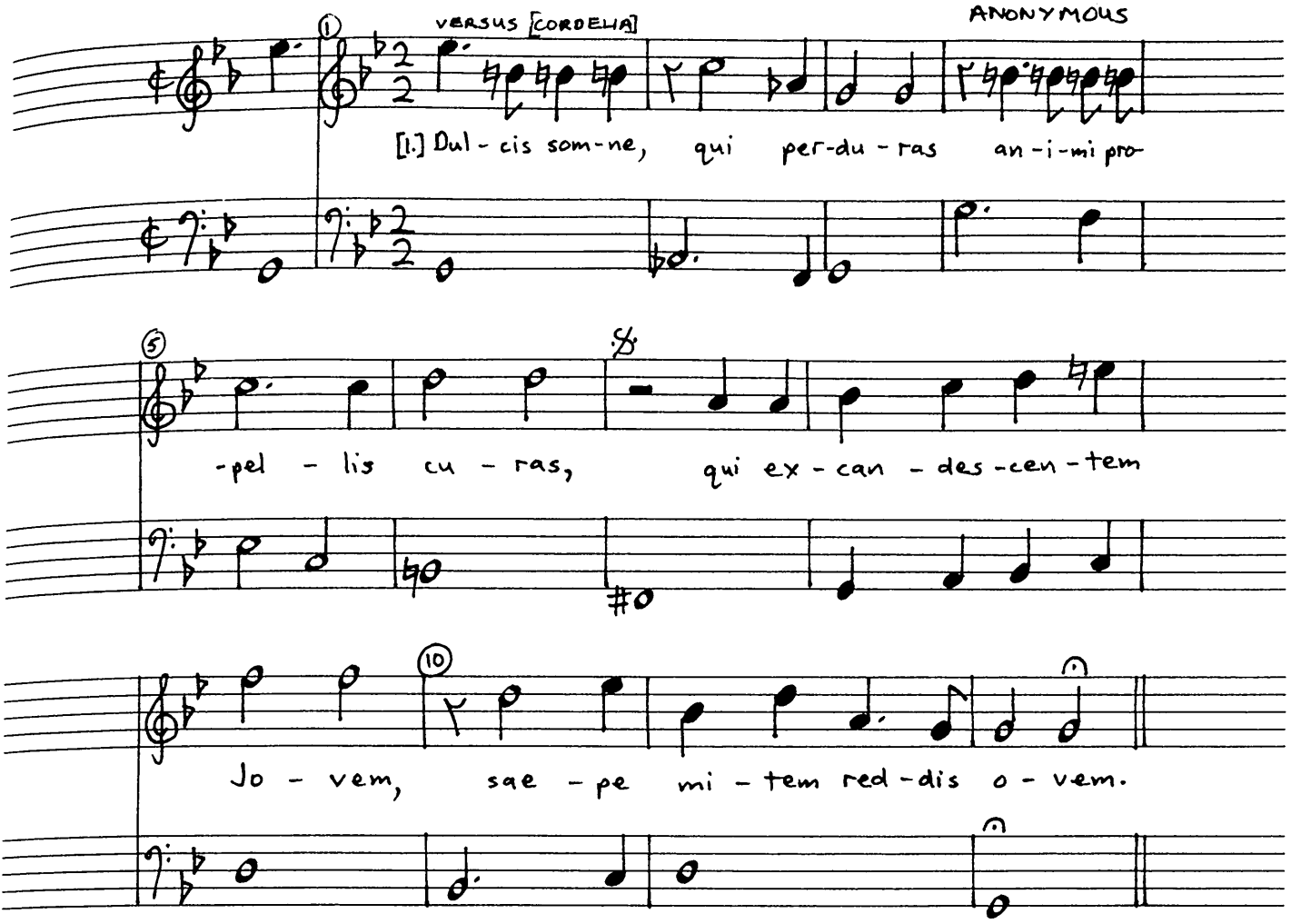


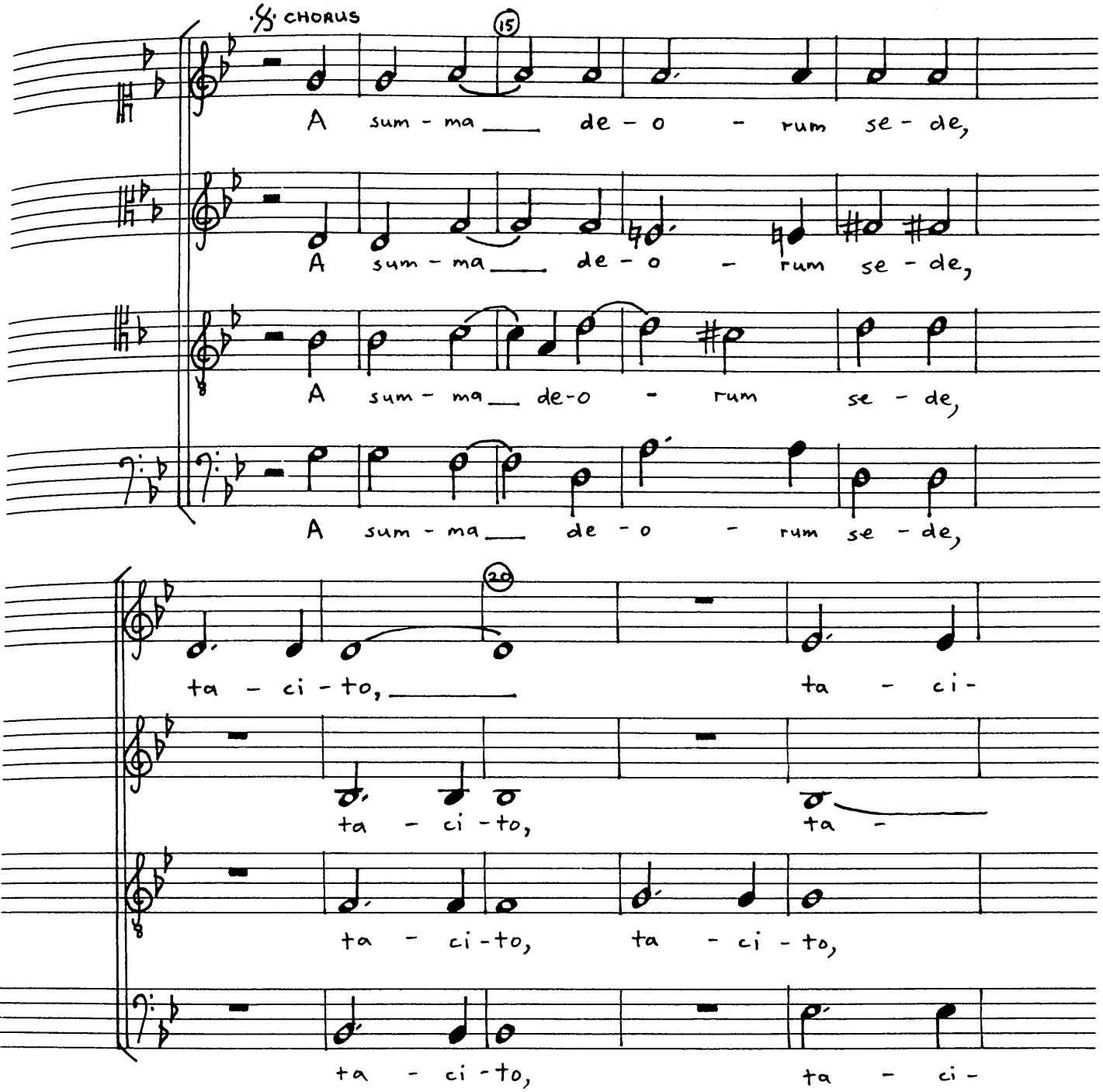
Newly from a Poatcht Toad and
a broyl'd Viper, King of Fayryland,
| Ob'ron doe arise, to see,
what mortall fortune heere hath ty'de unto my Sacred Tree,
bee'st thou ruder then was Ere
the halfe Exscrements of a Beare.
or ruder then the Northern wind,
Com'st thou of some Satirs kind,
Bee what so ever thou canst bee,
soe thou shalt remayne for mee.

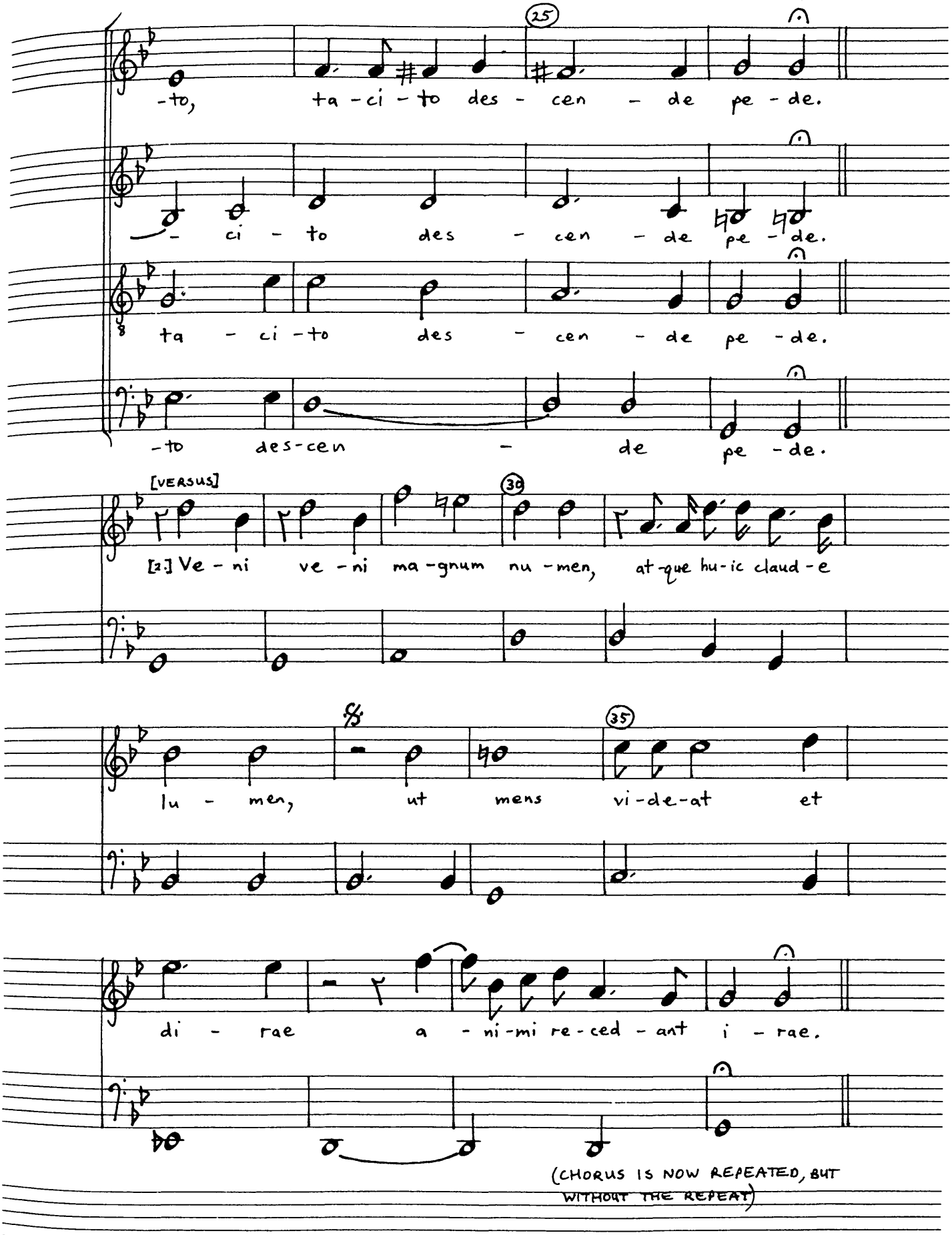
19. DULCIS SOMNE, QUI PERDURAS

VERSUS [CORDELIA]

ANONYMOUS




CHORUS
15
A sum - ma de - o - rum se - de,
A sum - ma de - o - rum se - de,
A sum - ma de-o - rum se - de,
A sum - ma de - o - rum se - de,
20
ta - ci - to,
ta - ci -
ta - ci - to,
ta -
ta - ci - to,
ta - ci - to,
ta - ci - to,
ta - ci -

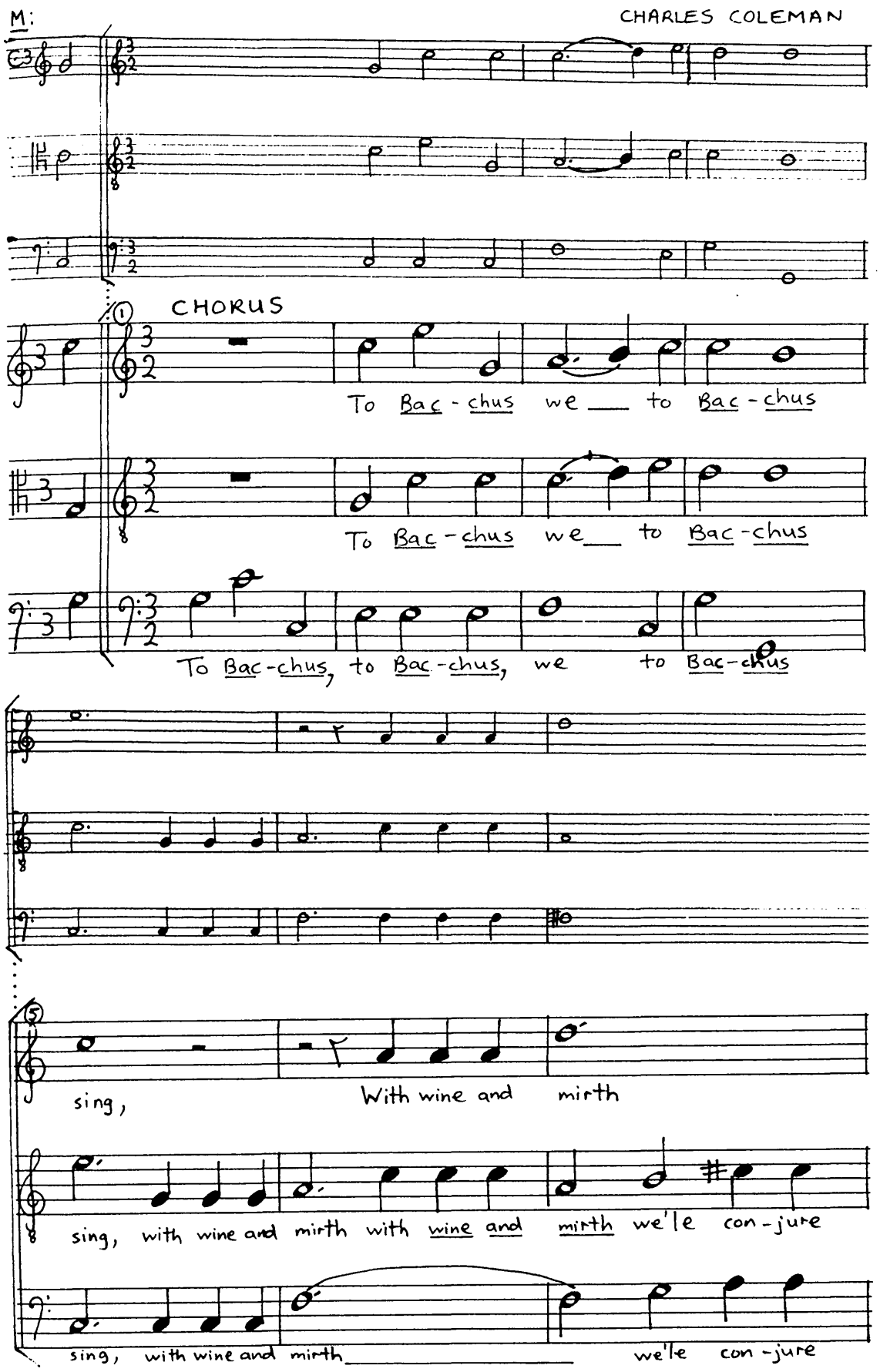


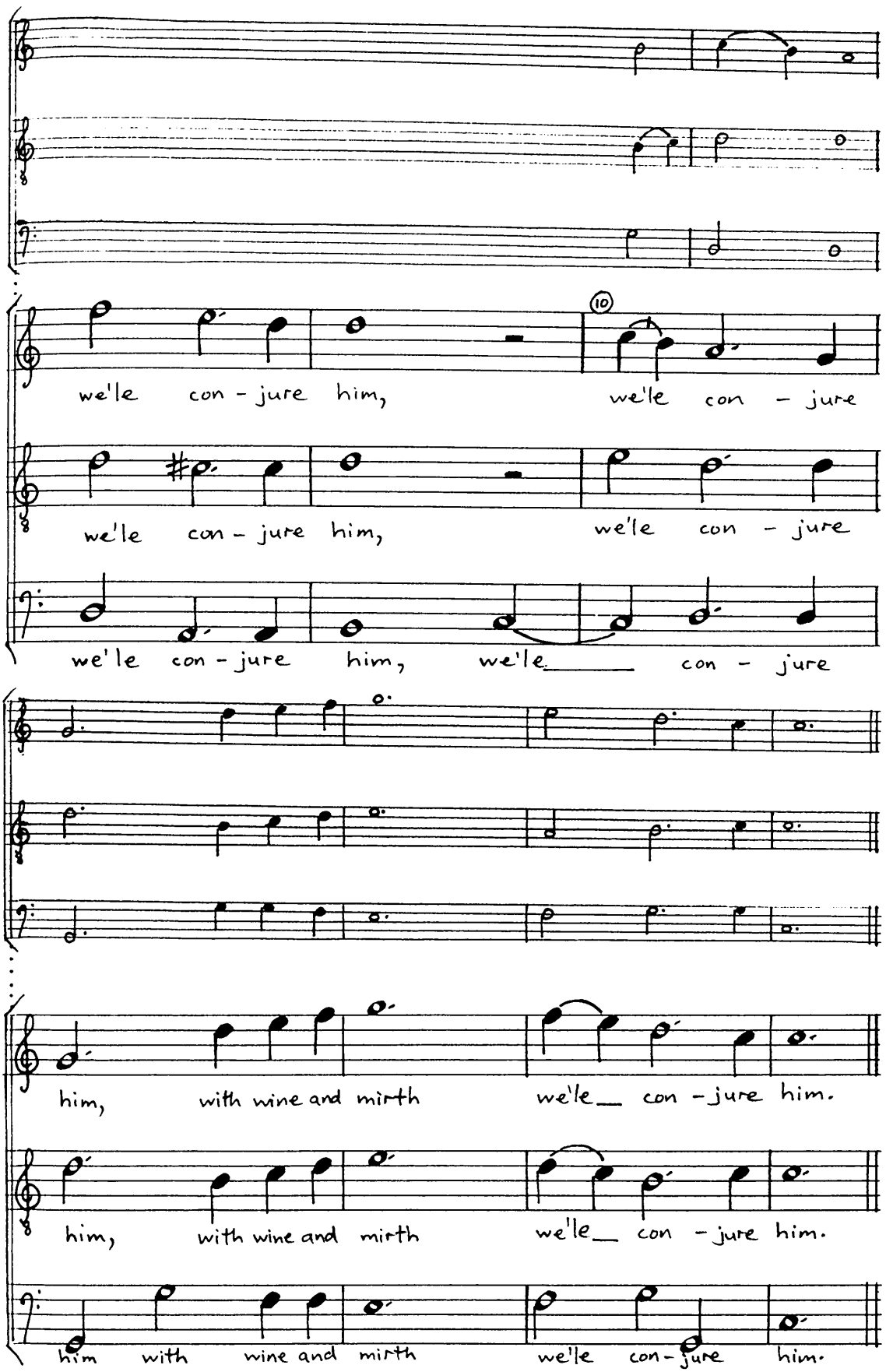
(CHORUS IS NOW REPEATED, BUT WITHOUT THE REPEAT)

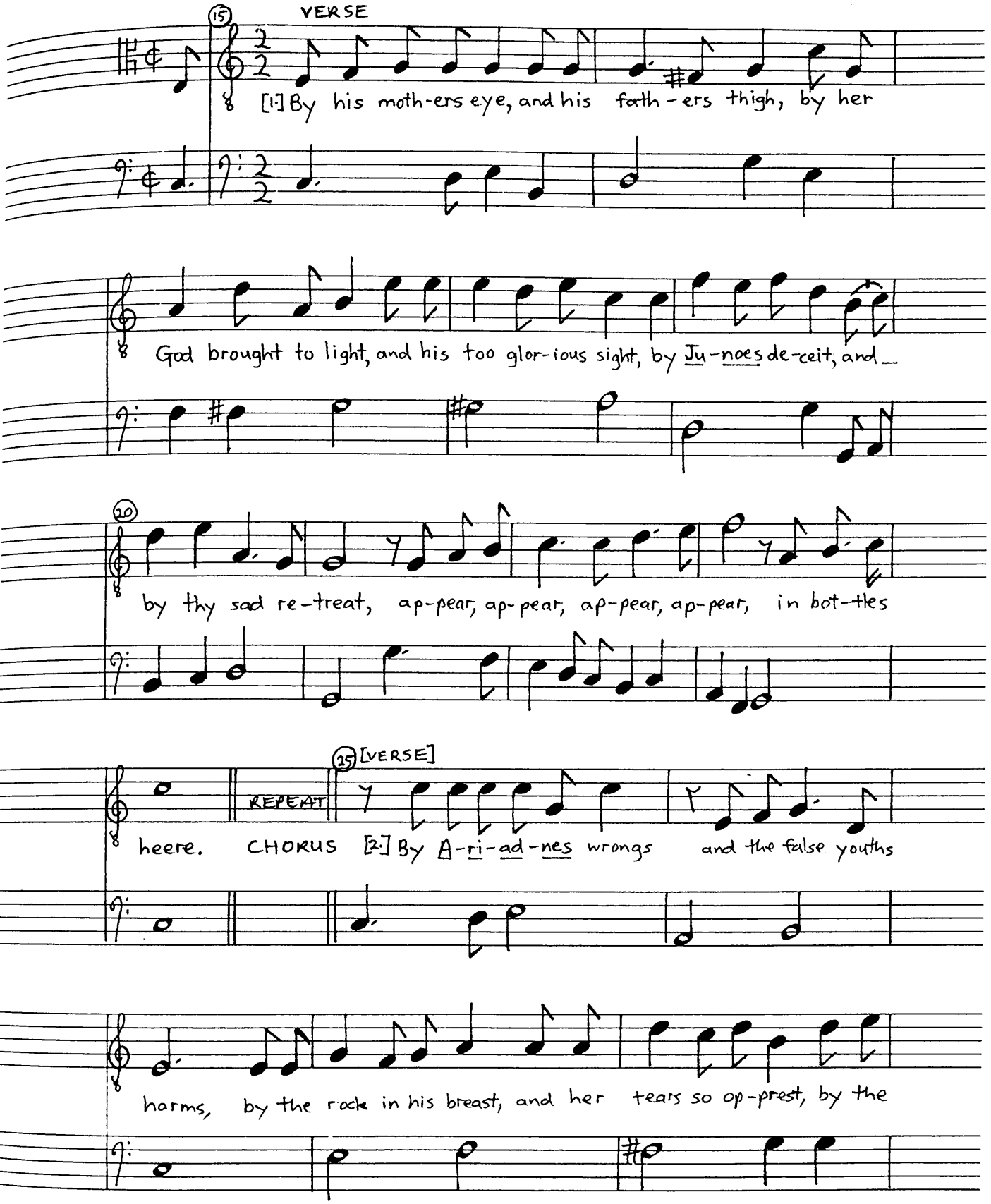
[1.] Dulcis somne, qui perduras
animi propellis curas,
qui excandescentem Jovem,
saepe mitem reddis ovem.
A summa deorum sede,
tacito descende pede.

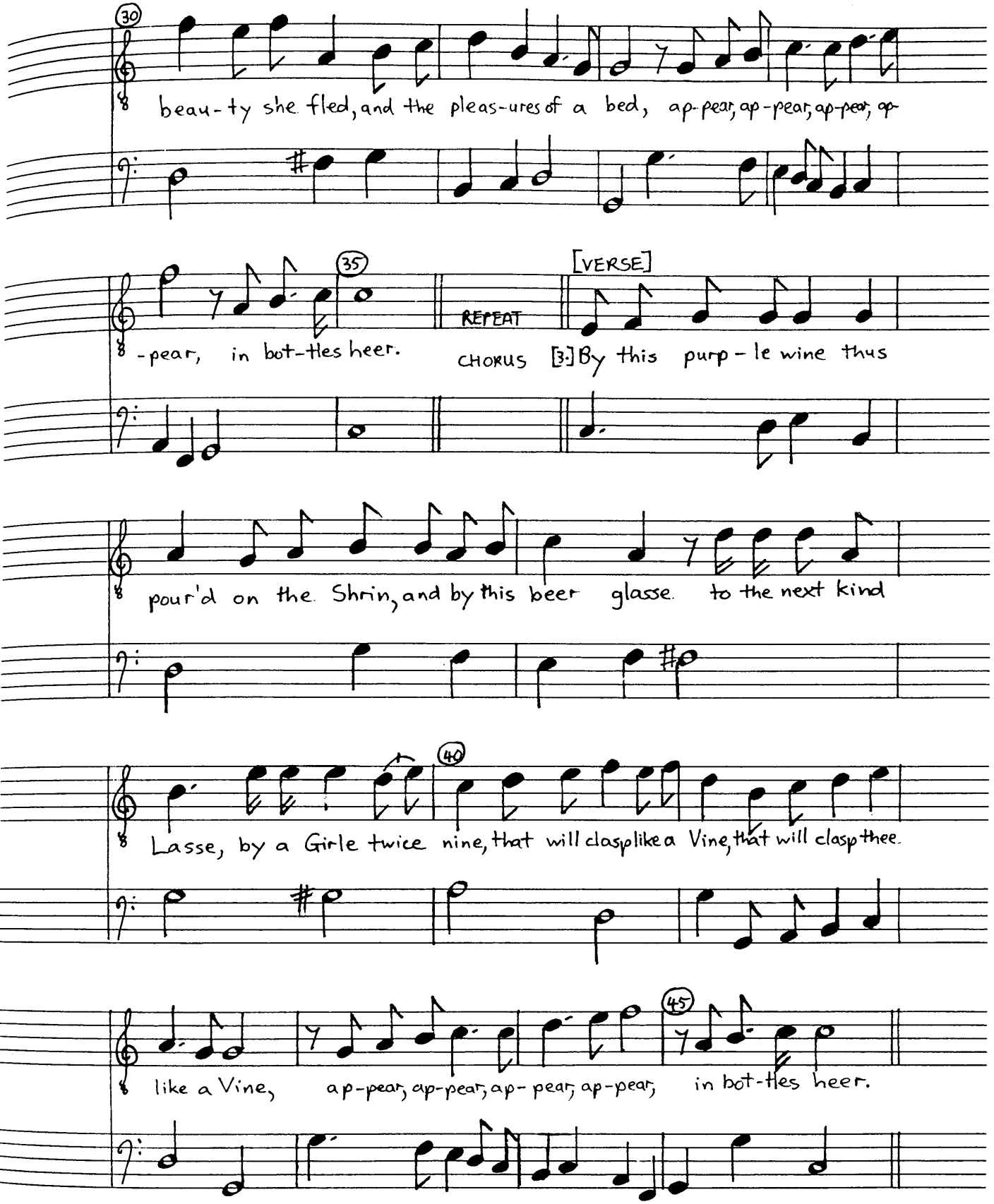
[2.] Veni veni magnum numen,
atque huic claude lumen,
ut mens videat et dirae
animi recedant irae.
A summa deorum sede,
tacito descende pede.

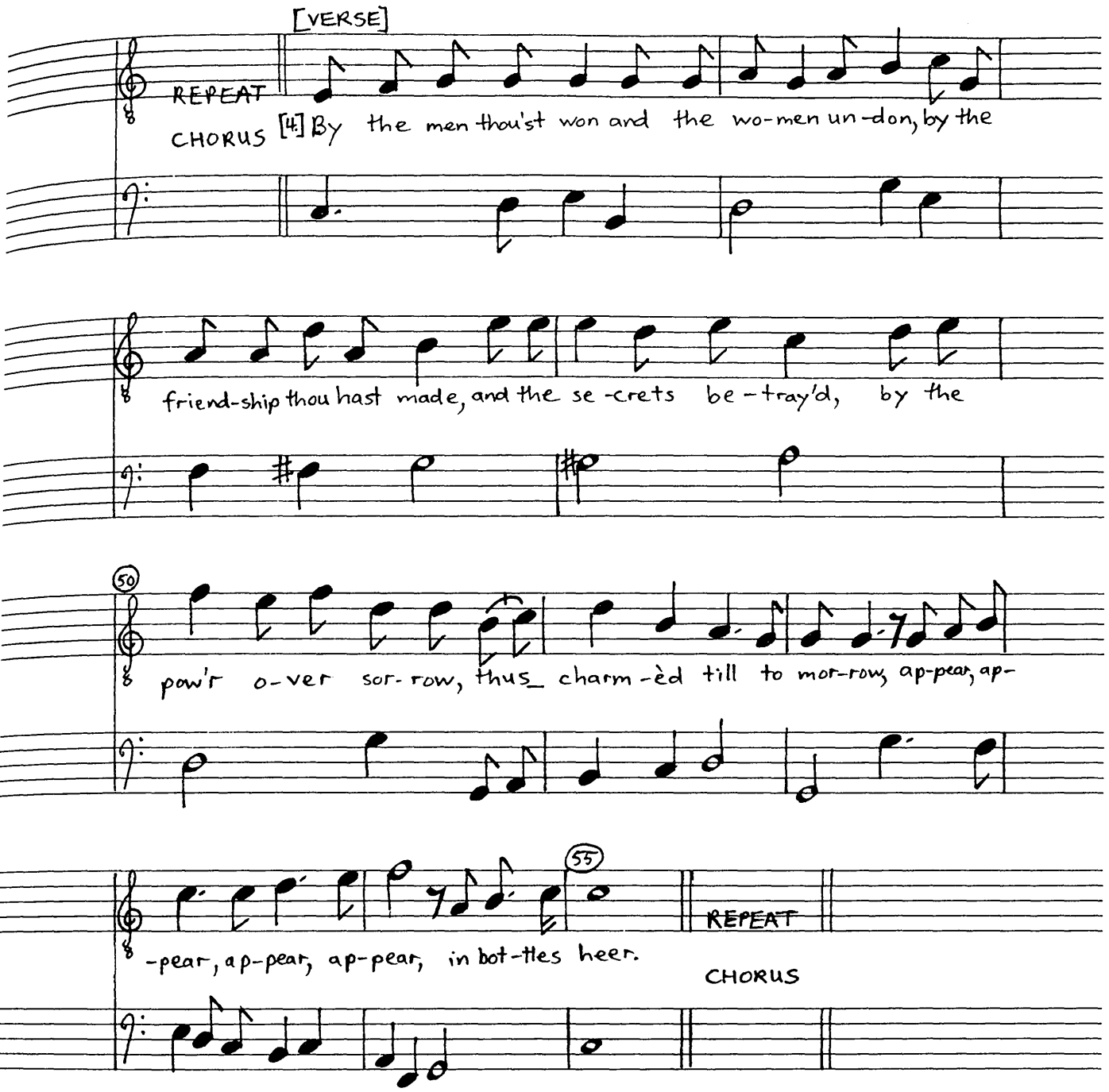
20. TO BACCHUS WE TO BACCHUS SING




10
we'le con - jure him, we'le con - jure
we'le con - jure him, we'le con - jure
we'le con - jure him, we'le_____ con - jure
him, with wine and mirth we'le__ con - jure him.
him, with wine and mirth we'le__ con - jure him.
him with wine and mirth we'le con - jure him.


15
VERSE
[1.] By his moth-ers eye, and his fath-ers thigh, by her
God brought to light, and his too glor-ious sight, by Ju-noes de-ceit, and
20
by thy sad re-treat, ap-pear, ap-pear, ap-pear, ap-pear, in bot-tles
REPEAT
25 [VERSE]
heere. CHORUS [2.] By A-ri-ad-nes wrongs and the false youths
harms, by the rack in his breast, and her tears so op-prest, by the


30
beau-ty she fled, and the pleas-ures of a bed, ap-pear, ap-pear, ap-pear, ap-
35
-pear, in bot-tles heer.
REPEAT
[VERSE]
CHORUS [3.] By this purp-le wine thus
pour'd on the Shrin, and by this beer glasse to the next kind
40
Lasse, by a Girle twice nine, that will clasp like a Vine, that will clasp thee.
45
like a Vine, ap-pear, ap-pear, ap-pear, ap-pear, in bot-tles heer.


[VERSE]
REPEAT
CHORUS [4] By the men thou'st won and the wo-men un-don, by the
friend-ship thou hast made, and the se-crets be-tray'd, by the
50
pow'r o-ver sor-row, thus_ charm-èd till to mor-row, ap-pear, ap-
-pear, ap-pear, ap-pear, in bot-tles heer.
55
REPEAT
CHORUS

To Bacchus we to Bacchus sing,
With wine and mirth we'le conjure him.

[1.] By his mothers eye,
and his fathers thigh,
by her God brought to light,
and his too glorious sight,
by Junoes deceit
and by thy sad retreat,
appear, appear, appear,
appear, in bottles heere.

To Bacchus we to Bacchus sing,
With wine and mirth we'le conjure him.

[2.] By Ariadnes wrongs
and the false youths harms,
by the rock in his breast,
and her tears so oppresst,
by the beauty she fled,
and the pleasures of a bed,
appear, appear, appear,
appear, in bottles heer.

To Bacchus we to Bacchus sing,
With wine and mirth we'le conjure him.

[3.] By this purple wine
thus pour'd on the Shrin,
and by this beer-glasse
to the next kind Lasse,
by a Girle twice nine,
that will clasp like a Vine,
that will clasp thee like a Vine,
appear, appear, appear,
appear, in bottles heer.

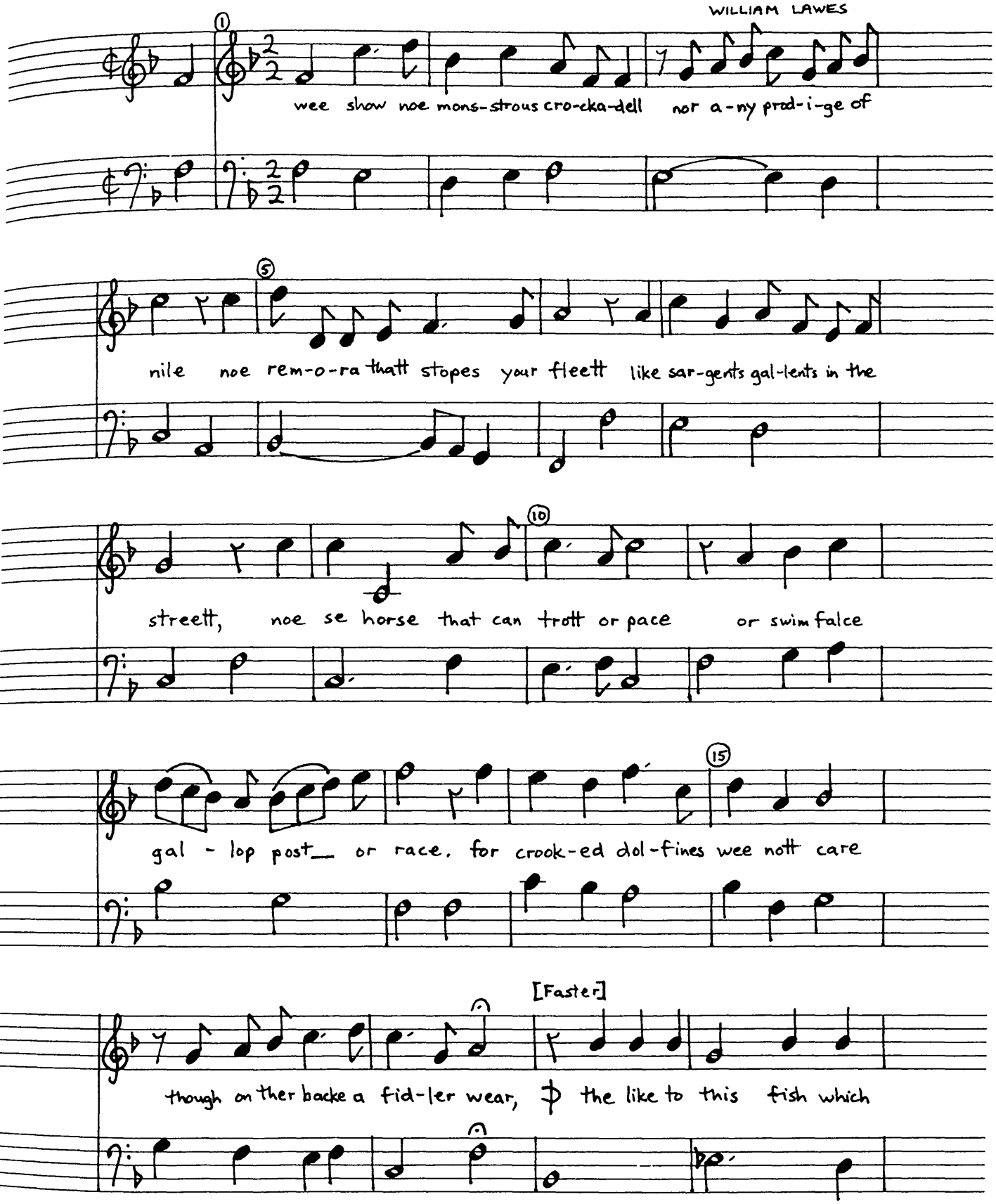
To Bacchus we to Bacchus sing,
With wine and mirth we'le conjure him.

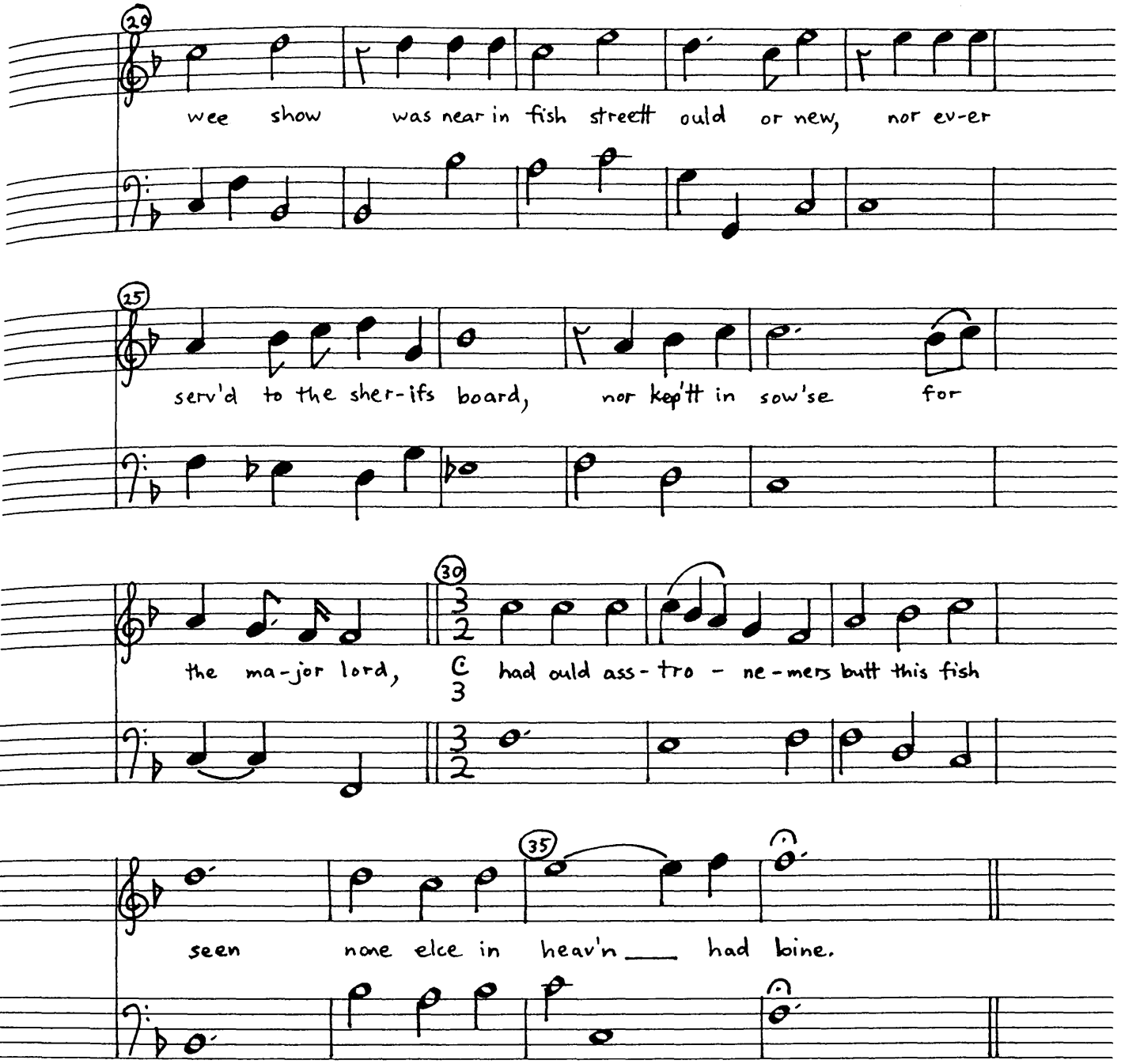
[4.] By the men thou'st won
and the women undon,
by the friendship thou hast made,
and the secrets betray'd,
by the power over sorrow,
thus charm'd till to morrow,
appear, appear, appear,
appear, in bottles heer.

To Bacchus we to Bacchus sing,
With wine and mirth we'le conjure him.

21. WEE SHOW NOE MONSSTROUS CROCKADELL

WILLIAM LAWES

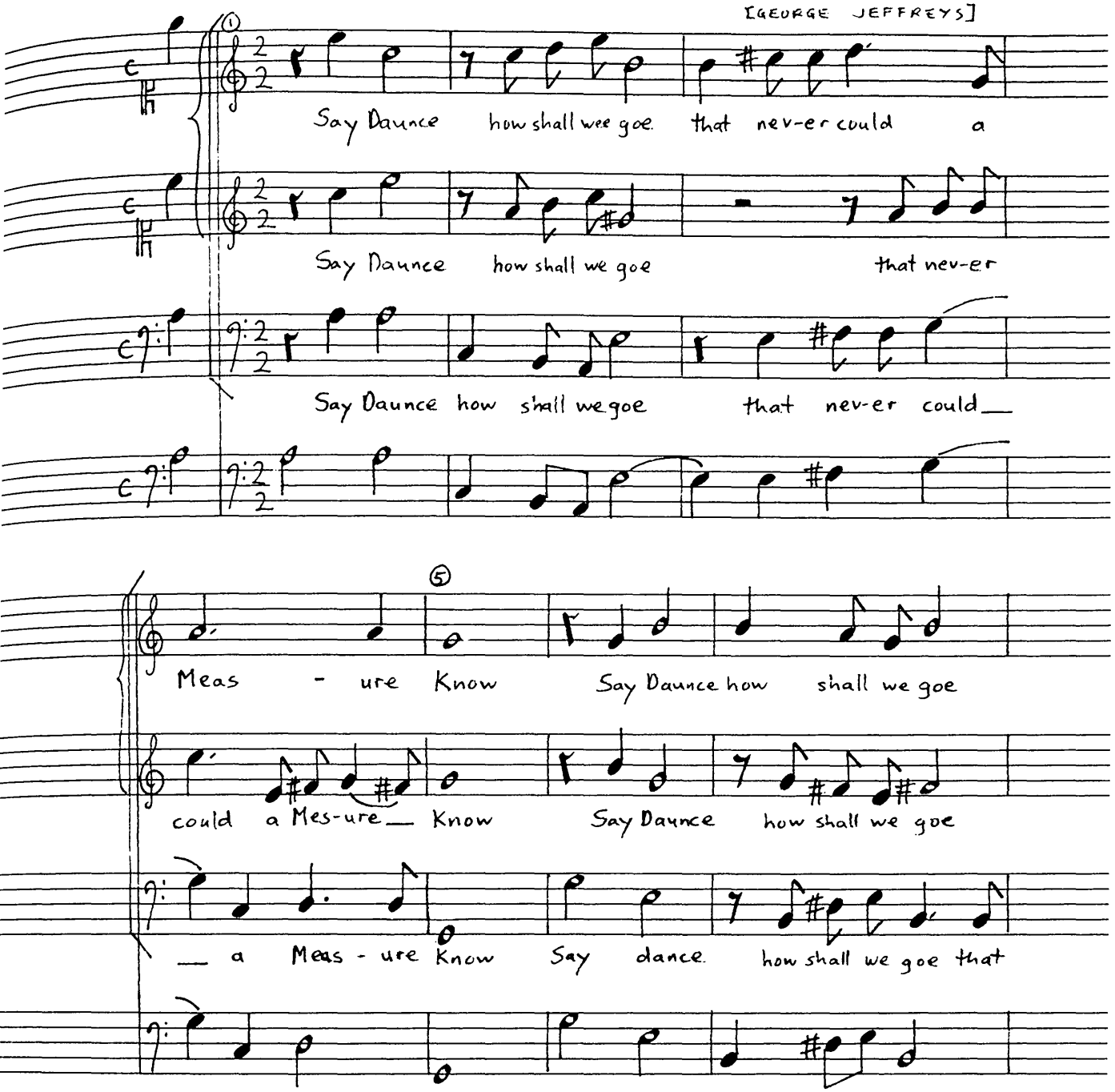


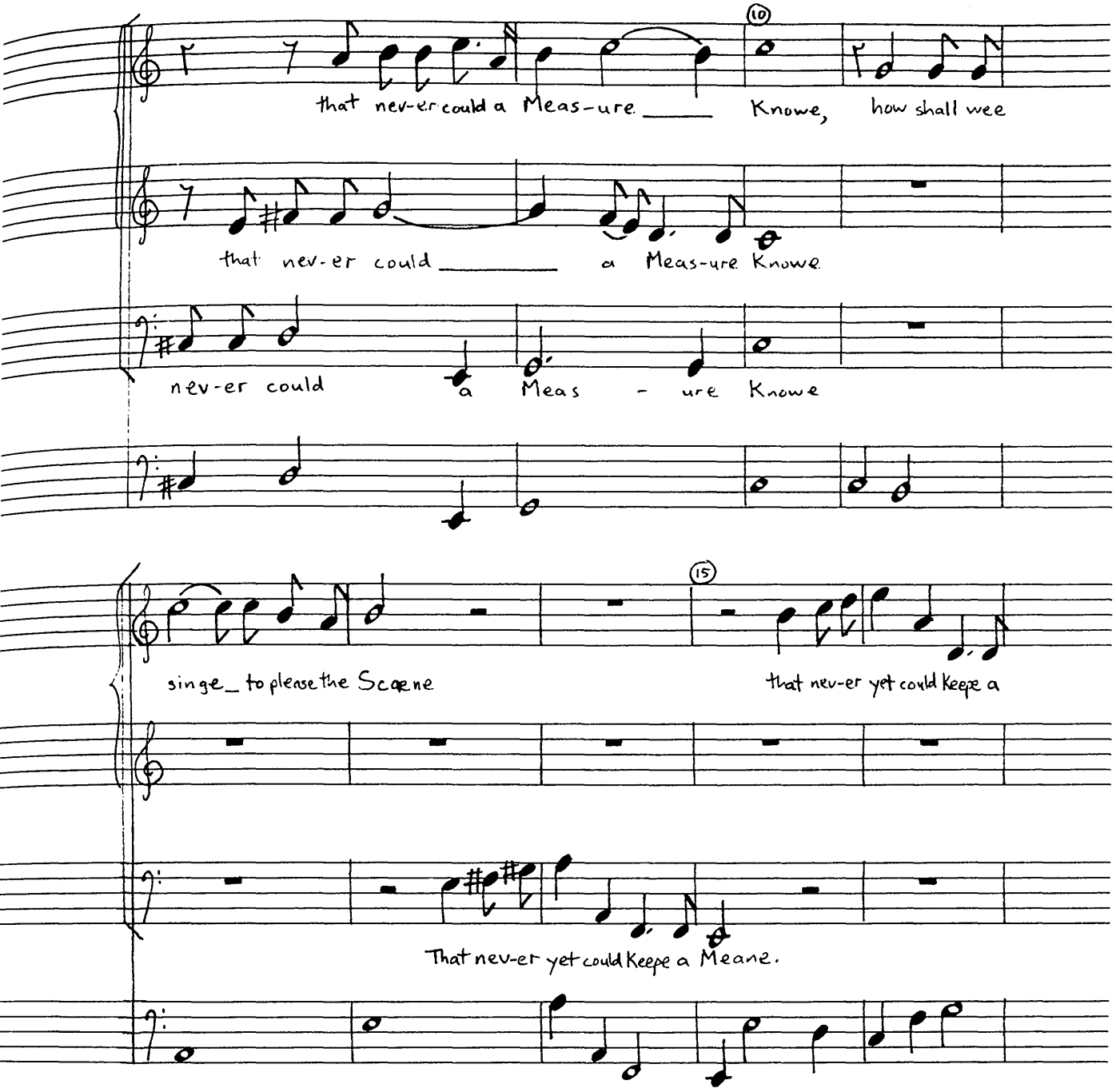

20
wee show was near in fish streett ould or new, nor ev-er
25
serv'd to the sher-ifs board, nor kep'tt in sow'se for
30
the ma-jor lord, had ould ass-tro-ne-mers butt this fish
35
seen none elce in heav'n had bine.

wee show noe monsstrous crockadell
nor any prodige of nile
noe remora thatt stopes your fleett
like sargents gallents in the streett,
noe se horse that can trott or pace
or swim falce gallop post or race.
for crooked dolfines wee nott care
though on ther backe a fidler wear,
the like to this fish which wee show
was near in fish streett ould or new,
nor ever serv'd to the sherifs board,
nor kep'tt in sow'se for the major lord,
had ould asstronemers butt this fish seen
none elce in heaven had bine.

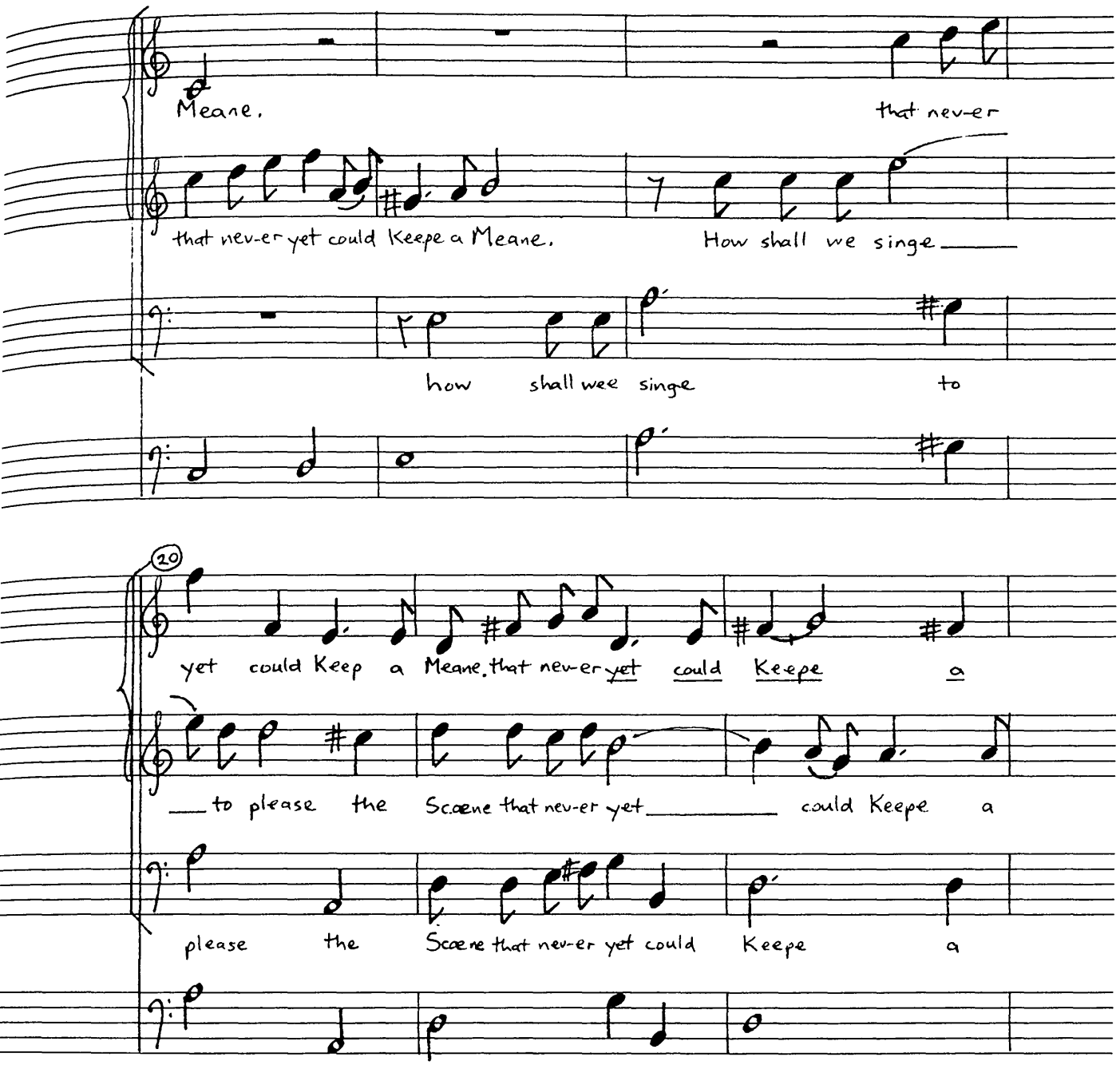
22. SAY DAUNCE HOW SHALL WEE GOE.

[GEORGE JEFFREYS]

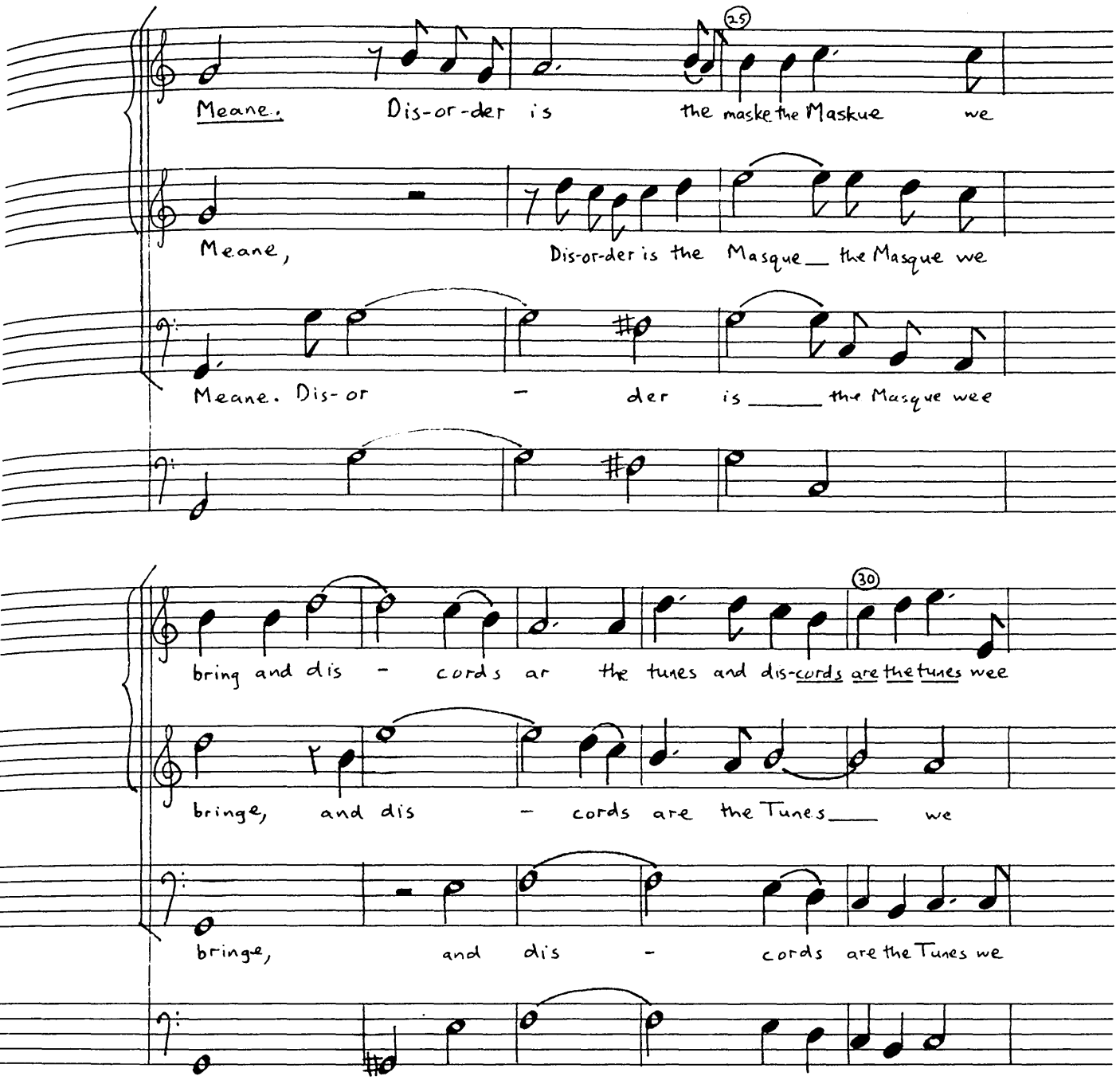



10
that nev-er could a Meas-ure Knowe, how shall wee
that nev-er could a Meas-ure Knowe
nev-er could a Meas - ure Knowe

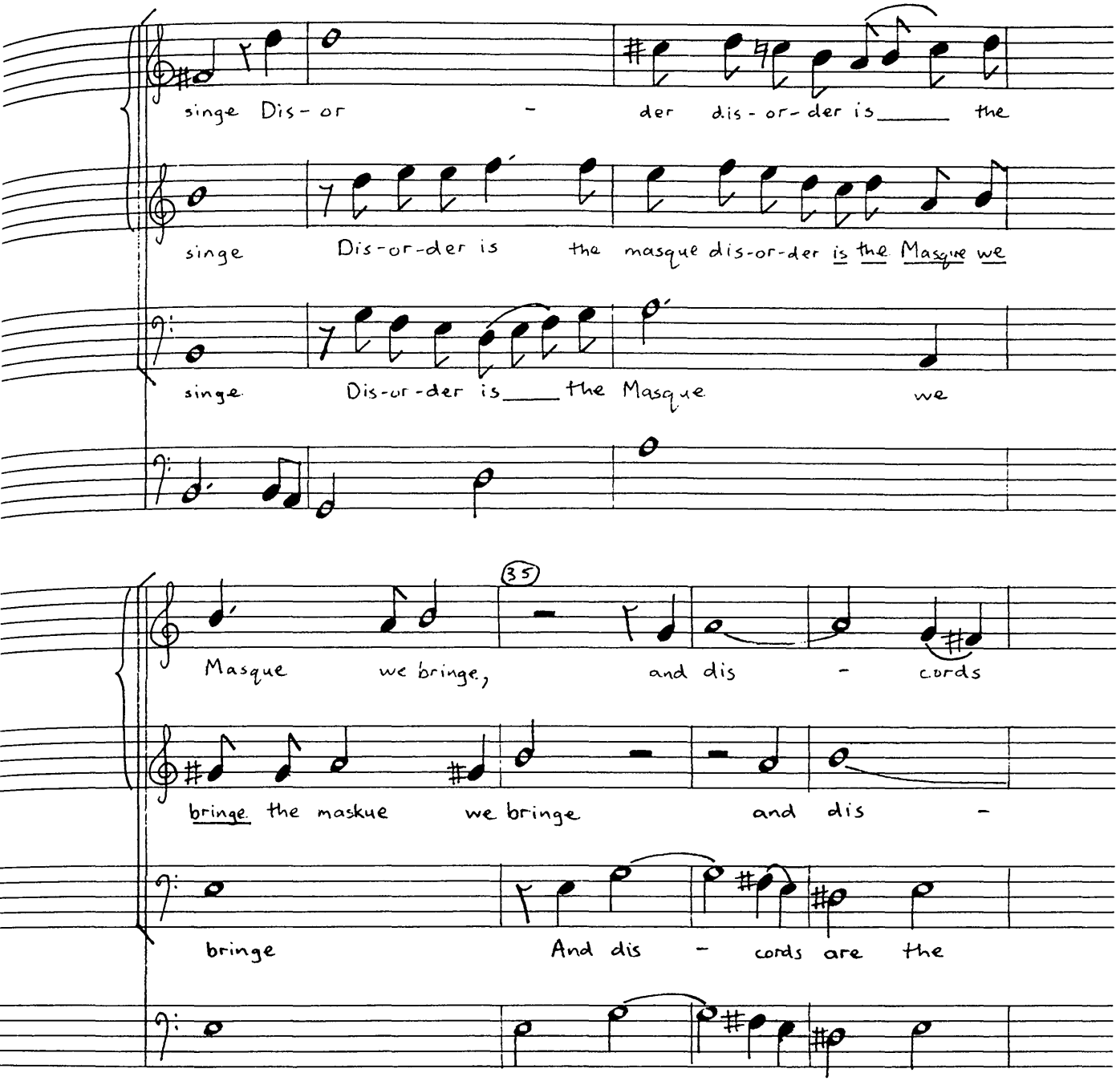
15
singe_ to please the Scæne
that nev-er yet could keepe a
That nev-er yet could keepe a Meane.


Meane.
that nev-er
that nev-er yet could Keepe a Meane.
How shall we singe
how shall wee singe
to

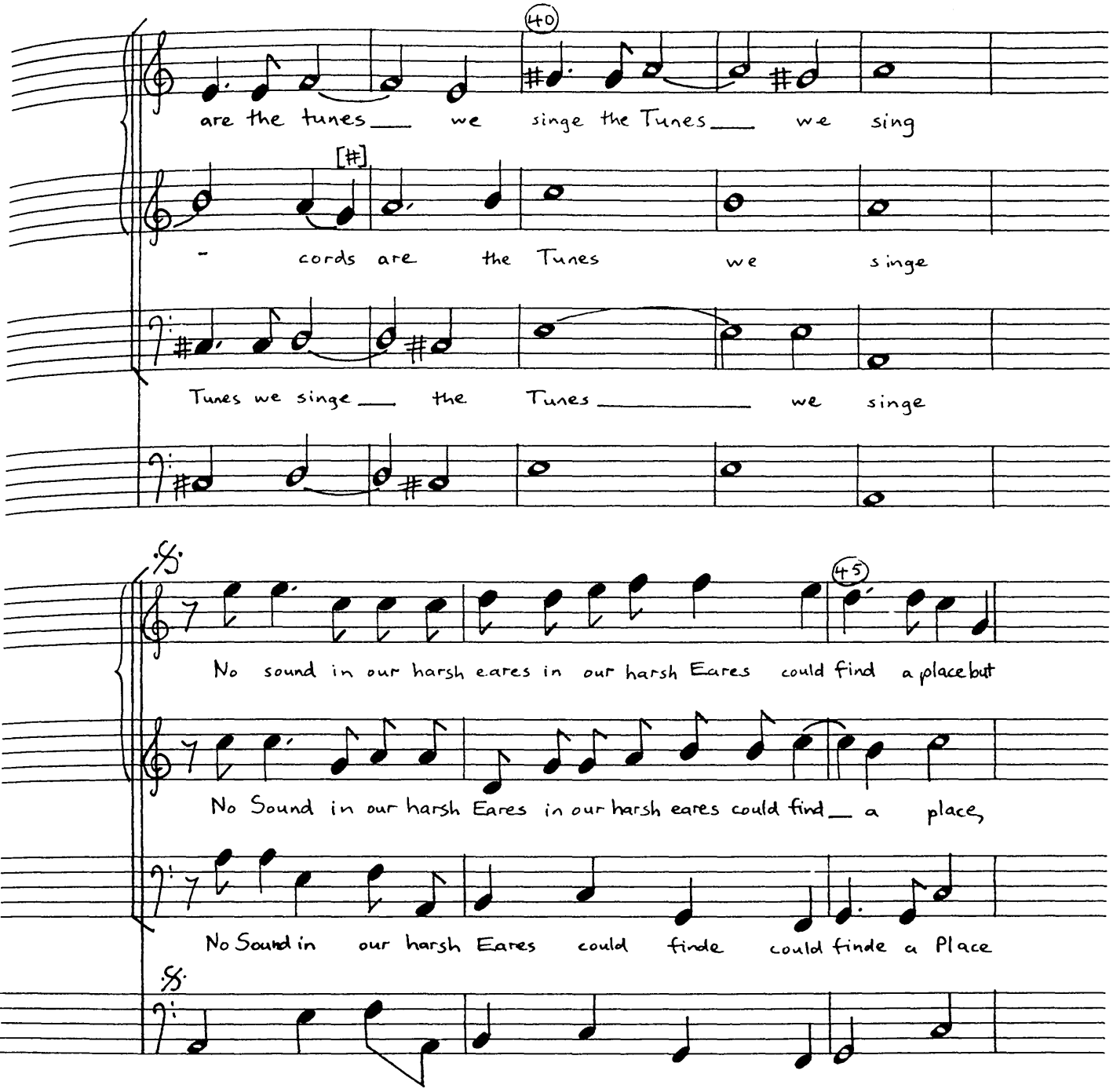
20
yet could Keep a Meane. that nev-er yet could Keepe a
to please the Scæne that nev-er yet
could Keepe a
please the Scæne that nev-er yet could
Keepe a

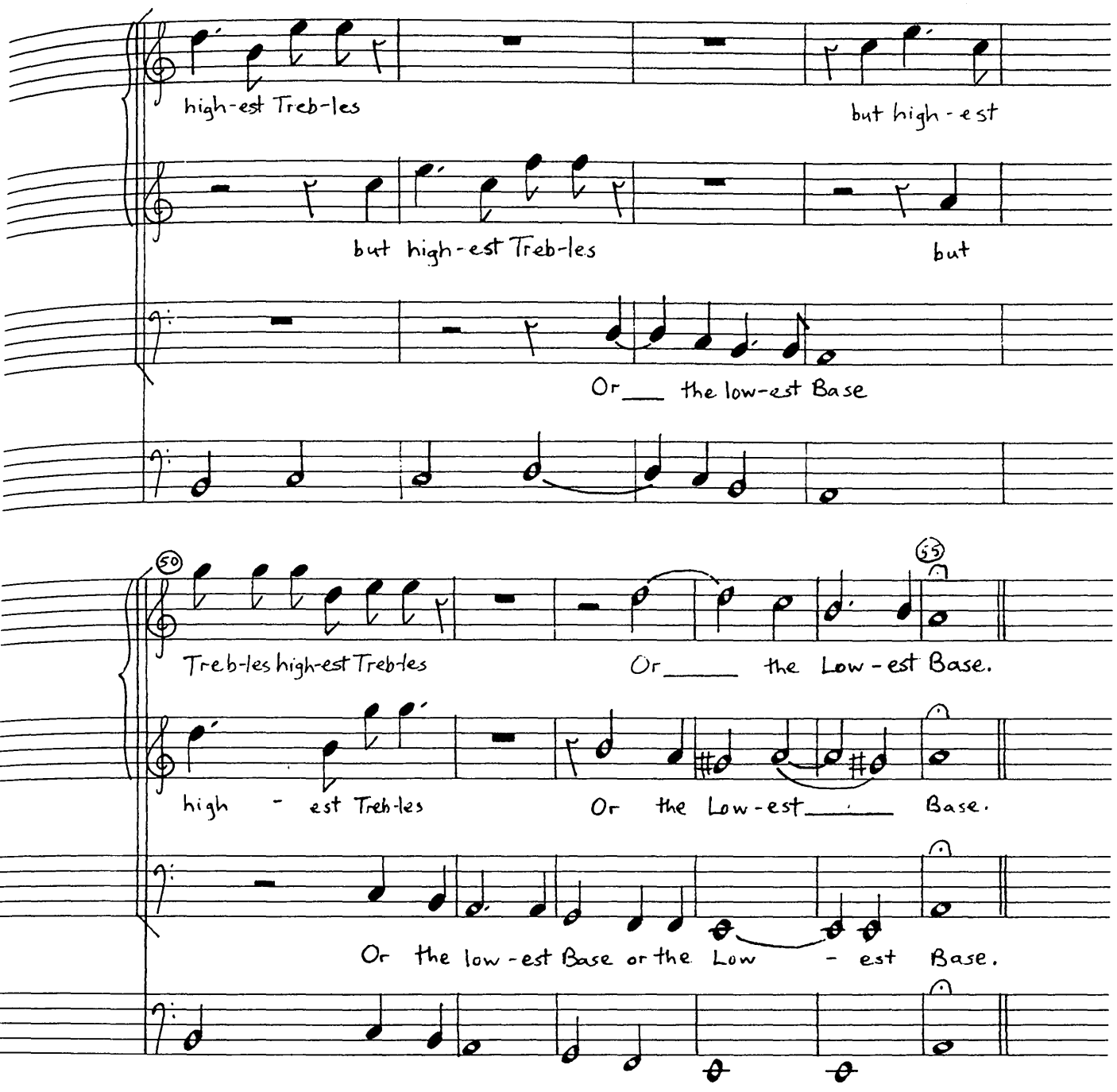

25
Meane. Dis-or-der is the maske the Maskue we
Meane, Dis-or-der is the Masque the Masque we
Meane. Dis-or - der is the Masque wee

30
bring and dis - cords ar the tunes and dis-cords are the tunes wee
bringe, and dis - cords are the Tunes we
bringe, and dis - cords are the Tunes we


singe Dis-or - der dis-or-der is the
singe Dis-or-der is the masque dis-or-der is the Masque we
singe Dis-or-der is the Masque we

35
Masque we bringe, and dis - cords
bringe the maskue we bringe and dis -
bringe And dis - cords are the

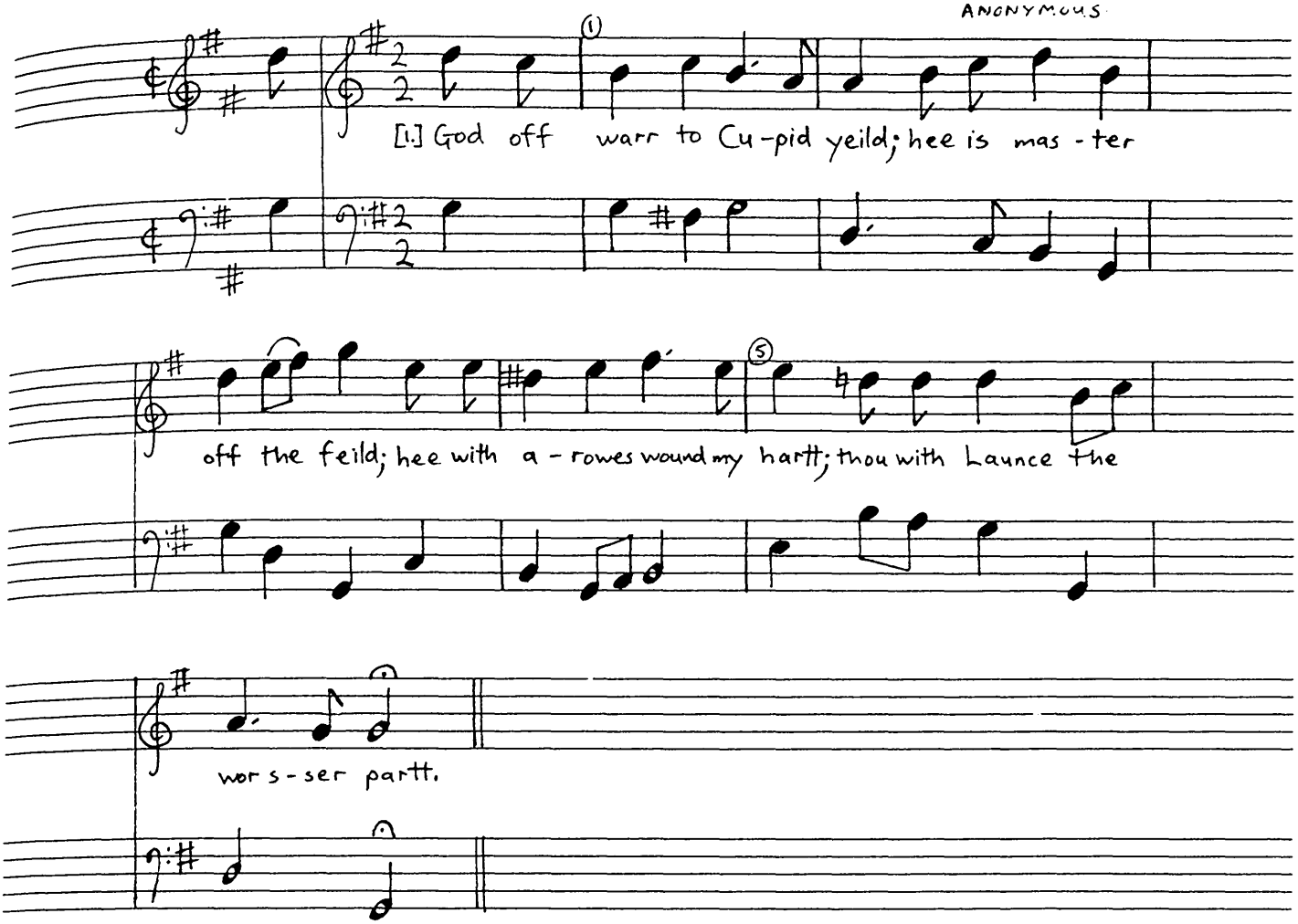

40
are the tunes we singe the Tunes we sing
[#]
- cords are the Tunes we singe
Tunes we singe the Tunes we singe
45
No sound in our harsh eares in our harsh Eares could find a place but
No Sound in our harsh Eares in our harsh eares could find a place,
No Sound in our harsh Eares could finde could finde a Place



Say Dounce how shall wee goe
~~that never could a Measure know~~
~~how shall wee singe to please the Scaene~~
that never yet could Keepe a Meane.
Disorder is the maske we bring 5
~~and discords ar the tunes wee singe~~
~~No sound in our harsh ears could find a place~~
~~but highest Trebles Or the Lowest Base.~~

23. GOD OFF WARR. TO CUPID YEILD

ANONYMOUS



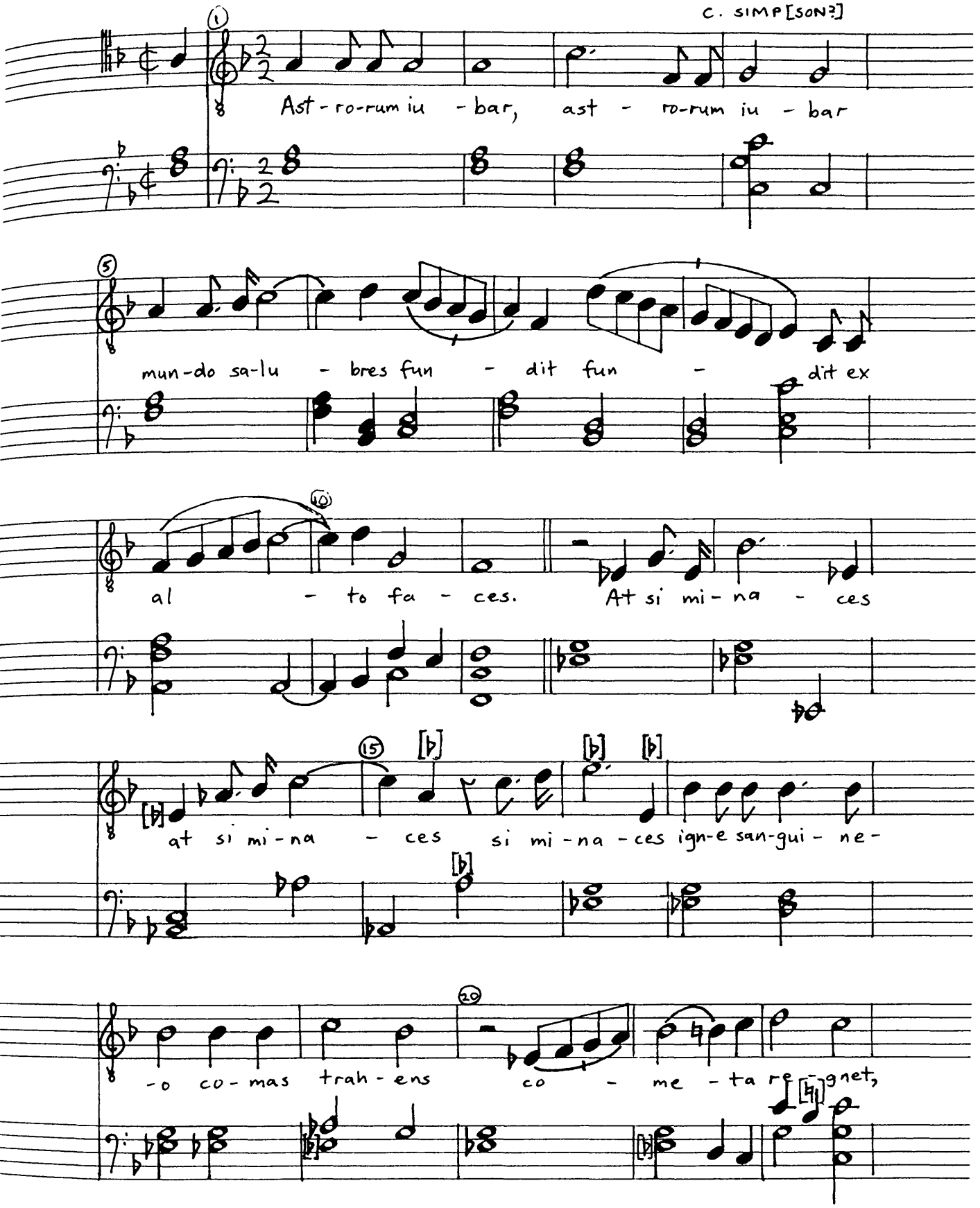
[1.] God off warr to Cupid yeild;
hee is master off the feild;
hee with arowes wound my hartt;
thou with Launce the worsser partt.

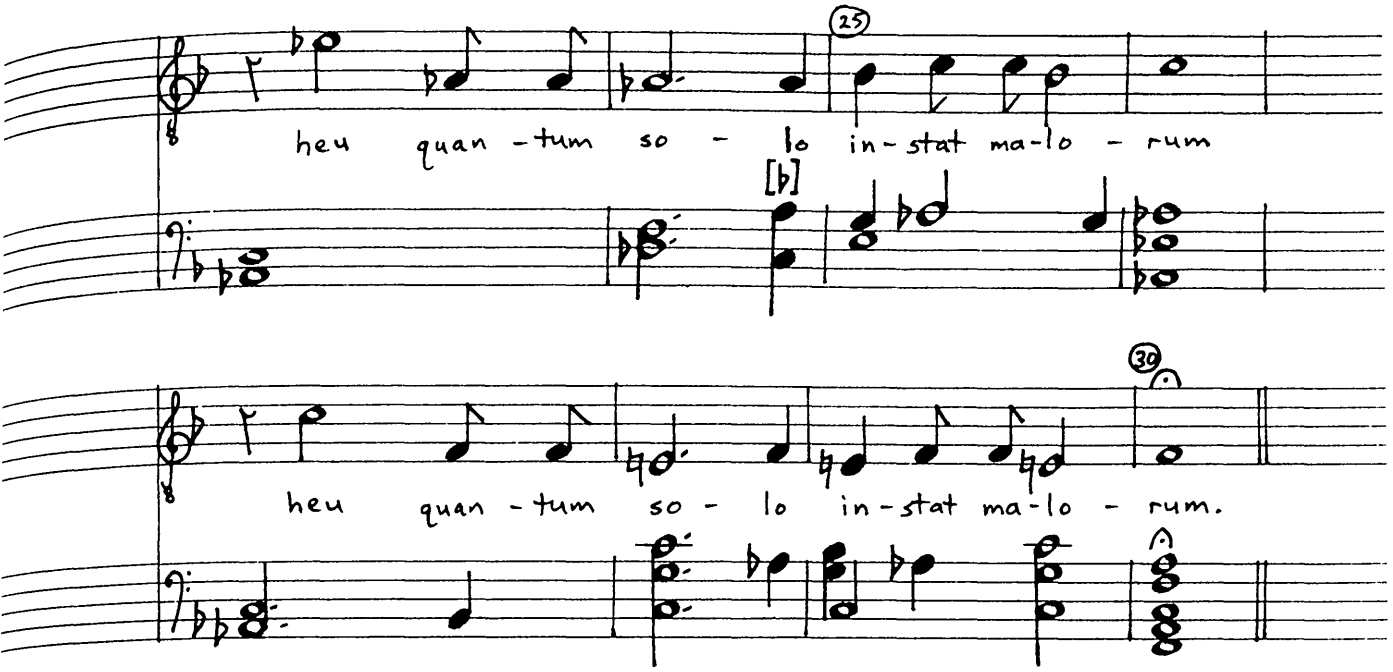
2. Cupid greater is then Jove
since hee wounded was by love,
nay in power by much odds
hee excells the other godds.

3. Love transform'd Jove to a swann
made ulissis a mad man
butt rufaldoe itt did make
younge for his Celenas sake.

24. ASTRORUM IUBAR

C. SIMP[SON?]

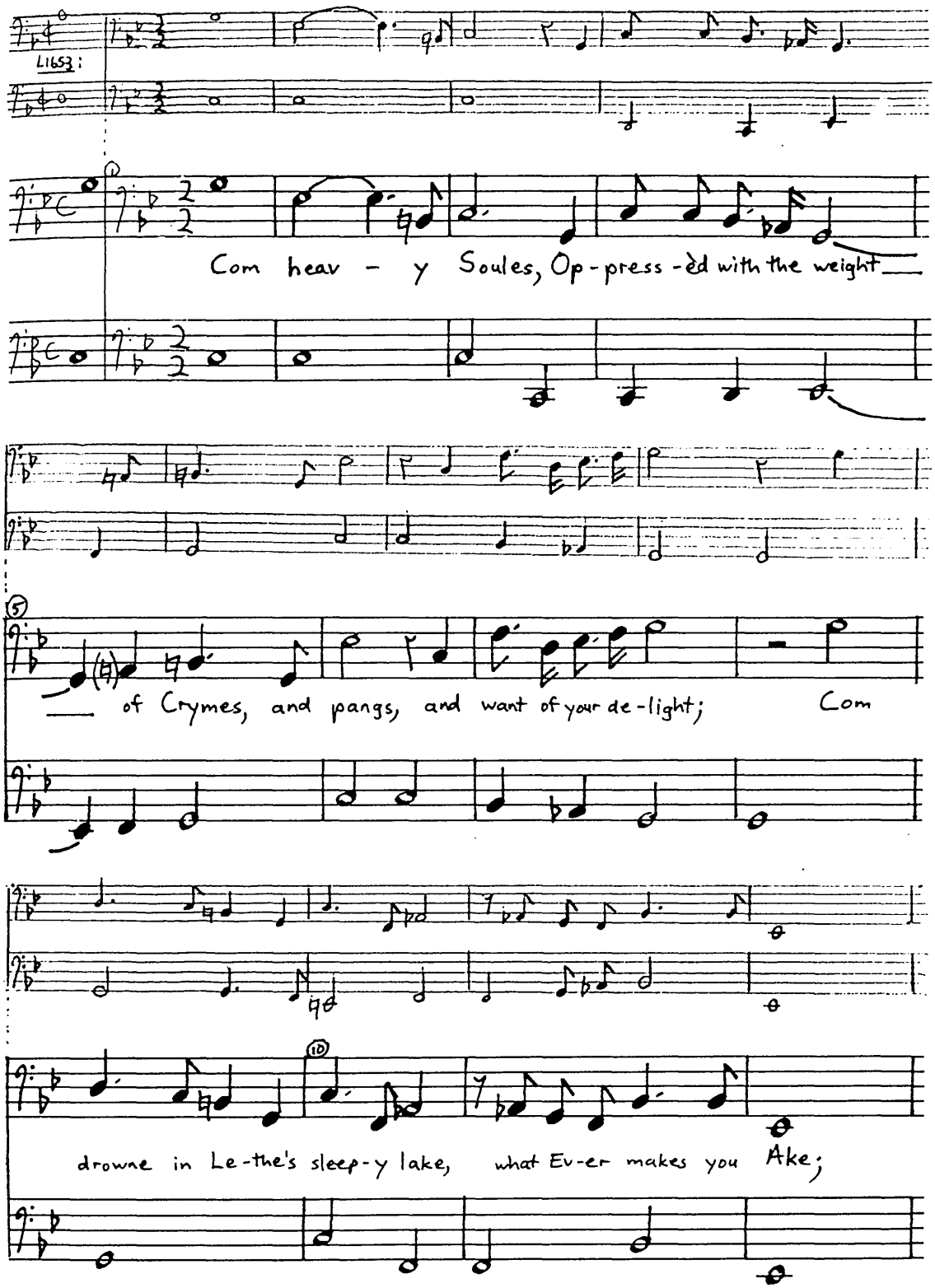


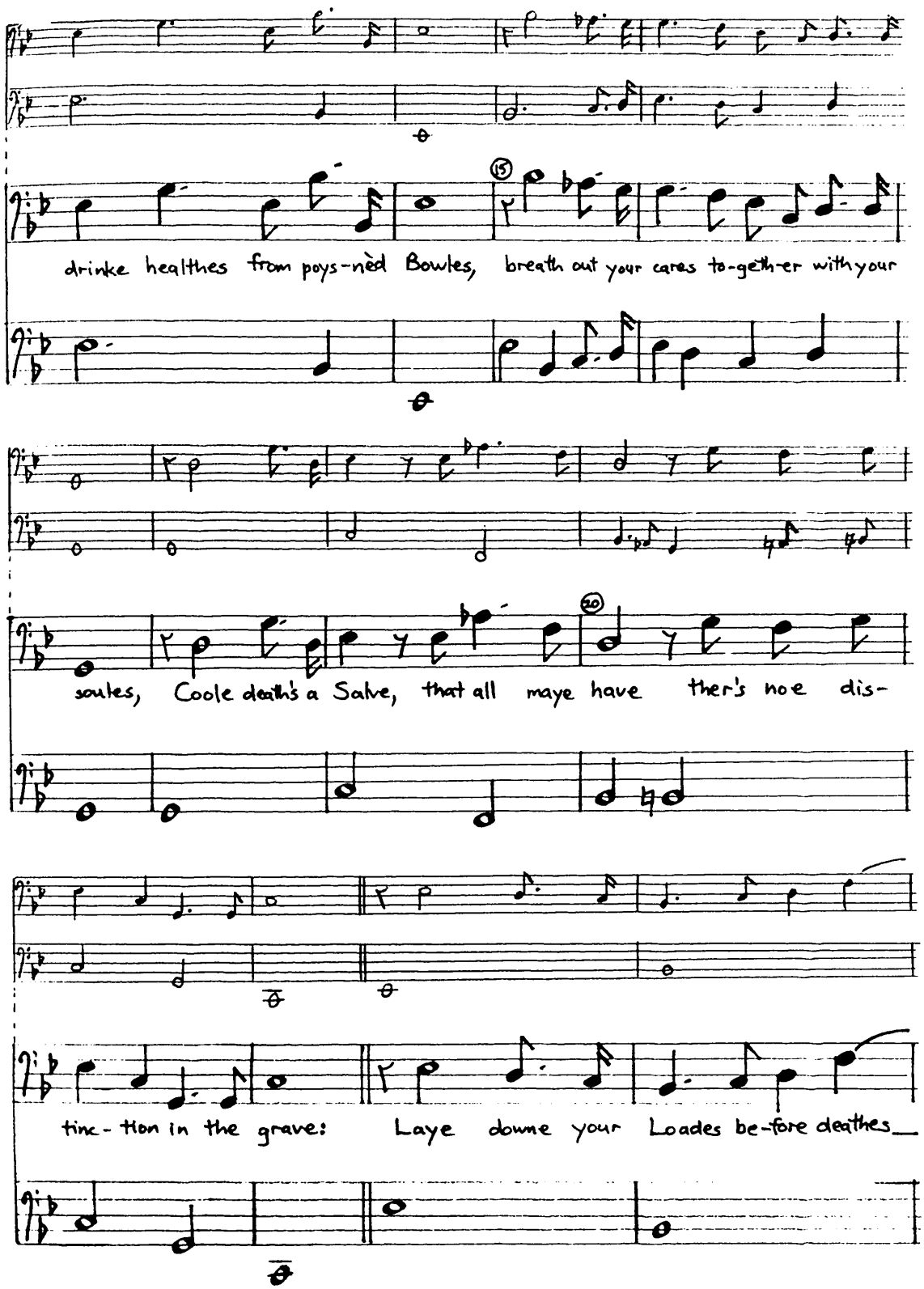


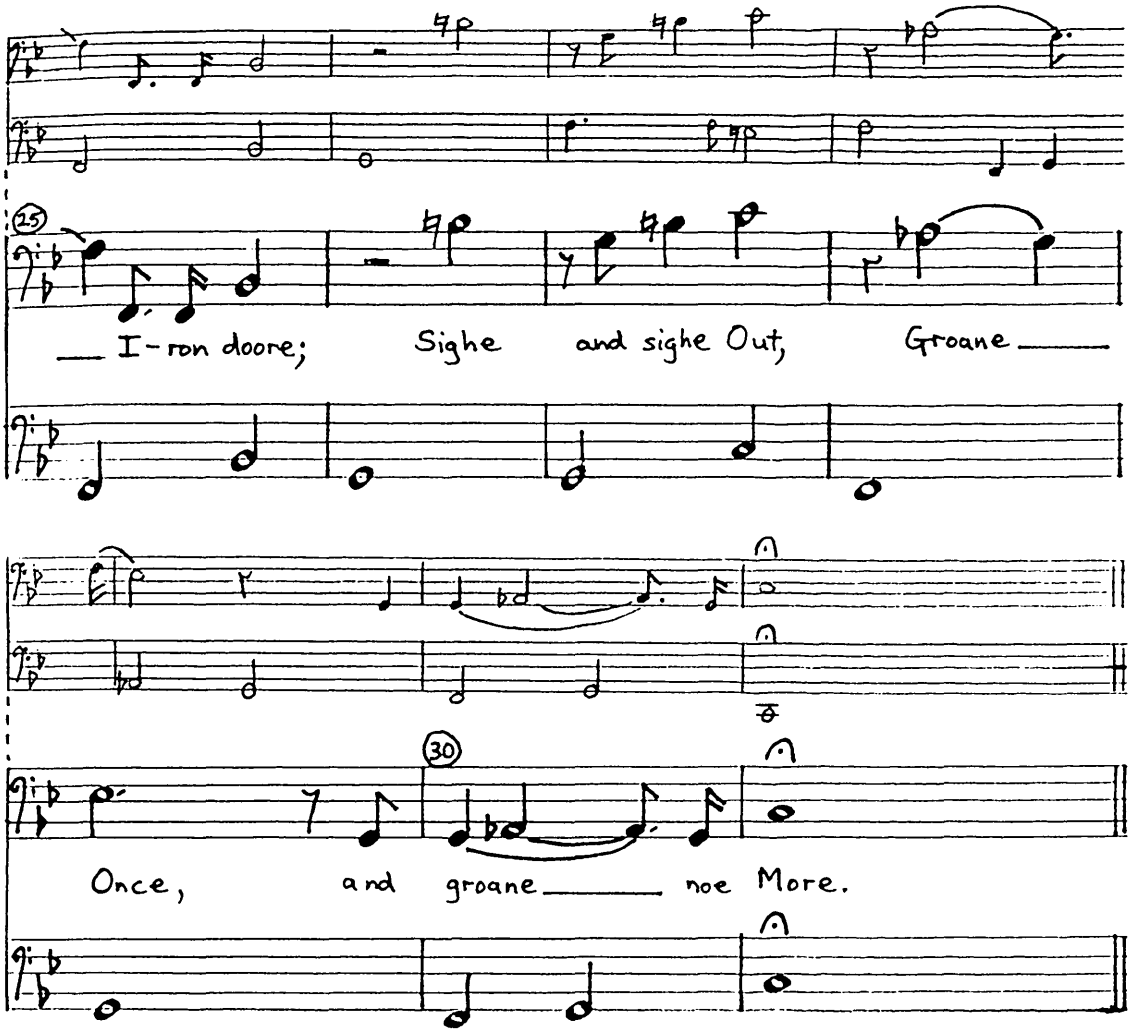
Astrorum iubar
mundo salubres fundit ex alto faces.
At si minaces igne sanguineo comas
trahens cometa regnet, heu quantum solo
instat malorum. 5

25. COM HEAVY SOULES, OPPRESSED WITH THE WEIGHT

HENRY LAWES



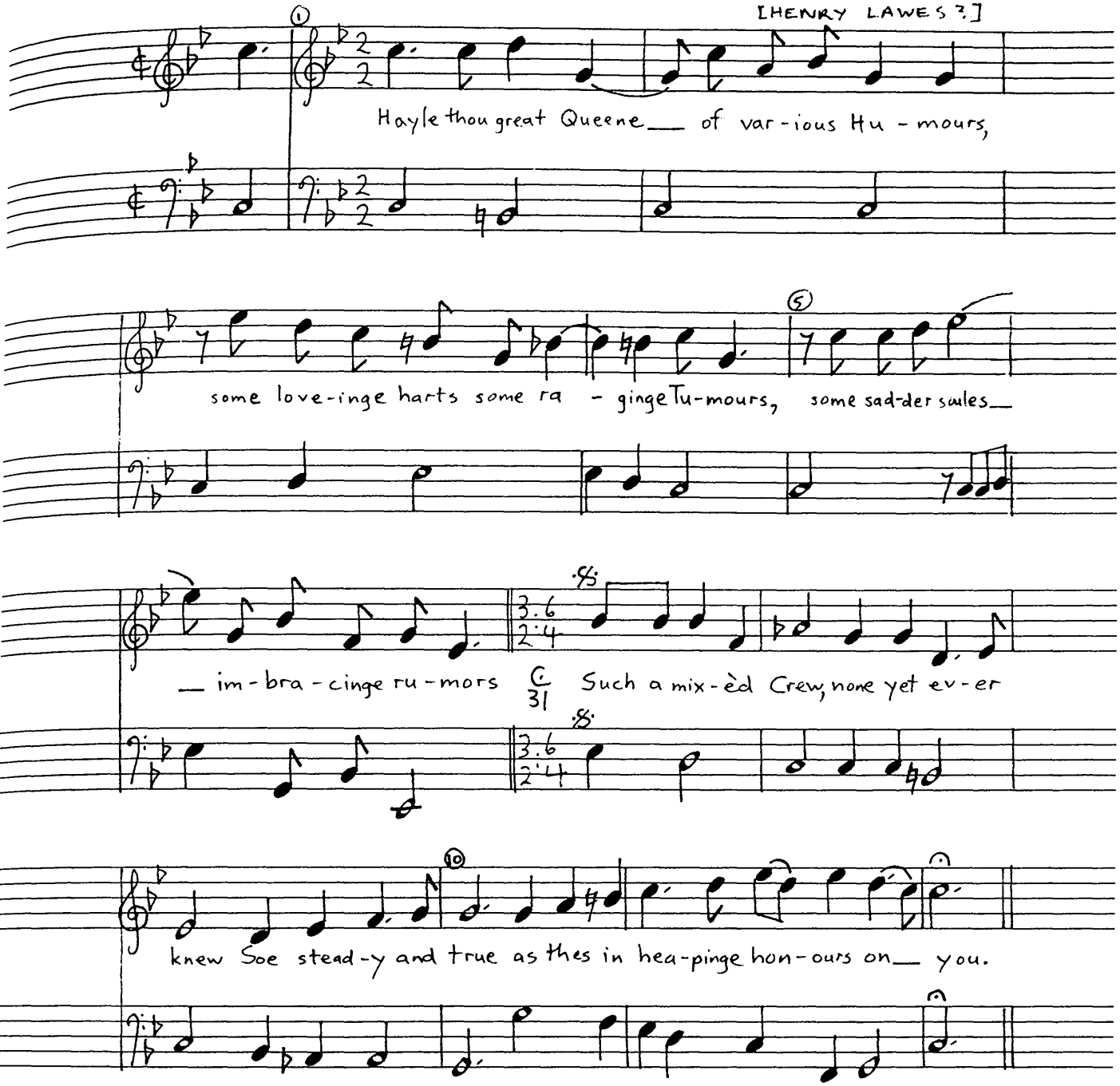

drinke healthes from poys-néd Bowles, breath out your cares to-geth-er with your
soules, Coole death's a Salve, that all maye have ther's noe dis-
tinc-tion in the grave: Laye downe your Loades be-fore deathes



Com heavy Soules, Oppressed with the weight
of Crymes, and pangs, and want of your delight;
Com drowne in Lethe's sleepy lake,
what Ever makes you Ake;
drinke healthes from poysned Bowles,
breath out your cares together with your soules,
Coole death's a Salve,
that all maye have
ther's noe distinction in the grave:
Laye downe your Loades before deathes Iron doore;
Sighe and sighe Out, Groane Once, and groane noe More.

26. HAYLE THOU GREAT QUEENE OF VARIOUS HUMOURS

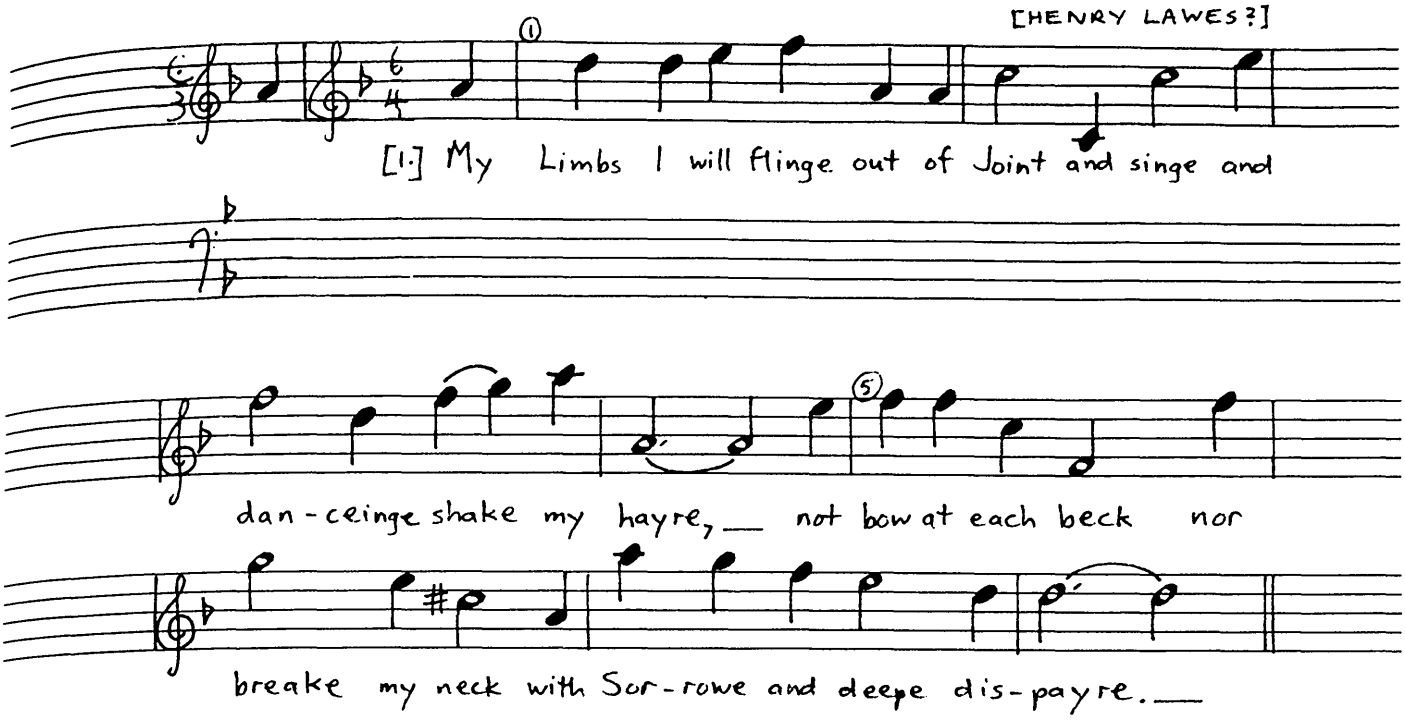
[HENRY LAWES?]



Hayle thou great Queene of various Humours,
some loveinge harts some raginge Tumours,
some sadder soules imbracinge rumors
Such a mixed Crew,
none yet ever knew
Soe steady and true
as thes in heapinge honours on you.

27. MY LIMBS I WILL FLINGE

[HENRY LAWES?]

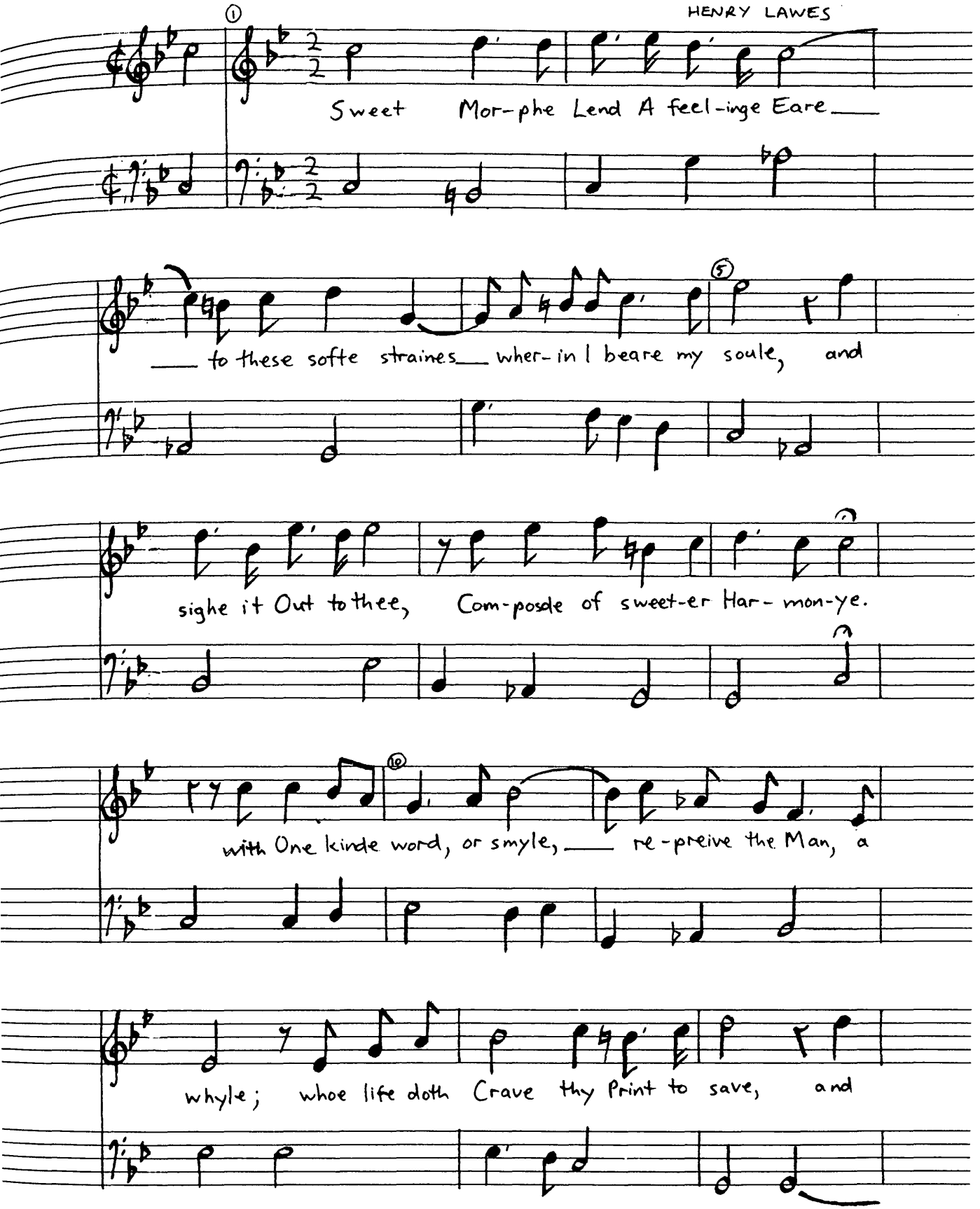


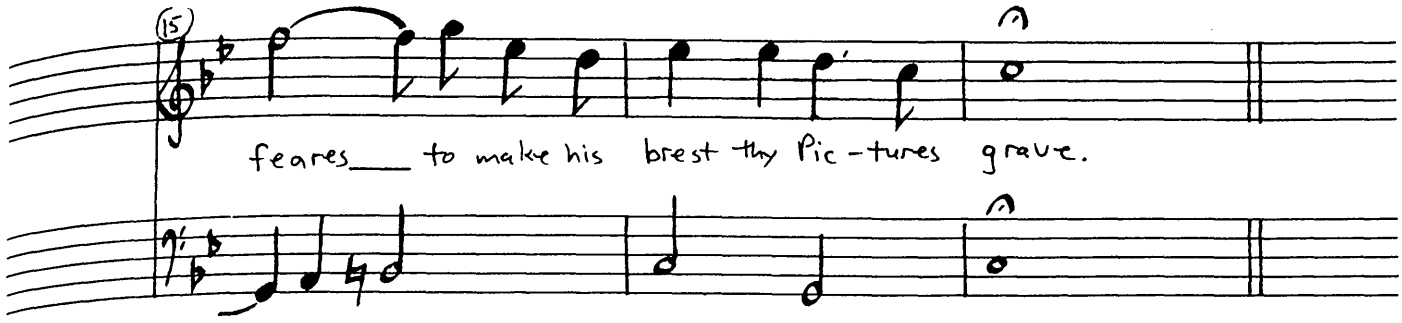
[1.] My limbs I will flinge
out of Joint and singe
and danceinge shake my hayre,
not bow at each beck
nor breake my neck
with Sorrowe and deepe dispayre.

[2.] Such a Chirpinge din
with mirth within
And a head not needinge a Clowte
Is much better fare
then a Carefull Chayre
And a wreath of thornes without.

28. SWEET MORPHE LEND A FEELINGE EARE

HENRY LAWES

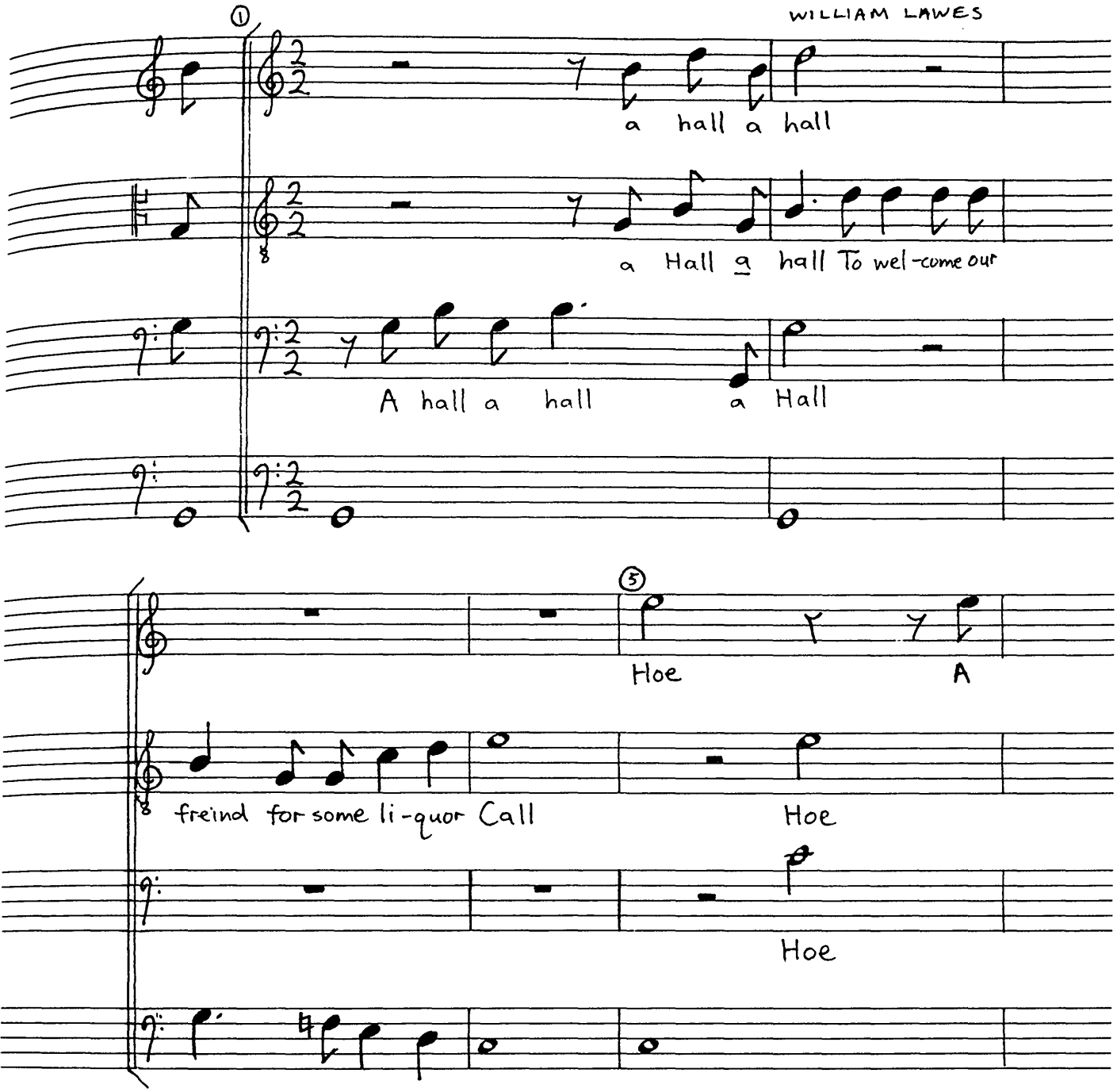


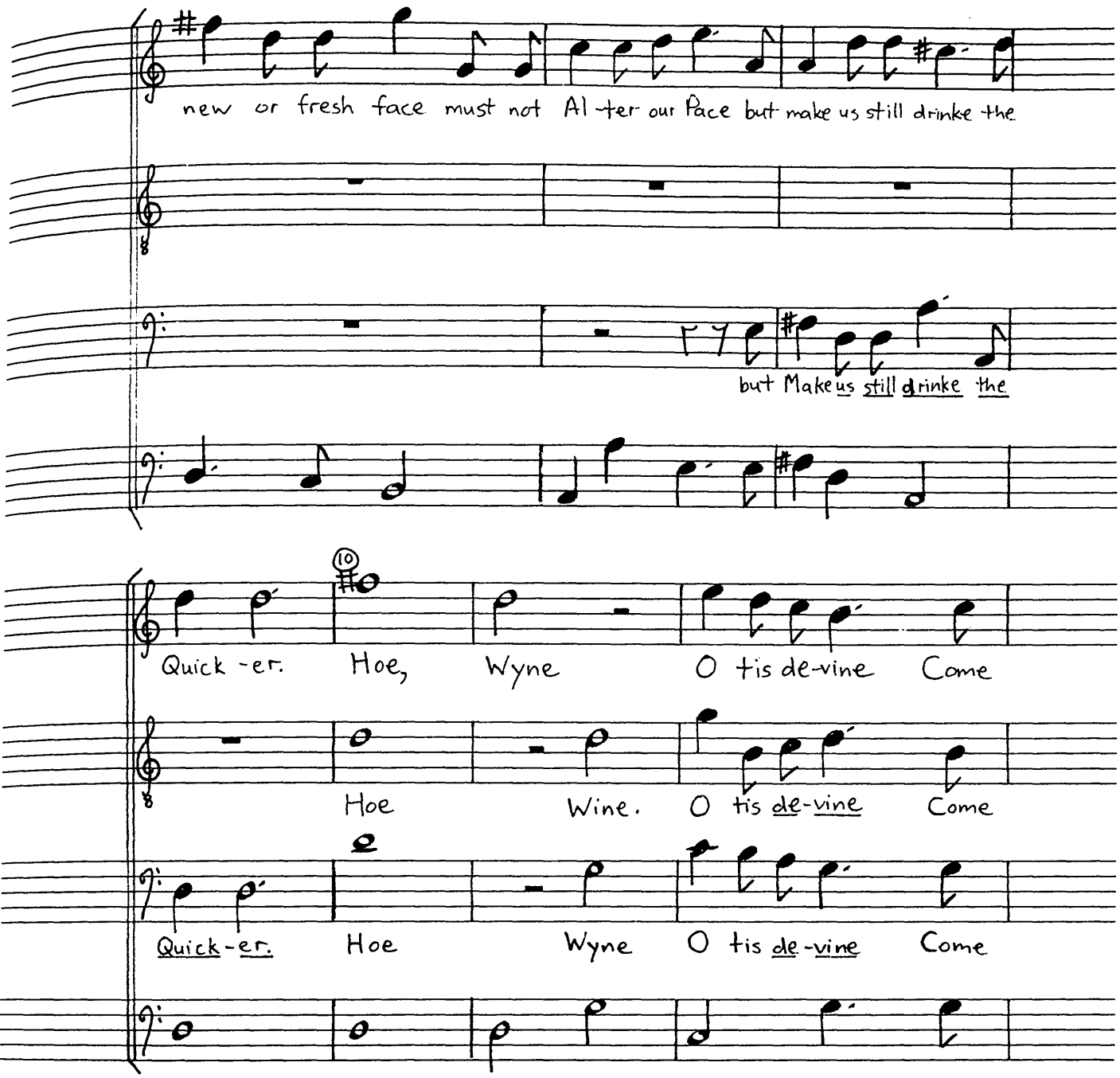


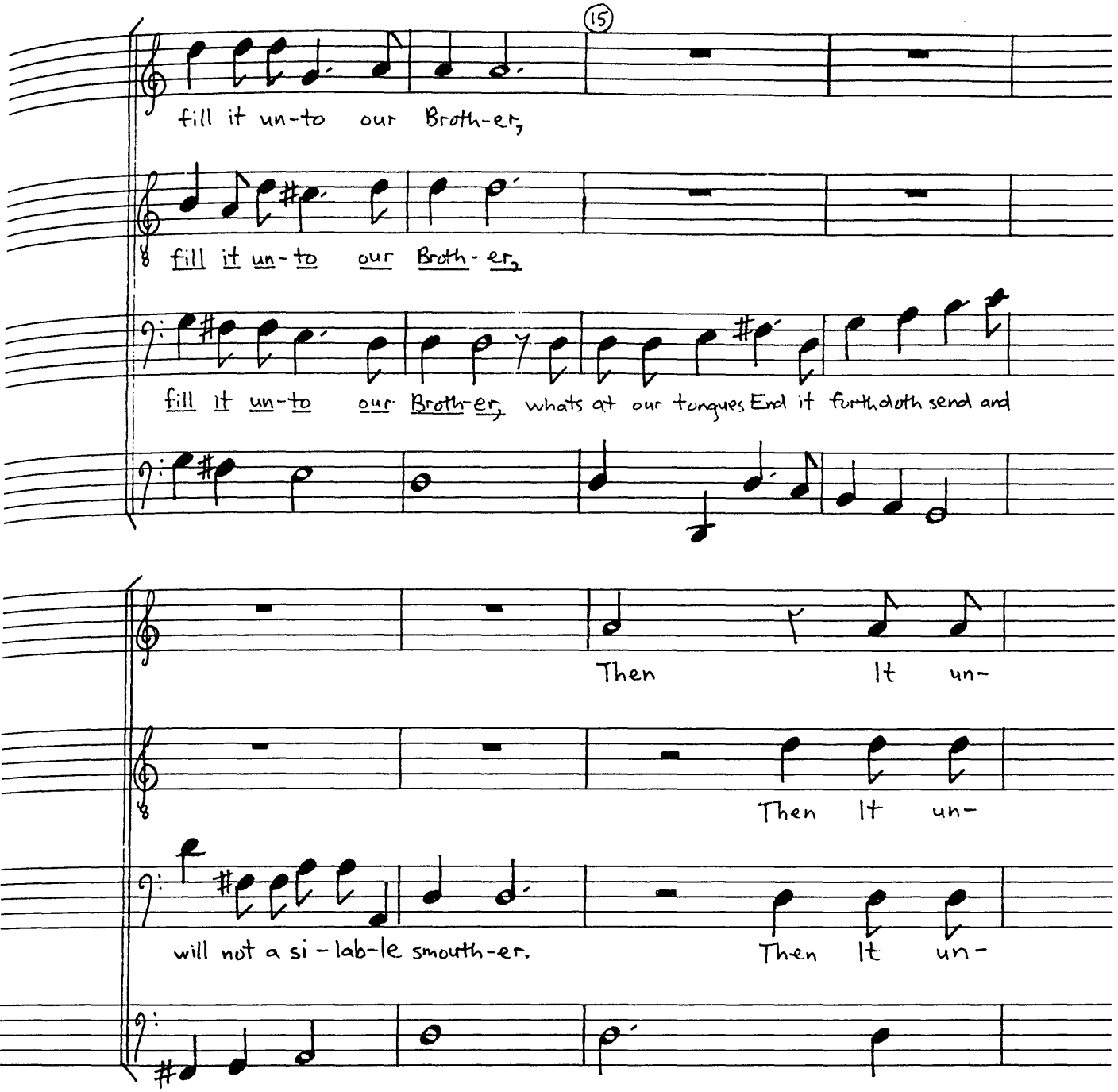
Sweet Morphe Lend A feelinge Eare
to these softe straines wherin I beare
my soule, and sighe it Out to thee,
Composde of sweeter Harmonye.
with One kinde word, or smyle,
repreive the Man, a whyle;
whoe life doth Crave
thy Print to save,
and feares to make his brest thy Pictures grave.

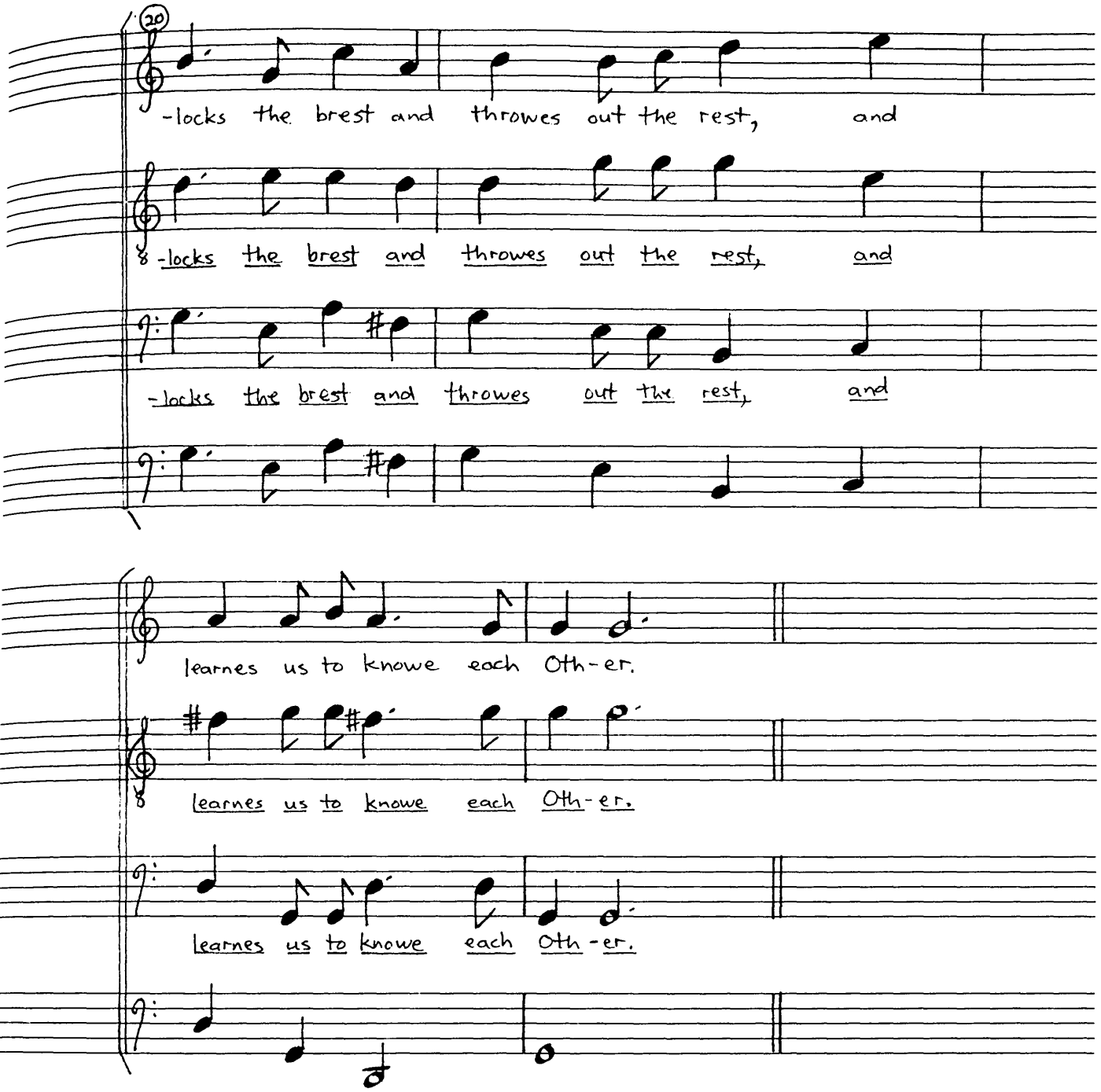
29. A HALL A HALL

WILLIAM LAWES




new or fresh face must not Al-ter our Pace but make us still drinke the
but Make us still drinke the
10
Quick-er. Hoe, Wyne O tis de-vine Come
Hoe Wine. O tis de-vine Come
Quick-er. Hoe Wyne O tis de-vine Come

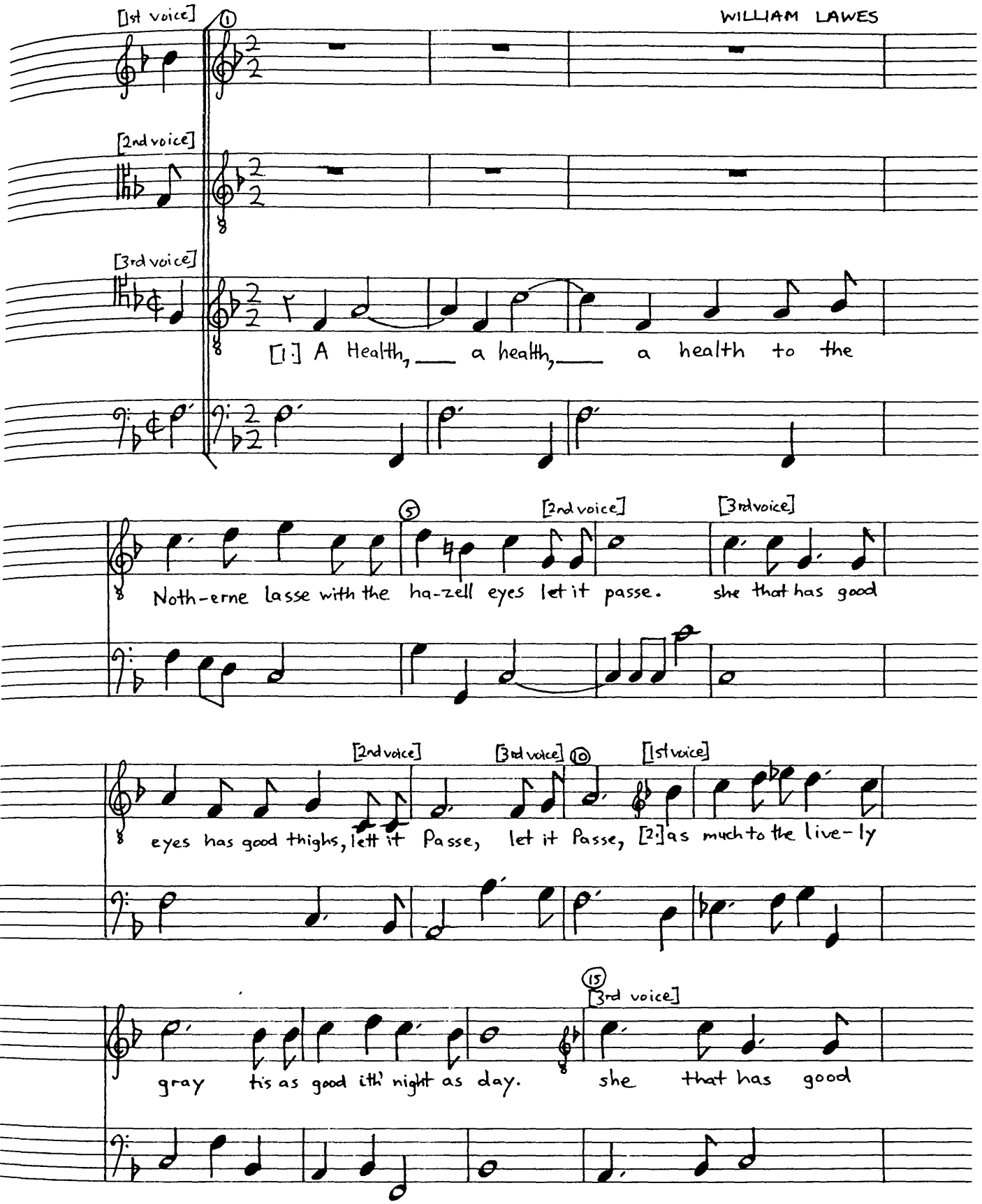

15
fill it un-to our Broth-er,
fill it un-to our Broth-er,
fill it un-to our Broth-er, whats at our tongues End it furtholuth send and
Then It un-
Then It un-
will not a si-lab-le smouth-er.
Then It un-

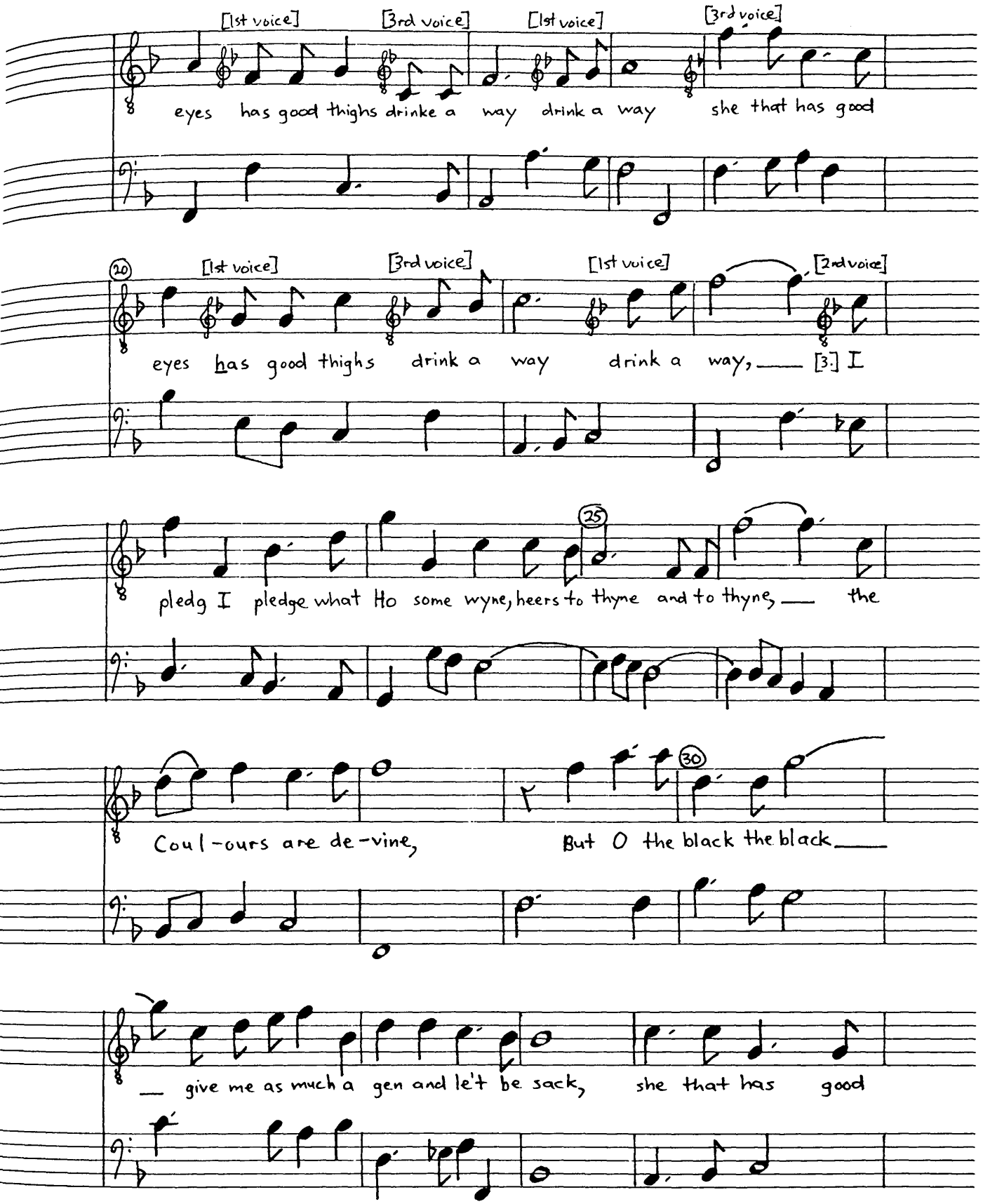


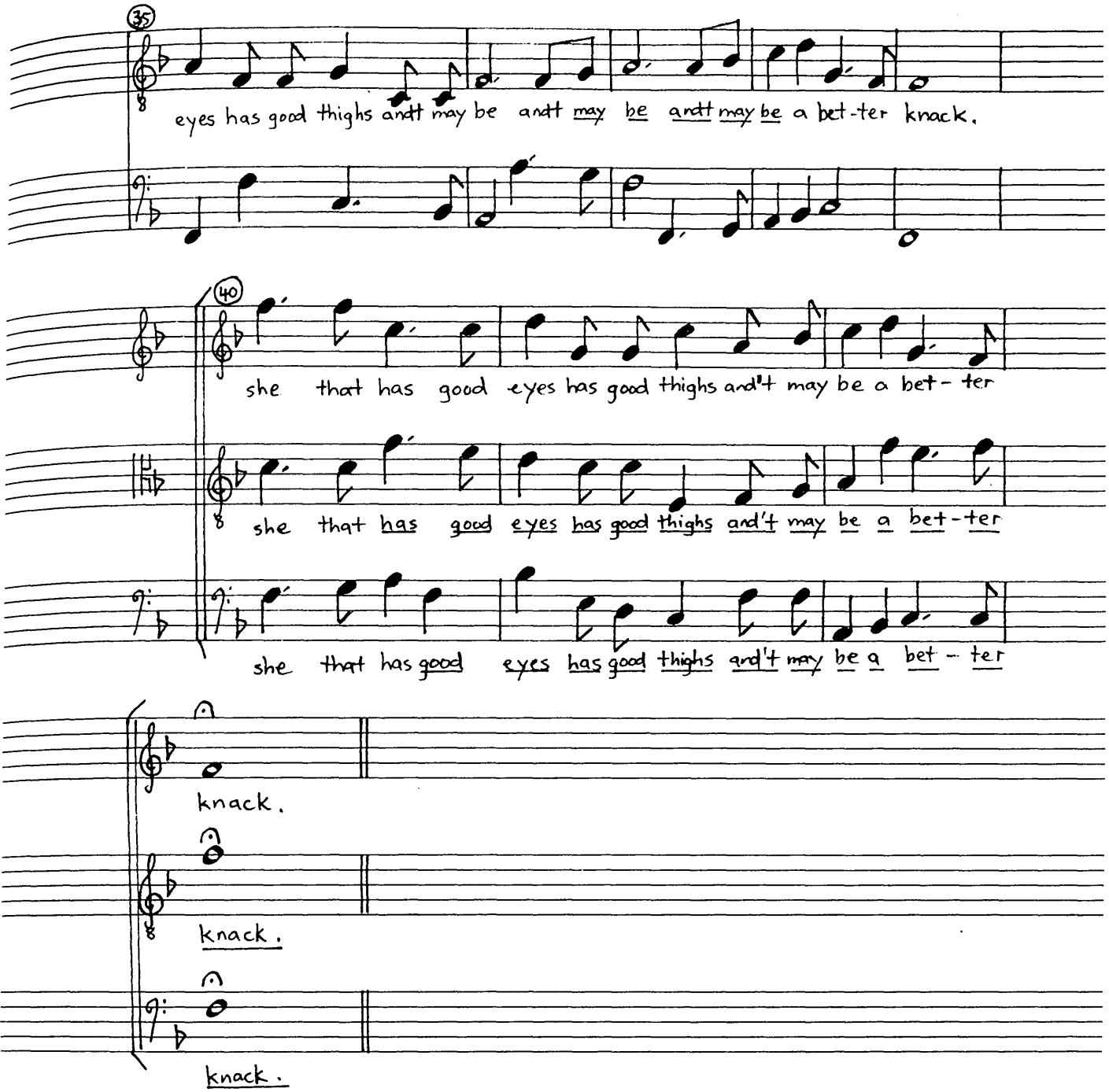
a hall a hall
~~To welcome our freind~~
for some liquor Call
Hoe ~~A new or fresh face~~
must not Alter our Pace
but make us still drinke the Quicker.
Hoe, Wyne O tis divine
~~Come fill it unto our Brother,~~
whats at our tongues End
~~it forth doth send~~
and will not a silable smouther.
Then It unlocks the brest
and throwes out the rest,
and learnes us to knowe each Other.

30. A HEALTH TO THE NOTHERNE LASSE

WILLIAM LAWES




[1st voice]
[3rd voice]
[1st voice]
[3rd voice]
eyes has good thighs drinke a way drink a way she that has good
20
[1st voice]
[3rd voice]
[1st voice]
[2nd voice]
eyes has good thighs drink a way drink a way, [3.] I
25
pledg I pledge what Ho some wyne, heers to thyne and to thyne, the
30
Coul-ours are de-vine, But O the black the black
give me as much a gen and let be sack, she that has good


35
eyes has good thighs andt may be andt may be andt may be a bet-ter knack.
40
she that has good eyes has good thighs and't may be a bet- ter
she that has good eyes has good thighs and't may be a bet-ter
she that has good eyes has good thighs and't may be a bet - ter
knack.
knack.
knack.

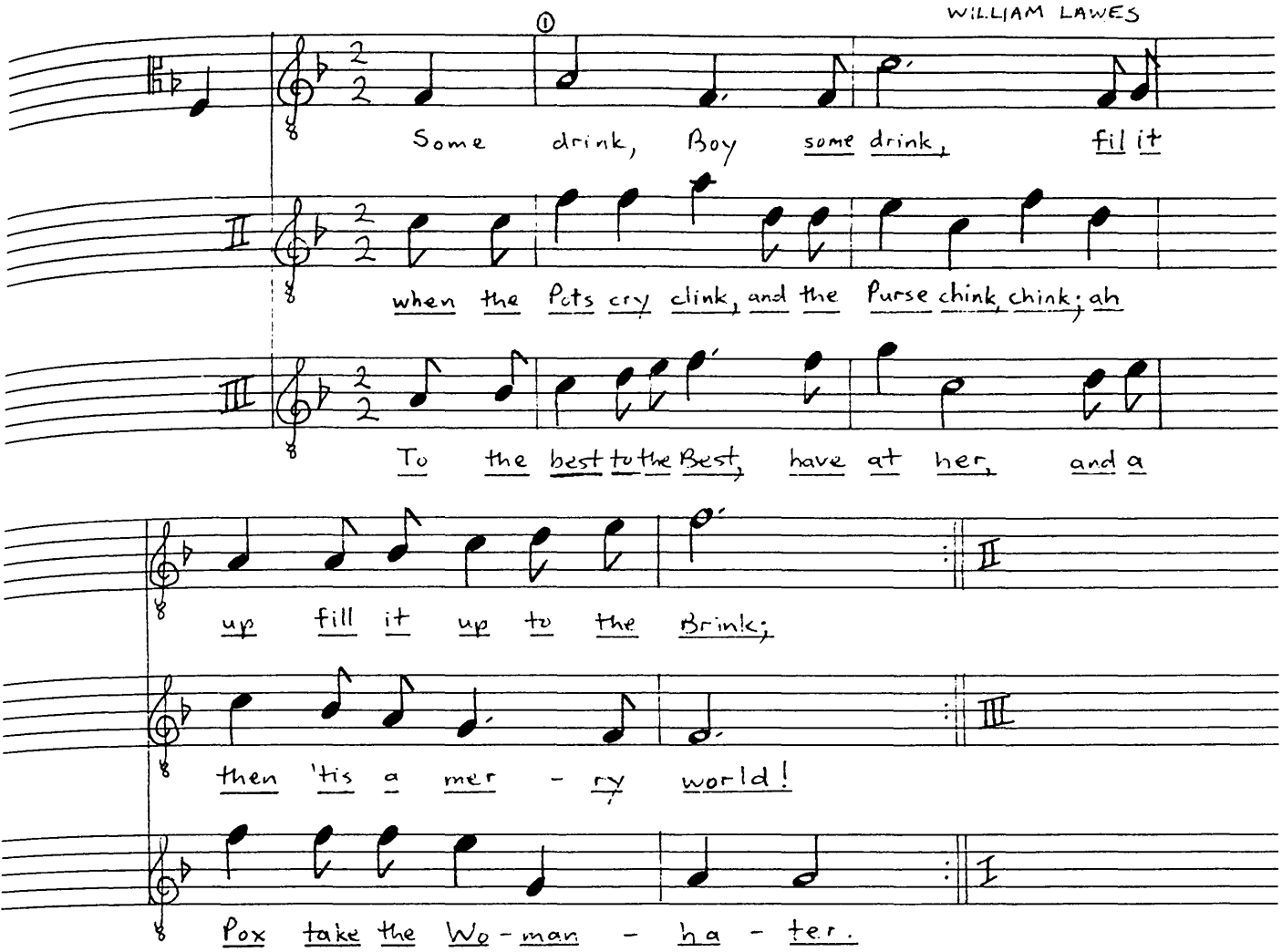
[1.] A Health to the Nutherne lasse
with the hazell eyes let it passe.
she that has good eyes
has good thighs,
lett it Passe, let it Passe,

[2.] as much to the lively gray
tis as good ith' night as day.
she that has good eyes
has good thighs
drinke away drinke a way,

[3.] I pledg I pledge what Ho some wyne,
heers to thyne and to thyne,
the Coulours are devine,
But O the black the black
give me as much a gen and let be sack,
she that has good eyes
has good thighs
andt may be a better knack.

31. SOME DRINK, BOY SOME DRINK

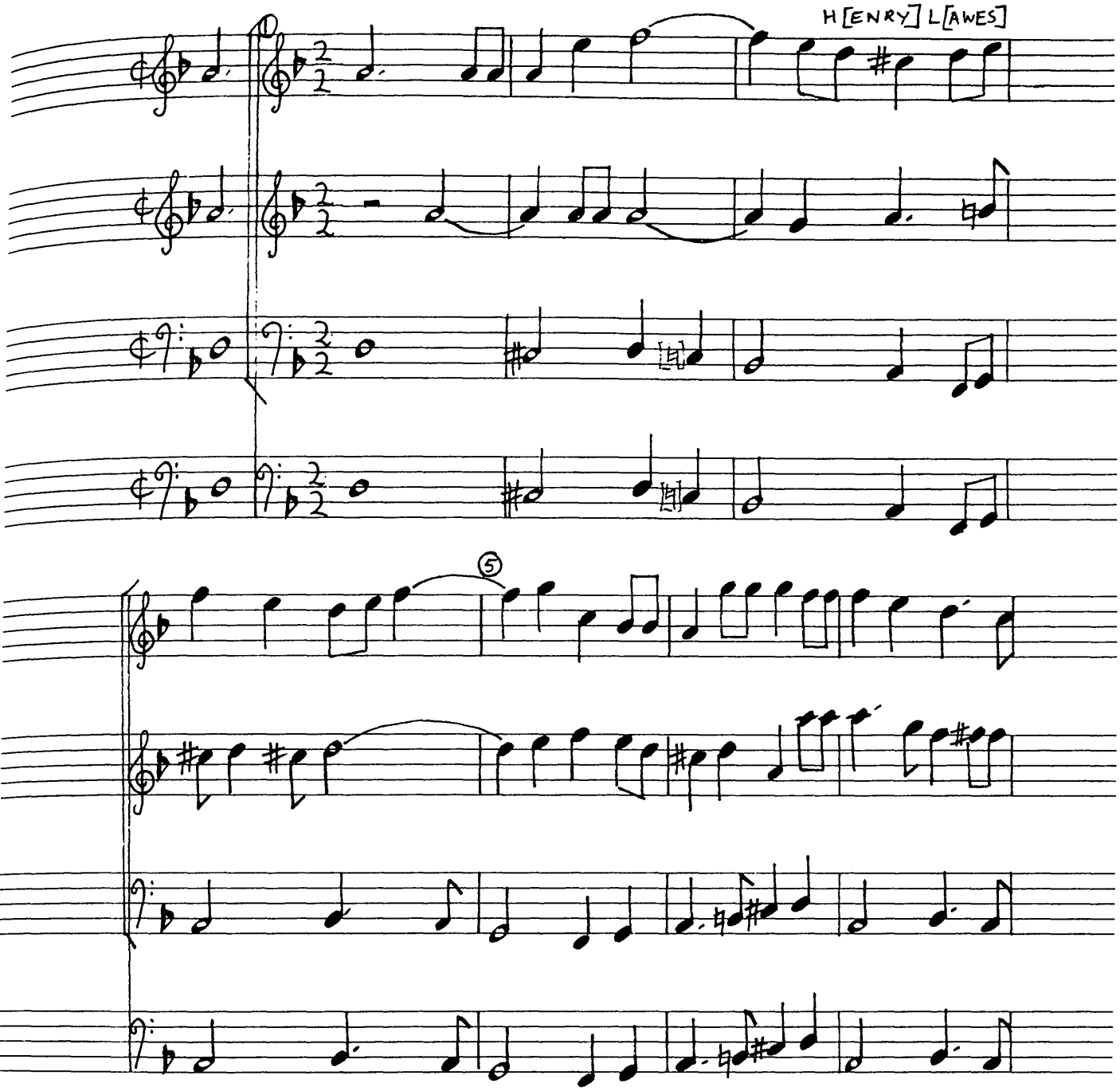
WILLIAM LAWES

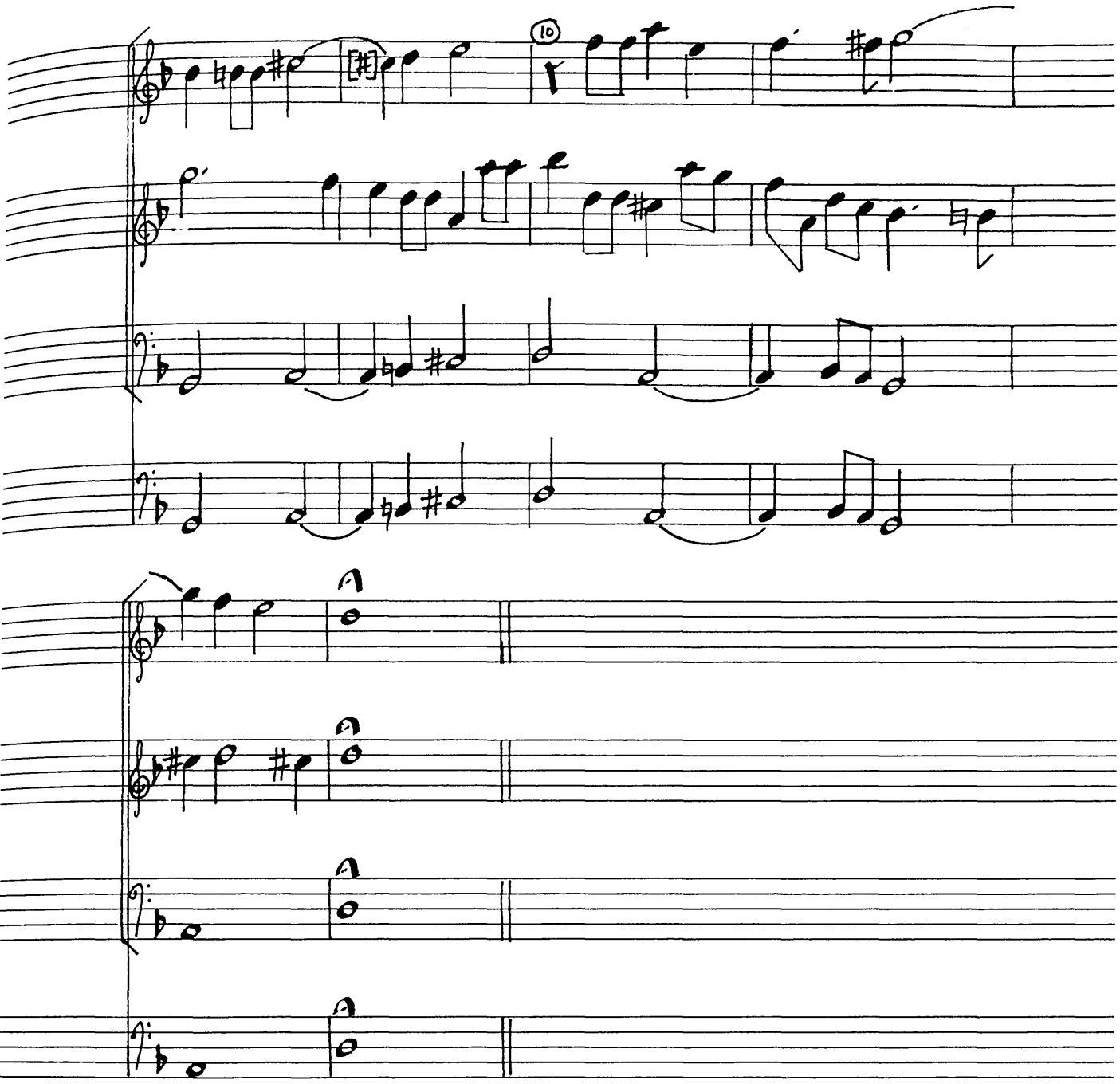


Some drink, Boy some drink,
fil it up fill it up to the Brink;
when the Pots cry clink,
and the Purse chink, chink;
ah then 'tis a merry world! 5
~~To the best to the Best, have at her,~~
~~and a Pox take the Woman-hater.~~

32a. 1ST SIMPHONYE IN ST. JOHN'S PLAY. BEFORE THE 1ST SONG

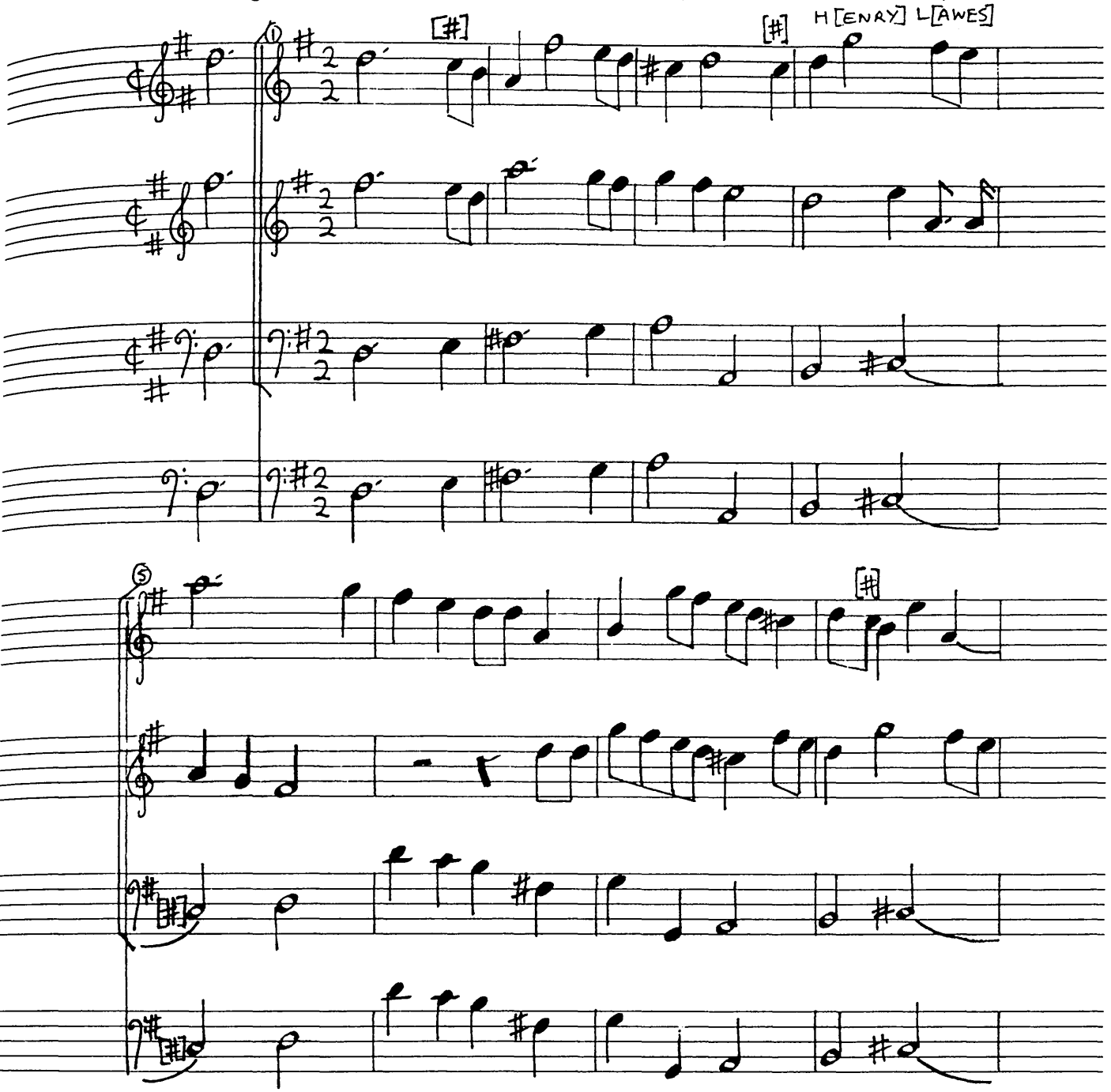
H[ENRY] L[AWES]

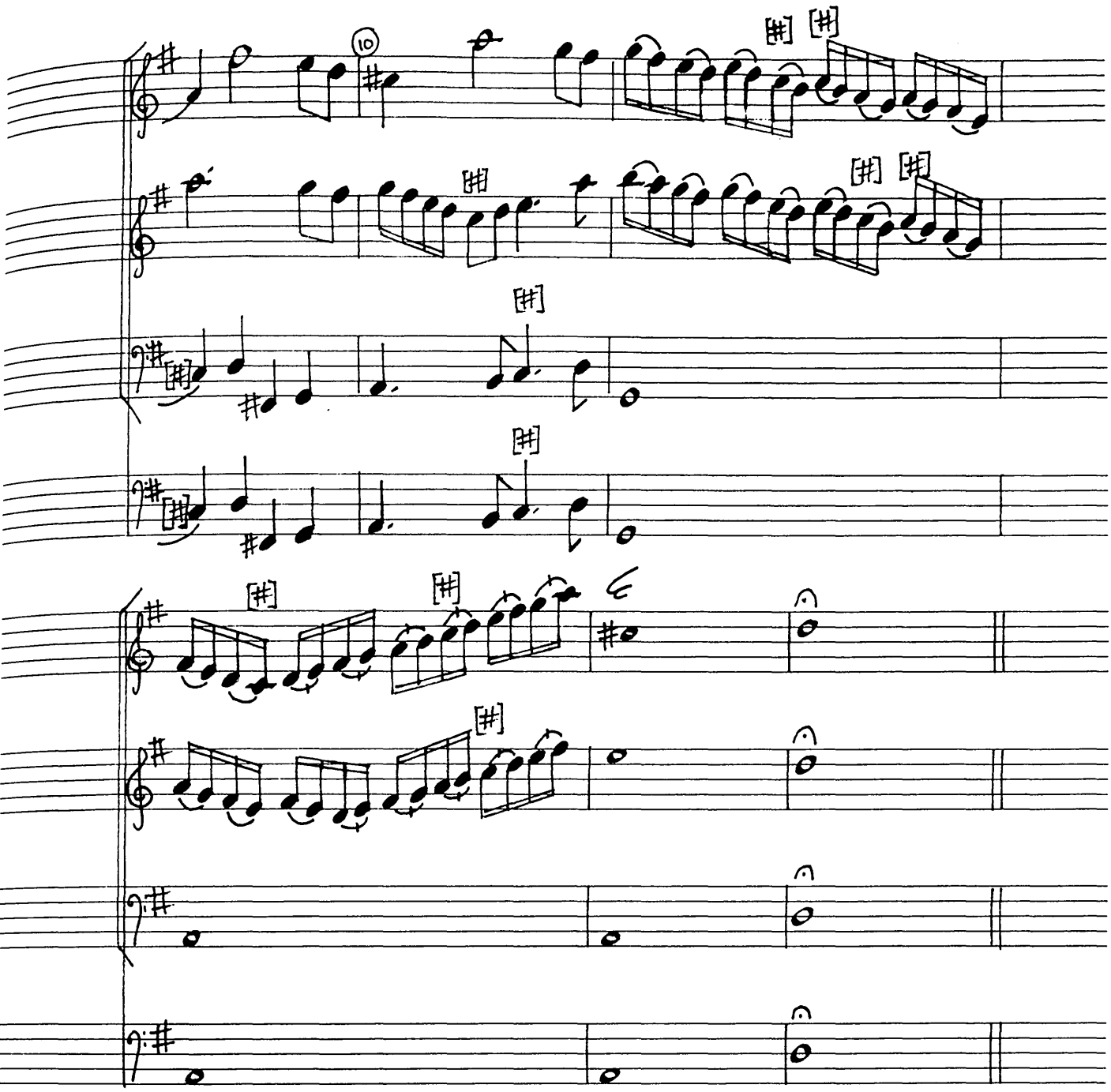




32b. 2ND SIMPHONYE IN ST. JOHN'S PLAY. BEFORE THE 2ND SONG

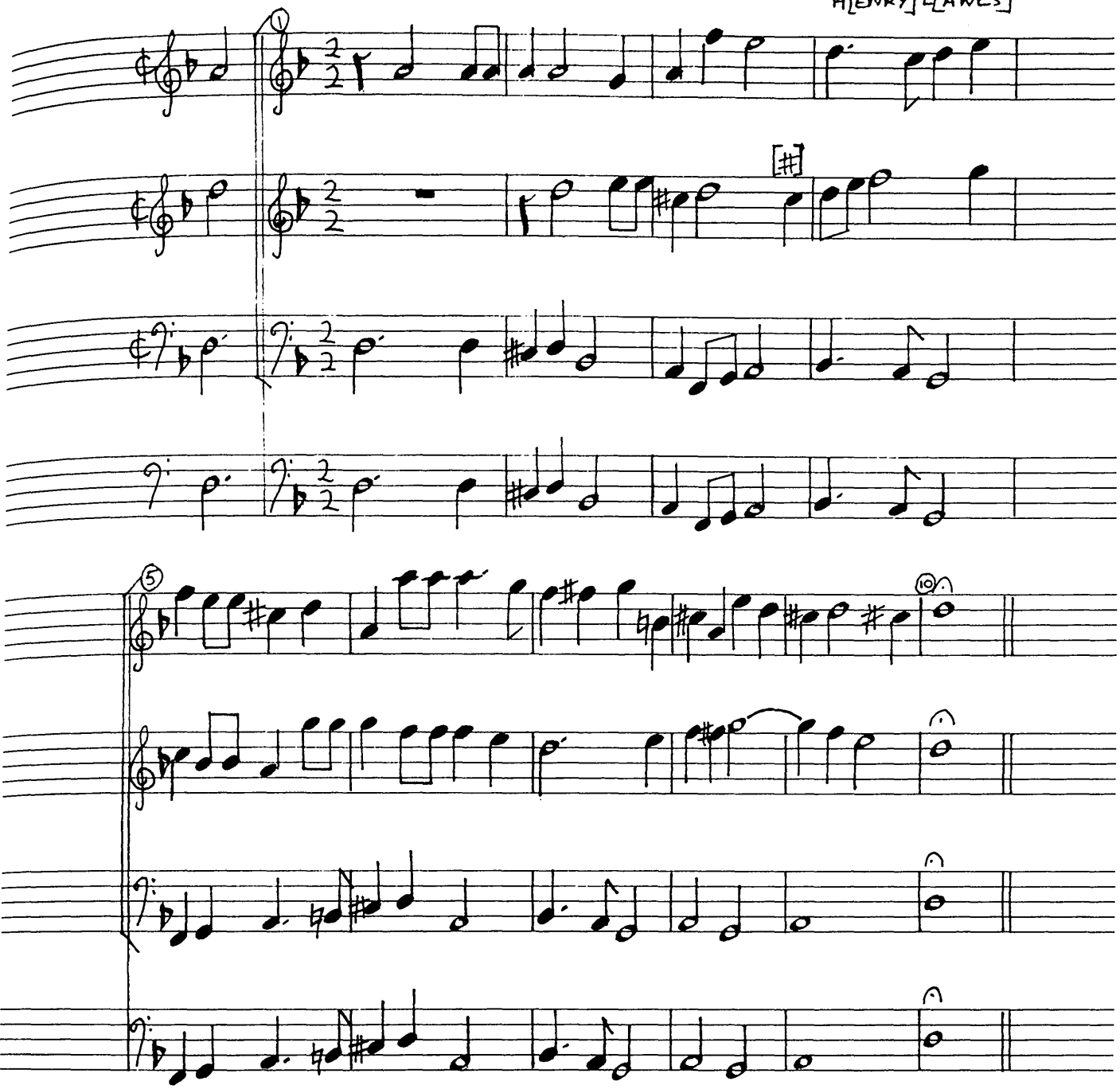
H[ENRY] L[AWES]





32c. 3RD SIMPHONYE IN ST. JOHN'S PLAY

H[ENRY] L[AWES]



Useful descriptions of song sources of the period are to be found in Day and Murrie 1940, Hart 1953, Spink 1966, Duckles 1968, Spink ed. 1977, Chan 1980, Spink 1986 and Jorgens ed. 1986-89, as well as in various library catalogues.

Spink's abbreviations for both manuscript and printed sources in **Musica Britannica** 33 (ed. 1977) and **English Song Dowland to Purcell** (1986) have been followed, supplemented with my own abbreviations for sources he did not include.

Manuscripts

The order gives a broad indication of the degree of authority.

A — London, British Library, Add. 53723
Henry Lawes' autograph song-book, before 1626-c. 1652. See Willetts 1969; also Evans 1941 and Ford 1951.

C — London, British Library, Add. 31432
William Lawes' autograph song-book, c. 1640-45. See Cutts 1952a and Crum 1954.

B.2 — Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mus.Sch.B.2
Copies of vocal and instrumental works in score, before 1645. William Lawes' autograph. Much of the vocal music has been crossed or torn out. See Lefkowitz 1959, Pinto 1978:21 and Pinto ed. 1979:xiii-xiv.

D — London, British Library, Add. 10338
George Jeffreys' autograph manuscript, vocal and instrumental music. Its date has long been taken as c. 1669, but Thompson believes that much of it might date from

before 1648, and that some of it was copied as early as c. 1640 (1988:165-220 and 1989).

B Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mus.b.1
Songs by John Wilson (plus some probably not by him - see Cutts 1956b); some lute music. C. 1656. Although at one time it was believed to be Wilson's autograph, current opinion is that the main body of the manuscript is apparently in the hand of Edward Lowe, with some amendments by John Wilson. It appears that the manuscript was compiled under Wilson's supervision, and Spink observes that copying by Edward Lowe does not especially detract from the manuscript's claim to Wilson's authority, given the circumstances of its original deposit in the Bodleian Library. (John Wilson presented it to the Bodleian in 1656, the year in which he was made Heather Professor of Music at Oxford University.) See Crum 1955, Cutts 1956b and Hobbs 1975.

P London, British Library, Add. 11608
Songs. Spink dated this to c. 1652-60, but Chan has presented convincing evidence (1979b) that the manuscript is mostly John Hilton's autograph, in which, unusually, he included songs by other composers in addition to his own; that there are one or perhaps two other, contemporary, hands; that the entry of items began c. 1641, continuing until c. 1659; and that it may have been a working copy book, perhaps compiled for use by a musical group including Hilton. Particularly interesting

because of the vocal embellishments it contains.

L — Oxford, Bodleian Library, Don.c.57
Songs, probably entered 1631-60. See Thewlis 1941 and Cutts 1953a.

M — New York, Public Library, Drexel 4041
Songs, the majority entered before 1650. A good source of play-songs, which probably belonged to a theatre musician; Spink has suggested John Gamble, to whose 'Commonplace Book' (R) its contents seem related (ed. 1977:189), and has also raised the possibility that John Atkins compiled this collection (1980a). See Cutts 1964.

R — New York, Public Library, Drexel 4257
Songs. 'John Gamble his booke amen 1659'. Probably compiled over some years and largely completed c. 1659, but with some entries probably made in the early years of the Restoration. See Hughes 1945, Duckles 1948 and 1953.

D.233 — Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mus.Sch.D.233
Vocal and instrumental works. This, the following two manuscripts and D.235 are four part-books from a set originally consisting of six, prepared for a collection of vocal music, probably well before 1636. The set of six were bought by Edward Lowe on 6th October 1636, who called them 'the parchment books' and copied into them music for string instruments. The countertenor and tenor part-books were later separated from the set, which was down to four by 1682, when the books in the Music School were

catalogued after Lowe's death. D.233 is the 'Cantus' book.

D.234 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mus.Sch.D.234
This is the 'Altus' book of the above set.

D.236 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mus.Sch.D.236
This is the 'Bassus' book of the above set.

E.451 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mus.Sch.E.451
Copied by Edward Lowe c. 1636-82. Contains basso continuo parts to vocal and instrumental music, including items in D.233-236. Two other types of entry are interspersed: singing parts of music by William and Henry Lawes, and music in score by William Lawes and Richard Dering.

Dd.III.73 Cambridge, University Library, Dd.III.73
Copy of William Johnson's play **Valetudinarium**, in a hand of the early part of the C17th.

S(a) Edinburgh, University Library, Dc.1.69
Songs in the hand of Edward Lowe, after 1660. Missing pages 87-88 and an unnumbered leaf are in Birmingham Central Library, MS 57316 (see Cutts 1959:171). 'Cantus primus' part (with continuo bass line) of what must once have been a three-part set of song-books, to which S(b) once also belonged, but whose lowest sung part is still missing. Very closely linked to W1660. Spink believed that as a source of Wilson's songs, S(a) derives from W1660 (ed. 1977:190), but Walls has stated that it seems probable that W1660 and the manuscript part-books derive from the same copy-text (1976:56). See Cutts 1959, Hobbs 1975 and Walls 1976.

S(b) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mus.d.238
Songs in the hand of Edward Lowe. Companion volume to S(a), being 'Cantus secundus' part of set to which S(a) once belonged. Contains second treble and basso continuo part for each song. See Crum 1974 and Walls 1976.

T London, British Library, Add. 29396
Songs in the hand of Edward Lowe. Spink dated it to c. 1661-80, but Chan has convincingly argued the case for redating (1978), believing it was probably begun in 1636, and that entry continued until the late 1670s or early 1680s, although she notes (1979a:148) that further enquiry into the date of the paper may be necessary before her arguments can be accepted as conclusive.

Harding Oxford, Bodleian Library, Harding Mus.e.1
Songs, seventeenth-century; contents related to printed collections like **Catch that Catch can.** Title-page: "M.S. English and Scottish Songs (with the Music) during the reign of K. Charles I 1630. - 1650". No official description of the manuscript is yet available, and detailed research into its date and provenance is necessary in order for its authority to be established.

Harl.5024 London, British Library, Harl. 5024, Art. 1
Copy of Joseph Simons' play **Zeno sive Ambitio Infelix** (here entitled 'Fratrum concordia saeva. sive Zeno Tragoedia'). C17th.

II.c.15 London, Royal College of Music, II.c.15
A copy of Hilton's **Catch that Catch can**

(1652), to which has been added a further 48 folios of manuscript additions. C17th.

Adv.81.9.12 Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Adv.81.9.12
Songs, late C17th - early C18th.

* * * * *

Printed sources

Details are cited here in shortened form; see the 'Bibliography of Musical Sources Consulted' for details of place of printing, and see Day and Murrie 1940 for full bibliographical details of these sources.

Banquet 1651 [John Benson and John Playford], **A Musicall Banquet** (1651)

H1652 [John Hilton], **Catch that Catch can** (1652)

P1652 [John Playford], **Select Musicall Ayres, And Dialogues** (1652) [(a) and (b) denote first and second pagination]

L1653 Henry Lawes, **Ayres And Dialogues ... The First Booke** (1653) [(a) and (b) denote first and second pagination]

H1658 [John Hilton], **Catch that Catch can ... The Second Edition Corrected and Enlarged by J. Playford** (1658)

P1659 [John Playford], **Select Ayres And Dialogues** (1659); reprinted as Book I of [John Playford], **The Treasury of Musick** (1669)

W1660 John Wilson, **Cheerfull Ayres Or Ballads** (1660) [1659] [(a) indicates Cantus Primus part-book with basso continuo, (b) is Cantus Secundus, (c) is Bassus]

P1663 [John Playford and Zachariah Watkins], **Catch that Catch Can** (1663) (The 1658

	edition with additions)
Cithren 1666	[John Playford], **Musick's Delight On The Cithren** (1666)
P1667	[John Playford], **Catch that Catch can: Or The Musical Companion ... To which is now added a Second Book Containing Dialogues, Glees, Ayres, and Ballads** (1667)
P1669	[John Playford], **The Treasury of Musick ... In Three Books** (1669) (Book I is P1659; Book II is [John Playford], **Select Ayres And Dialogues ... The Second Book** [1669]; Book III is Henry Lawes, **Ayres, And Dialogues ... The Third Book** [1658])
P1673	[John Playford], **The Musical Companion** (1673) (an enlarged edition of P1667)
B1677	Henry Bowman, **Songs for i 2 and 3 Voyces** (1677)
B1678(a)	[John Banister and Thomas Low], **New Ayres And Dialogues** (1678)
B1678(b)	Henry Bowman, **Songs, For One, Two and Three Voices** (1678)
B1679	Henry Bowman, **Songs, For One, Two, and Three Voyces ... The Second Edition** (1679)
P1685	[John Playford], **Catch that Catch can; Or, The Second Part of The Musical Companion** (1685)
PMC 1686	[John Playford], **The Second Book of the Pleasant Musical Companion ...** The Second Edition (1686)
PMC 1687	[John Playford], **The Second Book of the Pleasant Musical Companion ...** The Second Edition (1687) (identical with first issue of 1686)
AA	John Blow, **Amphion Anglicus** (1700)

NOTES ON THE TEXTUAL COMMENTARY

The commentary on each song takes the following form:

Dramatic source: Author; play; date of printed play-text referred to in subsequent citations, quotations and comparisons of lyric; act, scene and line numbers of lyric in that text. Note on play-text: If a modern edition uses modern spelling, the first seventeenth-century edition is used instead for this appendix. If no printed text survives, details of the manuscript are given. Where a printed text and a manuscript or manuscripts are referred to, they are identified by (a), (b), etc..

Performance details: Who sings (brief explanation of identity from Dramatis Personae, if given there); accompanying instrument (if indicated). Quotation of stage direction accompanying song (all stage directions are given in italics).

Musical sources: Copy-text is listed first, then concordances, more or less in order of authority. Titles and ascriptions are noted after a dagger when at end of piece. (Note: P1669 is listed here [where relevant], but, since each of the three books comprising P1669 is a reprint of an earlier publication, from this point on in the commentary, mention is made only of the earlier printings.)

Discussion of musical sources and setting

Notes on music: Variants are noted in accordance with principles outlined in the Introduction. The following system of reference to musical variants is used: bar number / part (Roman numerals, I being the uppermost part, X being basso continuo) / number of symbol (note, whether tied or not, or rest) in that bar : comment or variant reading, variant shown as a rhythm and/or pitch symbol (underlined letter for the rhythm, Roman letter for the pitch) (siglum for the source of the comment or

variant, unless there is only one source). For example, 21.II.4 : d'' (M).

Notes on lyric: Variants are noted in accordance with the principles outlined in the Introduction. The following system of reference is used: line number (referring to lineation in the lyric as written out in full after the music) / reading in that version of the lyric] variant reading (siglum for the source of the variant). In order to reduce the number of sigla, individual abbreviations are not given to the dramatic texts; rather, the abbreviation DT is used to refer to the text cited under 'Dramatic source' in each case (and if there is more than one text here, the abbreviations DT[a], DT[b], etc. are used).

Other abbreviations:

acc. = accidental
b = breve
c = crotchet
dsq = demisemiquaver
fig. = figured or figuring
k-s = key-signature
m = minim
(o) = no accidental
om. = omitted
orn. = ornament
p = pause
q = quaver
(s) = note slurred to following. A figure indicates that the slur extends over the next however-many notes; thus (s3) means 'slur begins here and ends 3 notes later'
s = semibreve
s.d. = stage direction
sq = semiquaver

(t) = note tied to following

t-s = time-signature

The Helmholtz system of referring to pitches is used.

A duration letter followed by a dot signifies that the note is dotted (for instance, m. = dotted minim).

1. WHER DID YOU BORROW THAT LAST SIGH

Dramatic source:

W. Berkeley, **The Lost Lady** (ed. 1967), IV.1910-17

Performance details:

Phillida (Hermione's servant) sings, accompanying herself on a lute.

Musical sources:

Copy-text - C, f. 17 † Wj Lawes

Concordance - M, no. 5, f. 6

Discussion of musical sources and setting:

Versions almost identical. This is almost certainly the original setting.

Bowden comments that the text of the lyric is incomplete (1951:149). Both sources of the musical setting omit what is apparently the last line of the lyric in the play-text, making it obvious that this final line is in fact part of the dialogue. Even in the modern edition of the play (ed. 1967), this line is printed as if it is part of the lyric.

Notes on music:

2.I.1-2 : c. q (M)

2.X.1-3,3.X.1-2 : m.f cc m.f ce (M)

Notes on lyric:

4 own.]~∧(C)

6 Ivorie] snowy (DT)

skin.]~∧(C)

2. THEN LET US BE FRIENDS, AND MOST FRIENDLY AGREE

Dramatic source:

R. Brome, **The City Wit** (1653), III.i.304-11

Performance details:

Crack ("a Boy that sings"), apparently unaccompanied. S.d. "Crack sings" (III.i.303.1)

Musical sources:

Copy-text - P1663, pt 1, p. 124 Mr. John Tailor

Concordance - P1667, p. 24 Mr. John Tailor

Discussion of musical sources and setting:

Both sources employ black notation; black semibreves have been transcribed as minims. There are only minor differences between sources. The fact that this setting is for three voices rather than the one called for in the play-text argues against it being linked with the original production. However, two facts deserve mention. Firstly, although the stage direction says that Crack sings, there are three characters in the scene, and the preceding dialogue has said that they must all agree, and be linked in covenant together, by indenture tripartite. In this context, a catch for three voices could be appropriate. Secondly, other songs by John Taylor appear in M, which probably belonged to a theatre musician. These songs have not been linked with specific plays, but this could suggest a link between John Taylor and the theatre.

Notes on music:

7.II.2,3: b, c' (P1663)

9.I.3: b (P1667)

Notes on lyric:

7 wears] failes (DT)

8 or] and (DT)

3. LOVE WHERE IS NOW THY DEITY

Dramatic source:

R. Brome, **The English Moor** (ed. 1978), IV.ii.40-55

Performance details:

Boy (page); no indication concerning accompaniment. S. d. "Song" (ibid..39)

Musical source:

Copy-text - R, no. 23 † John withy

Discussion of musical source and setting:

Unusually, the poet is also named in R: the lyric is ascribed to "Rich. Broome". The dramatic source of this song has not previously been identified; the song is blank in the 1659 printed text of the play. However, the lyric has been found in a manuscript of the play in Lichfield Cathedral Library, and this has enabled identification. It is possible that this setting is that used in the original production of the play.

Notes on music:

12.I.3 : q.

Notes on lyric:

3 by force to make] In making of (DT)

8 that] The (DT) price] prize (DT) mee?]~∧(R)

9 the inconstancy] th'Inconstancie (DT)

10 thy] the (DT)

11 and my reveng] my Revenger (DT)

12 has made] was made (R; I think this is an error) has done (DT)

14 Haveing tane] In taking (DT)

15 still yet leaves this] carries yet a (DT)

16 Although] For though (DT)

4. A BONY BONY BIRD I HAVE

Dramatic source:

R. Brome, **The Northern Lass** (ed. 1980), III.ii.80-98

Performance details:

Constance (the 'Northern Lass') sings; no indication concerning accompaniment. S.d "Song" (ibid..80)

Musical sources:

Copy-text - M, no. 13, ff. 11-11v

Concordance - R, no. 45 † John Willson

Discussion of musical sources and setting:

R is almost identical to M musically. This setting is likely to be that used in the original production.

Notes on music:

I : In k-s, lower flat sign indicates f' not e' flat

19.I.2 : g' (R)

Notes on lyric:

1 a] Originally 'The' [?] in R, corrected to 'A'

1-2 I have a bird] a bird I have (R), I had A bird (DT)

4 twas] was (R)

5 play for chirpp itt would] bird for chirpe it will'd (R), Play-fere: Chirp it would, (DT)

6 from hand] and fly (DT)

7 an] and (M), a (DT)

8 list.]~∧ (M)

9 he] it (R, DT)

10 dyes.]~∧ (M)

11 nay would] But were (R, DT) come] com'd (R), comd (DT)

12 love] love e (M, R)

14 itt] yet (R, DT) dove] dove'e (M), possibly 'Dovee' (R)

16 willd] reading unclear in M, but this reading likely,

especially since it is used in R (line 5), would (R, DT)

17 name] names' (R)

5. AS I WAS GATHERING APRILL FLOWERS

Dramatic source:

R. Brome, **The Northern Lass** (ed. 1980), IV.iv.97-112

Performance details:

Holdup (a courtesan), impersonating the mad Constance; no indication concerning accompaniment. S.d. "Song" (ibid..96)

Musical sources:

Copy-text - M, no. 21, f. 16v † J w [very faint]

Concordance - R, no. 47 † John Wilson

Discussion of musical sources and setting:

R is almost identical to M musically. This is likely to be the original setting.

Notes on music:

31.I.1 : a' (R)

Notes on lyric:

1 aprill] Aprill's (DT)

6 have found this] ha' found that (DT) harbowre.]~$_{\wedge}$(M)

7 their] there (R, DT)

8 grase.]~$_{\wedge}$(M)

9 And] Aad (M) their whilst] there while (R, DT)

10 the] this (R) dry] dye (R, DT)

11 smale bird] bird (R, DT)

12 a] the (DT)

13 note] notes (R, DT) shower,]~$_{\wedge}$(M)

16 fild] swell'd (R), swole (DT) (Reading in M originally

began 'sw', but this was deleted and replaced) lapp.]~∧ (M), my Lapp: (R), my lap. (DT)

6. SOM SAY MY LOVE IS BUTT A MAN

Dramatic source:

R. Brome, **The Northern Lass** (ed. 1980), II.iii.89-97

Performance details:

Constance (the 'Northern Lass') sings; no indication concerning accompaniment. S.d. "Song" (ibid..88)

Musical source:

Copy-text - M, no. 11, f. 10 † John Willson

Discussion of musical source and setting:

This is likely to be the original setting.

Notes on music:

9-10 : M contains notes and barlines in both parts which have been crossed out. The substitute reading is quite clear

11.X.2,3 : c', d' (I thought it more likely that the error was in the basso continuo line than in the melody)

Notes on lyric:

1 som] You (DT)

2 yet] But (DT)

4 twixt] betweene (DT) godds.]~∧ (M)

5 thers in his] He has in's (DT)

7 forme] shape (DT)

9 mine.]~∧ (M)

7. COM O COM I BROOKE NOE STAYE

Dramatic source:

W. Cartwright, **The Ordinary** (ed. 1951), III.iii.1263-72,1275-79,1282-86

Performance details:

Priscilla (Jane's maid) sings, accompanying herself on the lute. S.d.s "Musick" (presumably an introduction); "A Song within" (ibid..1261,1262.1)

Musical sources:

Copy-text - A, no. 103, f. 54v Hen: Lawes

Concordances - R, no. 236

P1659 and P1669, p. 61 (misnumbered 55) Love admits no Delay

† Mr. Henry Lawes

Cithren 1666, no. 91

Discussion of musical sources and setting:

Some revisions have been marked in A, but the original version has been given here, as I believe this is likely to be the one used at the original production of **The Ordinary**. The title-page to the 1651 edition of Cartwright's **Comedies, Tragi-Comedies, with other poems** states that "The airs and songs" were "set by Mr. Henry Lawes". It is difficult to decipher what was intended in either the original or the revised version of A at the end of bar 6. The revisions (which are indicated above the stave) are mostly alterations in note values, which result in less subtle declamation. They are present in P1659 (which probably derives from revised A), though the doubt over bar 6 should be reiterated, and note values in bars 4 and 9 are halved. R is slightly different from both. It partially adopts A's revisions, but its bar 6 features a different solution again, nearer to the original version of A than to P1659. Bars 5 to 9 are repeated. Cithren 1666 is a tone higher, and has slight

rhythmic and melodic differences from the other versions. It follows most of the revisions in A.

Notes on music:

4.I.1 : m (original version of A)

5.I.4-6 : although slur in A was probably intended to include all three notes, it looks as if it includes only the latter two. In R, notes 4-5 and 6-7 are slurred, i.e. the underlay differs

6 : revision in A follows the reading from P1659 given above the stave, except that it is unclear what was intended at 6.I.5-6; the intent here in the original version is also unclear. For the revised version, ca' g.f' sgg' seems to be a possible reading, but is unlikely given the bass line, so perhaps the reading in P1659 is what was intended.

Notes on lyric:

In the play-text, a couple of lines of dialogue separate stanzas 2 and 3, and 3 and 4. This song and the surrounding dialogue were omitted from the Restoration revival of the play (see Blakemore Evans ed. 1951: 261). Some of the variants below reflect idiosyncratic spellings in R.

2 she] He (DT)

6 to] two (R)

8 fifteene,] ~ (A)

9 wryte] rightt (R), wright (Cithren 1666) us] her (R, Cithren 1666)

10 Looser] losser (?) (R) youth] Loves (R)

12 thy] the (R)

14 to] two (R)

16 let] O let (DT; and originally in A, then 'O' deleted) cherrish then] then cherish (R, Cithren 1666) these powres] these our powers (Cithren 1666)

17 whyles] while (R) yet may] may yett (R) ours] hower's (R)

20 strike] strikes (R) Howres] hour (P1659)

The lyric only is contained in GB-Lbl MS Harl. 3511 (f. 9v); f. 10 contains an 'Answer' to Cartwright's lyric by ? Hā (Blakemore Evans suggests Thomas) May:

Goe o goe be gon away
He cannot love that cannot stay
See how the ugly night
Is banisht by the light
And conquiring Sol has got the day.

To 'b unwilling's to be chast
And every gallant that's in hast
Comits a reall fault
Desire will write him naught
Although the act be never past.

Blasting tapours I wish gon
Since such a flame is worst [sic] than none
The long-a-kindling fire
Is gon before't expire
I'le lie still warme and still alone.

Learne to vanquish then those powers
The will unbridled's none of ours
Who on a Mistres cheeke
Kisseth chimes all the weeke
For bells and baubles sells his houres.

8. A POX ON OUR GAOLER, AND ON HIS FAT JOLE

Dramatic source:

W. Cartwright, **The Royal Slave** (ed. 1951), I.i.14-19

Performance details:

Four imprisoned Ephesians sing (Philotas, Stratocles, Leocrates and Archippus), unaccompanied. S.d. "The Slaves song within" (ibid..13.1). Several lines previously, the slaves have performed a snatch of the song, supposedly warming up

Musical sources:

Copy-text - P1667, p. 74 A Catch sung in the Play called The Royal Slave Mr. W. Lawes

Concordance - P1673, p. 53 Mr. W. Lawes

Discussion of musical sources and setting:

The ascription in P1667 establishes that this is the original setting. It concludes with two lines which do not appear in the play-text. They are taken from "Now, now, the Sunne is fled" (a drinking song in III.i), being its two-line refrain, although set to different music from that used in Henry Lawes' setting of the latter song. P1673 is almost identical to P1667 musically.

This lyric was evidently popular, since it was also set by two other composers. John Hilton's setting of lines 1 to 6 was published earlier (H1652, p. 29; H1658, pt 1, p. 28; P1663, pt 1, p. 28) and also appears in Harding (p. 15) and Adv.81.9.12 (f. 5). It is in G minor and for three voices. John Jackson set all eight lines (P1667, suppl. pp. 6-7), as a glee for three voices in G major, and followed the lyric set by William Lawes word for word, unlike John Hilton, whose setting features several variants in the lyric.

Notes on music:

To understand the following notes, it is necessary to know that in P1667, the melody is written out in full, with all the words underlaid.

1.III.1 : A on setting of line 4 in P1667

2.II.1 : m m on setting of line 7 in P1667, to accommodate an extra syllable

2.IV.1 : m m on setting of line 8 in P1667, again to accommodate an extra syllable

Notes on lyric:

4 Cups are] Cup's (DT)

7-8 Omitted in DT and P1673

9. I CONJURE THE I CONJURE THE

Dramatic source:

W. Cavendish (and J. Shirley?), **The Variety** (1649), IV.i.496-519

Performance details:

Boy sings, presumably accompanied by musicians who are onstage. S.d. "Song" (IV.i.495.1)

Musical source:

Copy-text - M, no. 49, ff. 36v-37 † Jw.

Discussion of musical source and setting:

The composer is almost definitely John Wilson; three other songs from the same play appear in M, grouped with this one, and also in W1660, where they are attributed to Wilson. In the play-text, lines 23 to 24 follow line 8, and Cutts calls them a refrain (1964:176). This seems plausible when one goes by the lyric in the play-text. However, in the musical source, the second and third stanzas precede the musical setting of lines 23 to 24, and I have followed this order and layout in my edition, since there are no directs or other indication that the setting of lines 23 to 24 is to follow immediately after

bar 16. It is unclear whether each stanza should be prefaced in performance by "I conjure the" (bars 1 to 2), or whether subsequent stanzas should begin at bar 3. From a musical point of view either repetition or omission are possible, but from the point of view of the words, repetition does not make such good sense. Cf. another Caroline play-song of conjuration, "Come away, thou lady gay".

Notes on music:

Notes on lyric:

3 With thy] Thy (DT)
6 which] that (DT)
11 shooes] shooe (DT)
20 all] all all (M)
20 womens] womans (DT)
21 them not] not them (DT)
24 thee.] ~ (M)

10. I SWEARE BY MUSKADELL

Dramatic source:

W. Cavendish (and J. Shirley?), **The Variety** (1649), IV.i.665-88

Performance details:

Unclear; presumably sung and accompanied by musicians who are onstage. S.d. "Song" (ibid..664.1)

Musical sources:

Copy-text - W1660(a), pp. 108-9 J. Wilson; (b), p. 68; (c), p. 68

Concordances - M, no. 52, ff. 38v-39

S(a), no. 26, p. 69; S(b), no. 26, pp. 66c-67

L, f. 79 John. Wilson.

Discussion of musical sources and setting:

W1660(a) has been chosen as copy-text since it was authorized by John Wilson. Only the solo version has been included since, according to the Preface of W1660, the three-part versions are later than the settings for single voice. S(a) and (b) probably derive from the same copy-text as W1660(a) and (b); they are identical musically, and the lyrics too are almost identical, apart from some obvious errors in the latter source. L is identical to W1660(a), and derives from it. M is interesting not only because of its theatrical connections but also because it is earlier in date. The possibility that it could represent an earlier version of the setting which Wilson then revised, i.e. that it was copy-text for W1660, is perhaps possible musically (there are some differences from W1660), but is argued against by the differences in the lyric, which are different again from the play-text's lyric. I think it more likely that M derives from a different copy-text than W1660.

M is a fourth lower than all the other versions; here it has been transposed to the same pitch for purposes of comparison. Show-through in this source occasionally creates problems in deciphering words and notes.

S(a) includes the annotation "p", apparently written in by Rimbault and standing for 'printed' (see Cutts 1959:174).

Notes on music:

3.X.1-2 : ma flat (M)

5.I.2 : (o) (M)

10.X.2-3 : cg (M)

13.X.1-2 : c m (M)

14.X.1-2 : c c (M)

15-16.X : an octave higher (M)

Notes on lyric:

Stanzas 2 and 3 are in reverse order in DT.

3 then] than (DT)

7 Ore] those (M) though (DT)

8 aire] haire (W1660[a], L)

10 For thy sweeter Black black black] For thy black, black, black, / For thy dainty black, black (DT)

11 then all] them (M)

13 gracefull] gratefull (DT)

15 For thy dainty Black black black] For thy black, black, black, / For thy dainty black, black (DT)

16 loving] cunning (DT)

17 I] it (DT) Espye] it spie (M)

18 loves] love (M, DT)

19 d'yee] doe you (M), d'you (DT)

20 Mine answered thy Black black black] Mine answer'd, thy black, black, / Thy dainty black, black, blacke (DT)

11. COME LET US CAST THE DICE WHO SHALL DRINK

Dramatic source:

W. Cavendish, J. Shirley, **The Country Captain** (**Captain Underwit**) (1649), IV.i.1-12

Performance details:

Performed offstage, supposedly by Courtwell, Underwit and the Captain, unaccompanied. S.d. "A Catch Sung" (ibid..0.1)

Musical sources:

Copy-text - Banquet 1651, pt 3, p. 4 † Mr. William Lawes

Concordances - H1652, p. 34 † Mr. William Lawes

H1658, pt 1, p. 31 † Mr. William Lawes

P1663, pt 1, p. 31 † Mr. William Lawes

P1667, p. 31 † Mr. William Lawes

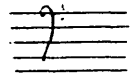
P1673, p. 23 † Mr. William Lawes
Harding, p. 9

Discussion of musical sources and setting:

Versions are identical apart from one error in H1658 and P1663 and two differences in Harding. All sources employ black notation; black semibreves have been transcribed as minims. This is likely to be the original setting.

The lyric is contained in the 1649 printed text of the play but not in the extant manuscript (GB-Lbl MS Harl. 7650), where there is merely the stage direction "A song i'th taverne" (IV.0.1). Schoenbaum attributes the play to Cavendish and Shirley. Although it is uncertain how much is Shirley's, the lyric of this dicing song certainly is, since it is included in his **Poems etc.** (1646), where "it is entitled 'A Catch' but printed as a rebus with pictures of the dice" (Bentley 1941-68:III,148).

Notes on music:

Clefs erroneously shown as  in Banquet 1651

Notes on lyric:

In the edition of this song, underlining of text does not indicate that it has been supplied editorially, but that it is italicized.

1 cast] throw (DT)
2 mine] Thine (DT)
3 thine,] a cast, (DT)
4 and he threw nine,] Sixe and three not too fast. (DT)
5 away] aloft (DT)
9 I] we (DT)
11 his] the (Harding)
12 the] a (Harding) has] that has (DT)

12. WITH LANTHORN ON STALL AT TREE-TRIP WE PLAY

Dramatic source:

W. Davenant, **The Wits** (1636), V.ii.146-49

Performance details:

Watchmen sing, unaccompanied. S.d. "They sing a Catch in foure Parts" (ibid..145.1)

Musical source:

Copy-text - P1667, sig. 2N1v The Watchmans Catch

Discussion of musical source and setting:

Notes on music:

Notes on lyric:

1 Tree-trip] Trea Trip (DT) (Trea Trip: "A game at dice, or with dice, in which success probably depended on the casting of a trey or three" [**O.E.D.**])

2 until] till (DT)

13. SOMNUS THE UMBLE GOD THAT DWELS

Dramatic source:

J. Denham, **The Sophy** (ed. 1969), V.261-75

Performance details:

Presumably the song and its accompaniment are performed by the musicians whose entry is directed immediately before the lyric is cited (s.d. "Enter Musick" [ibid..260.1])

Musical source:

Copy-text - M, no. 27, ff. 19v-20 † wL

Discussion of musical sources and setting:

The ascriptions "Sir John Denham" and "Denham" precede the song; Cutts has stated that they are in Rimbault's hand (1964:171). Despite the ascription to "wL", caution is necessary, and the song may not be by William Lawes, as ascriptions in M are not necessarily reliable (see Jorgens ed. 1986-89:IX,v-vi). However, given the evidence linking Lawes with the King's Men, the performers of this play, I believe it is likely that he is the composer, and moreover that this setting is probably that used in the original production of the play. M carries weight as a manuscript which probably belonged to a theatre musician. Jorgens notes that the setting was probably entered before 1650 (ed. 1986-89:XII,500). Henry Bowman also set this lyric, for three voices and continuo, and in C minor (B1677, B1678b, B1679, pp. 11-12). John Blow later set it too (AA, pp. 58-61).

Notes on music:

4.I.4 : c

24.X.2 : g

Notes on lyric:

The lyric is separated into three stanzas in the play-text.

1 somnus] Morpheus (DT. This edition of the play is based on the 1668 text, and notes that the reading here is 'Somnus', which is corrected in the errata. The first edition of the play, of 1642, has 'Somnus'. Bowman has 'Morpheus' and Blow 'Morph'us'. dwels] dwles (M)

5 flyes] Flies from (DT)

Curile] circle (DT) Regarding 'Curile', Jorgens notes that "curiality (courtliness, OED) is the closest but will not fit the music" (ed. 1986-89:XII,500), and thinks that 'circle' was probably intended. This is supported by

the reading in the play-text.

crowne.] ~$_{\wedge}$(M)

10 wake.] ~$_{\wedge}$ (M)

11 nature] Nature (alas) (DT)

12 beholding] Obliged (DT) foe,] ~$_{\wedge}$ (M)

13 our] thy (DT)

15 last.] ~$_{\wedge}$ (M)

14. WHAT HOE. WEE COME TO BE MERRY

Dramatic source:

J. Ford, **The Lady's Trial** (ed. 1927), IV.1849-60

Performance details:

Identity of singers unknown; no information regarding accompaniment. S.d. "SONG" (IV.1848)

Musical source:

Copy-text - C, ff. 18v-19 † Wj Lawes

Discussion of musical source and setting:

It is likely that this is the original setting.

Notes on music:

3.III.9-10 : q

4.II.1 : could be c not q

8.I.5 : c-rest

9.II.5 : rest sign unclear, could be c or q, but most likely q

13.II,III.2-3 : c

Notes on lyric:

2 doores] spelling unclear in C; could be 'dores', but it looks as if alteration to 'doores' represents final intention

3 lusty] Joviall in 2nd voice (C)

4 verie] Very, very (DT)

7 And Never] Never (DT). ('Never' is set as 'neare' on repetition of line in C)

8 Dayntily, daintily,] Dently, dently, (DT)
shall] thall (DT)

9 kisseth] kitheth (DT) liphping] lithping (DT)

In the play-text, three lines which are not in the musical source follow line 7:

As long as we have nere an eye to see
Pithee, pithee, leths come in,
One thall all oua favous win,

The musical source repeats lines 5-7 in place of these lines.

Some of the peculiarities in spelling are explained by the fact that this is a "comic lisping serenade appropriate to the lisping lass Amoretta" (Bowden 1951:166).

15. FLY HENCE SHADDOWES THAT DOE KEEPE

Dramatic source:

J. Ford, **The Lover's Melancholy** (1629), V.216-25

Performance details:

Boy sings; possibly 'soft music' provides an introduction and accompaniment. S.d. "Soft Musick. Enter / ... and Boy that / sings. / The Song" (ibid..211,213-15)

Musical sources:

Copy-text - B, f. 99 John Wilson

Concordances - W1660(a), pp. 88-89 J. Wilson; (b), p. 59

John Wilson; (c), p. 58 John Wilson
S(a), no. 76, p. 128 J.W.; (b), no. 76, p. 124

Discussion of musical sources and setting:

Both B and W1660 have Wilson's authority; all variants in W1660(a) have been noted. It derives from B, but varies slightly (for example, it supplies all the accidentals missed in B, and has a few rhythmic variants and differences in the basso continuo line). S(a) and (b) derive from W1660(a) and (b), to which they are almost identical. The three-part version of the song, as represented by W1660 and partially by S(a) and (b), has not been included here because presumably it would not have been sung in this form in the play; and, according to the Preface of W1660, it is later than the setting for single voice.

Notes on music:

12.I.2 : b' natural (W1660[a])
16.X.1-2 : ma (W1660[a])
17.I.1 : b' natural (W1660[a])
20.I.2 : c'' sharp (W1660[a])

Notes on lyric:

5 charm'd] chain'd (DT) with] in (DT, W1660[a,b,c], S[a,b])
6 toyles] woes (DT)
7 greifes] greife (S[b])
8 that] As (DT)

16. LOVES A CHILD AND OUGHT TO BE

Dramatic source:

H. Glapthorne, **Argalus and Parthenia** (1639), I.ii.84-93

Performance details:

Identity of performer(s) not indicated. S.d. "I. Song" (ibid..83.1)

Musical sources:

Copy-text - C, f. 25v † Wj Lawes

Concordance - B1678a, pp. 58-59 Love's a Child † Will. Lawes

Discussion of musical sources and setting:

B1678a is almost identical to C musically, although there are some differences in the lyric. This setting is likely to be that used in the original production.

Notes on music:

Notes on lyric:

3 Panthers] Panther (B1678a) Hyde] aid (B1678a)

4 once espynd] once espied (B1678a) but espide (DT)

7 doe] does (DT)

9 Amorous] Am'rous (B1678a)

10 would] will (DT) Lover.] ~∧ (C)

17. BUT WHY DO THE WING'D MINUTES FLY

Dramatic source:

P. Hausted, **The Rival Friends** (1632), inter-act song between Acts III and IV

Performance details:

No indication of identity of singers or of nature of accompaniment. S.d. "Finis Actus Tertii. The Song, sung by two Trebles"

Musical source:

Copy-text - D, ff. 48v-49 But why

Discussion of musical source and setting:

This song is the sixth of seven from this play which appear in this manuscript. (Indeed, it is prefaced by "6. song".) They start on f. 34 ("Songs made for Dr Hausteds Comedy called the Rivall freinds Acted before the Kinge and Queene 19. March An. 1631") and conclude on f. 51 ("The Dialogue Drowsy Phebus and the rest to this place were made to and sung in Dr Hausteds unfortunate Comedy at Cambridge before the Kinge and Queene called the Rivall Freinds. 31"). I believe these settings are likely to be those used in the original production of the play (other than that on f. 46 - see Appendix 1), particularly given that George Jeffreys knew Peter Hausted through their association with the Cambridge Arminian movement (Hulse 1990). The suggestion that Henry Lawes composed these songs is erroneous.

This song is for two solo trebles and five-part chorus, and the lyric is apportioned to the voices slightly differently from in the play-text. In the latter, lines 4 to 8 are sung by the 1st voice, whereas in D, lines 4 to 6 are sung by the 2nd voice, and lines 7 to 8 by the chorus.

Notes on music:

No rests in 4.I.2-6.I.1; 13.I.1-15.I; 17.II.1-27.II

8.IV.4 : note unclear; could also be b

11.IV.5 : c

19.I.2 : note unclear; could also be b'

21.X.2 : possibly c sharp was intended here, since the c (with no accidental) follows an earlier c sharp, without a barline intervening. However, I think c natural more likely

31.II.1 : note unclear; could also be b'

34.V.2 : note unclear; could also be c

35.IV.1 : note unclear; could also be a

Notes on lyric:

12 those] they (DT)

13 they.]~$_{\wedge}$ (D)

15 that] 'cause (DT)

23 worth.]~$_{\wedge}$ (D)

18. NEWLY FROM A POATCHT TOAD AND

Dramatic source:

P. Hausted, **The Rival Friends** (1632), V.v.47-50,63-68

Performance details:

Sung by a 'Bedlam', supposed Oberon; no indication concerning accompaniment. S. d. "Bedlam sings" (ibid..47-48,63-64)

Musical source:

Copy-text - P, f. 18 Oberon. (or) the Madmans songe. sung in a Comedy at Cambridge, before the King, and Queene by the Author † Mr. Thomas Holmes

Discussion of musical source and setting:

This is the only song in the play not set by George Jeffreys. The ascription establishes that the setting is that used in the original production of the play. Duckles was wrong in stating (1968:142) that the song is contained in D.

A problem concerning this song is that the lyric is separated into two parts by fifteen lines of comic dialogue in the play-text. (Indeed, Bowden mistakenly listed it as two snatches [1951:170], whereas the surviving setting shows that it is a complete single song.) However, the setting does not make a distinct break here, and in fact, musically it is most unlikely that a break would have been made here in performance. The setting as it survives in P looks as if it would have been

performed as a single entity, in order to make musical sense: it was evidently conceived as such.

The question arises whether the play-text or the music manuscript represents what was actually done in performance. The play-text was printed in 1632, the same year in which the play was performed. Although there is evidence that this setting and other pieces dating from the 1630s in this part of P were not entered until the 1640s, it is likely that the setting was copied into the music manuscript from Holmes' original, given the likely contact between him and John Hilton, the compiler of the manuscript. (See Chan 1979b. In her study of the manuscript, she observes that it is an anthology compiled by John Hilton as a working copy, possibly for the use of a musical group he formed in the 1640s with his friends. This group may have included Thomas Holmes, since he is represented both in the manuscript and in **Catch that Catch can** [1652] [ibid.:445].)

I propose the hypothesis that the play-text represents Hausted's original conception of the play, that Holmes set the lyric as a single song, and that the dialogue was then re-cast around this for performance. One argument I would advance for this is that the setting would lose effect if split in performance, and I think Holmes would have been reluctant to compromise his artistic integrity, to ruin his composition or his opportunity for vocal display by dividing it. However, the possibility has to be allowed for that the composer and performer was overruled by the playwright or somebody else, and the setting was after all performed in two separate parts. Without further evidence it is impossible to know.

The setting is interesting for its extremely elaborate ornamentation, although this may or may not represent ornamentation used at the original performance. Although the part of the manuscript containing this setting is in Hilton's

hand, the ornamentation is in a different hand from the rest of this setting, and thus could be later. But the main hand does seem to be responsible for the signs implying ornamentation in bars 4 and 6-9. Even if the written-out fioriture are not what was sung at the original performance it seems likely that the song was intended to have some such embellishments, and they may even represent Holmes' recollection of the kind of thing he originally improvised.

Notes on music:

Each ornament has been given an identifying letter. Ornaments A to I appear beneath the song, and ornaments J to L appear vertically in the left-hand margin. Variants in ornaments are referred to by letter of ornament, then number of symbol in that ornament. As can be seen, the F sharp accidental has been omitted in virtually all of them.

J: The second and third slurs are located differently in P. Only the end of the second is visible, but it ends on the cd, not the preceding sq. c. The third slur begins a note later than I have indicated it. However, the word 'for' is placed under the cd, and I think the editorial slurring is more likely.

J.45 : it is unclear whether or not a dot is intended after this note

Notes on lyric:

1 Toad] Trade (DT)

6 Exscrements] excrement (DT)

7 ruder] rougher (DT)

8 Com'st] Cam'st (DT) some] a (DT)

19. DULCIS SOMNE, QUI PERDURAS

Dramatic source:

W. Johnson, **Valetudinarium** ([a] GB-Cu MS Dd.III.73; [b] GB-Cjc MS S.59; [c] GB-Cec MS I.2.32), IV.ix.25-36 (in a)

Performance details:

Cordelia and a chorus sing; she accompanies the song on a 'cythera' or 'cithara', presumably in this instance a lute

Musical source:

Copy-text - Dd.III.73, ff. 23-23v

Discussion of musical source and setting:

Most unusually, this song is known only from a copy bound into a play-text, rather than from exclusively musical sources. See Wood 1988 for discussion of the setting, possible reasons for its inclusion in Dd.III.73, and suggestions of possible composers (including George Jeffreys and Robert Ramsey). This is likely to be the original setting.

Notes on music:

22-23.II.1 : s

Notes on lyric:

1 Dulcis] Dulce (DT[b]) somne,] ~$_{\wedge}$ (Dd.III.73) perduras$_{\wedge}$] ~ , (Dd.III.73)

6 In first Chorus only, an extra "tacito" appears in Alto and Bass parts (Chorus is written out twice in the original) (Dd.III.73)
tacito$_{\wedge}$] ~ , (Dd.III.73)

9 dirae$_{\wedge}$] ~ , (Dd.III.73)

12 tacito$_{\wedge}$] ~, (Dd.III.73)

Translation

Sweet sleep, you who drive out the harshest cares of the mind, you who often turn blazing Jupiter into a gentle sheep, from the lofty home of the gods descend with silent foot.

Come, come, great divinity, and close this man's eyes, that his mind may see and that the dreadful passions of his mind may recede. From the lofty home of the gods descend with silent foot.

20. TO BACCHUS WE TO BACCHUS SING

Dramatic source:

T. Killigrew, **The Princess, or Love at First Sight** (1664), V.ii.32-82

Performance details:

Three soldiers sing; no indication concerning accompaniment. S.d. "The Catch in three Parts" (ibid..31.1)

Musical sources:

Copy-text - P1652(a), pp. 42-43 † Dr. Colman
Concordances - P1659 and P1669, pp. 84-85 † Dr. Charles Colman
M, no. 115, f. 95 † C C

Discussion of musical sources and setting:

P1652(a) has been selected as copy-text, largely because of Playford's claim that "my care, pains, and charge hath not been small, by procuring true and exact Coppies" (P1659). The fact that Charles Coleman was in London when this volume was printed strengthens the probability that Playford indeed obtained a copy from him (see Spink 1986:133). The version in M is, however, of great interest, both because it is the earliest source, and because this manuscript probably belonged to a

theatre musician, and I believe this version may be the one performed in the theatre. There are only minor differences between P1652(a) and M in the setting of the verses (all but one being slight rhythmic differences), but more extensive differences in the chorus. I think M may represent a version closer to the original which Coleman then revised before publication, reworking and expanding the chorus.

In fact, the survival of this setting, and in a source with theatrical links and dating from c. 1640-1650, is additional evidence which strongly supports the proposal (Bentley 1941-68:IV,707) that **The Princess** was performed before the civil war. An argument which supports Charles Coleman's having written this setting for the play is that he was a royal musician, and **The Princess** is likely to have been a King's Men play (ibid.), and we know that royal musicians did provide music for King's Men plays. Indeed, we know that Coleman performed in and wrote music for royal entertainments around 1636, the date of **The Princess** (**The Triumph of Peace**, 1634, and **The Entertainment at Richmond**, 1636).

P1659 is almost identical to P1652(a), but the verses are set an octave higher, for treble rather than tenor. There are two occasions where errors in P1652(a) are corrected, but two others where new errors are introduced.

The lyrics in P1652(a) and M are fairly similar (and Jorgens is wrong when she states that stanzas 3 and 4 are not present in M [ed. 1986-89:XII,525]), but they differ in occurrence of the chorus. It appears before verse 1 and after verse 4 in both sources, but whereas its only other occurrence in M is after verse 2, it occurs after every verse in P1652(a), and a heading preceding the setting also directs this.

There are much greater differences between these two lyrics on the one hand and that in the play-text (which was not printed

until 1664) on the other. The latter features many altered words and some extra lines. It also differs significantly from the musical sources in its allocation of lines to particular voices. The verses are set for one solo voice in P1652(a) and M, but all three voices sing solos in alternation in the play-text. Indeed, the layout of the lyric here suggests that the term 'catch' in the stage direction has been misused, and the setting confirms that the song is not a catch. It is labelled a glee in the printed musical sources.

The most notable extra lines in the play-text are those which are added to the end of each verse and attributed twice to 'Bacchus' and twice to 'Bacchus, All 3'. In these Bacchus announces that he appears. Given that the stage direction says the song is in three parts, I suggest that these lines by a fourth voice were spoken, and their omission from the musical setting supports this. (They are, however, set in italic type just as the rest of the lyric is.) I propose a parallel here with another Caroline song of conjuration, "Come away, thou lady gay" from **The Chances** (dating from eleven years earlier and another King's Men play, this time definitely). This also contains summonings of a spirit which are punctuated by responses such as "I come, I come". The first two of these responses are spoken, although the third is sung (Williams ed. 1979:548-49).

The basic differences between the lyrics and the differences in allocation of lines to voices are shown in tabular form below.

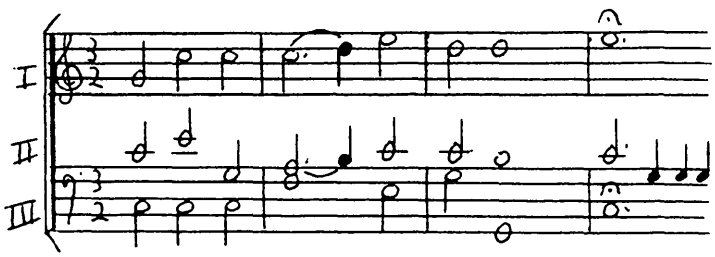
Lines of lyric	Voices which sing in:		
	DT	P1652(a)	M
1-2 [chorus]	All 3	All 3	All 3
3-10 [verse 1]	3 voices alternate	Solo tenor	Solo tenor
Extra line in DT [response]	Bacchus	-	-
11-12 [chorus]	All 3	All 3	-
13-18)) [verse 2]))) 19-20)	3 voices alternate [+ 2 extra lines] All 3	((Solo (tenor (((	((Solo (tenor (((
Extra 2 lines in DT [response]	Bacchus	-	-
21-22 [chorus]	All 3	All 3	All 3
23-31 [verse 3]	3 voices alternate	Solo tenor	Solo tenor
Extra line in DT [response]	Bacchus, all 3	-	-
32-33 [chorus]	-	All 3	-
4 substitute lines in DT	All 3	-	-
34-40)) [verse 4]))) 41)	3 voices alternate [+ 2 extra lines] All 3	(((Solo (tenor ((	(((Solo (tenor ((
42-43 [chorus]	-	All 3	All 3 (poss. only l. 42)
Extra 3 lines in DT [response]	Bacchus, all 3	-	-

Notes on music:

The chorus is written out only on its first occurrence in P1652(a) and M, and subsequently merely directed, apart from the final chorus in M.

9.I.1 : s. (P1652[a], P1659)
14.II,III.1 : s (M)
25.I.1-2 : c-rest (M)
28.I.2 : f sharp (M)
29.X.2-3 : m (M)
45.I.5 : s (M) 45.X.3 : s (M)
47.X.2 : A (P1652[a])
48.X.1 : c (P1659)
52.I.1-2 : c c (M)
54.X.1 : c (P1652[a]) (although this reading is possible, A occurs in the parallel passage in the three preceding verses and in P1659 and M, and is more likely)

In M, where music for the final chorus is written out, it is uncertain whether it is intended to be an abbreviated version of the chorus (as suggested by parts I and III) or a complete version which is not all written out here (as suggested by part II). The pauses in parts I and III suggest the former is more likely. The music reads:



In M, there are pauses at the end of the first chorus and of verses 1, 3 and 4.

Notes on lyric:

In writing out the lyric, I have written out the repeated choruses in full for easier comparison with the play-text.

In the edition of this song, underlining of the text in bars 1, 2, 4 and 19 indicates that it is italicized, not that it has been supplied editorially.

1 we] bow (DT)

2 we'le] lets (M) let's (DT) him.] ~^ (P1652[a], part II)

5 to light] by light (M) delight (DT)

8 by thy] by (DT) retreat] tetreat (P1659)

10 appear] Kind God (DT)

After line 10] Extra line inserted in DT : Lo I appear, lo I appear.

11 we] bow (DT)

12 we'le] lets (M) let's (DT)

11-12 Omitted in M

16 so] sore (P1659)

This line replaced by three different lines in DT : That fled from the distrest / By the tempest in her mind / Which ceas't when thou wert kind.

17 the beauty she] the beauty hee (M) those beauties that he (DT)

18 pleasures] pleasure (M) a] her (DT)

20 appear] Kind God (DT)

After line 20] Two extra lines inserted in DT: Drink and I will appear. / Drink deep and I am here.

21 we] bow (DT)

22 With] 'Tis (DT) we'le conjure] lets Conjure (M) that conjures (DT)

23 purple wine] blood of the Vine (DT)

24 the] thy (DT)

25 and by this beer] and by the bere (M) By this full (DT)

26 next] last (M, DT)

27 by] 'Twas (DT)

28 will clasp like a] shall clasp like the (M) clasp'd like thy (DT)

29 a] the (M)

This line omitted in DT

30-31] DT reads: By this and that appear, appear, appear / Kind and kinder God in Bottles here.

After line 31] Extra line inserted in DT: Lo I appear, one kind bottle more and I will dwell here.

32-33] Omitted in M. Replaced in DT by: Then thus again we will conjure him / Because he has propitious been. / Hence this glass, a poor and single sacrifice, / A Hecatomb in this bottle dies,

33 we'le] lets (M)

34 thou'st] thou hast (M) that thou hast (DT)

35 undon] thou hast undone (DT)

36 friendship] friendships (DT)

37 betray'd] thou hast betray'd (DT)

38 the power over] thy power over (M) this cure of our (DT)

39 charmed] charm'd in P1652(a); I expanded to 2 syllables because it is set to 2 notes. Reading in M is charmed

41 appear] Kind God (DT) heer] Beer (P1659)

42-43] Replaced in DT by: Lo I appear, lo I am here, / And there and there; / Lo, I am every where.

43 With] tis (M) (In the writing out in M of the final chorus, only the first two words of this line occur, and then only in part II)

21. WEE SHOW NOE MONSSTROUS CROCKADELL

Dramatic source:

J. Mayne, **The City Match** (1639), III.ii.105-18

Performance details:

Boy sings; no indication concerning accompaniment. S.d. "Song" (ibid..104.1)

Musical source:

Copy-text - M, no. 7, ff. 6v-7v † will lawes

Discussion of musical source and setting:

This setting is likely to be that used in the original production.

Notes on music: 3.I.1 : c-rest

12.I.1 : (s3)

29.I.2 : (s)

Notes on lyric:

5 that] which (DT)

6 race.] ~ /\ (M)

7 wee nott] we do not (DT)

8 wear] were (DT)

10 near] nere (DT)

11 sherifs] shrifs (M)

12 nor] or (DT)

13 butt this fish seen] butt this fish see (M, but possibly 'n' is hidden by binding; unclear on microfilm copy) but seene / This fish (DT)

22. SAY DAUNCE HOW SHALL WEE GOE

Dramatic source:

T. Randolph, **The Muses' Looking Glass** (1638), I.iv.183-90

Performance details:

"Song and Dance" (ibid..182.1) by the seven deadly sins; no information regarding accompanying instrument(s)

Musical source:

Copy-text - D, ff. 28v-29v Say Daunce † The Maskque of Vices

Discussion of musical source and setting:

This song was composed by George Jeffreys. A note at the beginning of it reveals an option: it is for two trebles "Or for 2. Tenores", bass and basso continuo. The title "The Maskque of Vices" has caused confusion in the past, but matters were clarified by Cutts (1952b) and Bentley (1941-68:V,988-89,1430-32), to whom the reader is referred. Rather than referring to an independent masque, the title very probably applies to the embedded masque within **The Muses' Looking Glass** from which the song "Say Daunce" comes. I suggest that this is the original setting of the song, because it is labelled "Maskque of Vices" in the musical source, and that is its context in the play (though not so called). (However, Bentley's caution that the title may apply to quite different music never written in on the following blank pages should be remembered.)

Notes on music:

2.I.1 : c-rest
17.III.1 : b-rest
29.I.3-4 : (s)
36.II.2 : s
43.I.3 : q.
43.II.1 : c-rest

Notes on lyric:

1 Say Daunce] Say, in a Dance (DT)
4 Meane.] ~$_{\wedge}$(DT)

7 could] can (DT)

8 Base.] ~$_{\wedge}$ (D: 55,I,II)

23. GOD OFF WARR TO CUPID YEILD

Dramatic source:

J. Shirley, **The School of Compliment** (1631), II.i.38-49

Performance details:

Rufaldo's musician sings, accompanying himself on "his Instrument" (ibid..37) (type unspecified). S.d. "A Song" (ibid..37.1)

Musical source:

Copy-text - R, no. 218

Discussion of musical source and setting:

Notes on music:

3.X.2 : note unclear; could be c rather than d

Notes on lyric:

1 off] of (DT)

2 off] of (DT)

3 arowes wound my] Arrow hits the (DT)

4 partt.] ~$_{\wedge}$ (R)

6 by] with (DT) love,] ~$_{\wedge}$ (R)

8 godds.] ~$_{\wedge}$ (R)

11 did] does (DT)

12 sake.] ~$_{\wedge}$ (R)

24. ASTRORUM IUBAR

Dramatic source:

J. Simons, **Zeno sive Ambitio Infelix (Fratrum Concordia Saeva)** ([a] 1648; [b] GB-Cjc MS 504; [c] GB-Cu MS Ii.VI.35; [d] GB-Lbl MS Harl. 5024, Art. 1; [e] GB-HGst MS B.VI.25), II.i.27-31 (in a)

Performance details:

A musician sings, accompanying himself on what is variously called in the preceding dialogue a 'fides', 'chelys', 'lyra' or 'plectrum'

Musical source:

Copy-text - Harl.5024, ff. 13v-14 † C Simp[son?]

Discussion of musical source and setting:

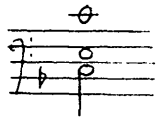
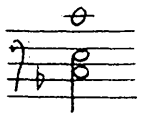
Most unusually, this song is known only from a copy bound into a play-text, rather than from exclusively musical sources. See Wood 1988 for discussion of the setting and possible reasons for its inclusion in Harl.5024. It is only a sketch; the accompaniment is indicated by musically inelegant chords in staff notation, with blank six-line staves left beneath this, presumably intended for the realization of the chords into tablature that in the event was never filled in. This is most likely to have been for lute or theorbo, although there is also the possibility that the accompaniment is for lyra viol, another instrument known to have been used in play-songs. Regarding the composer, what looks like a name (and hence possibly an ascription) follows the setting, but the signature is not altogether clear; "C Simp[son?]" is a possibility, but it is unlikely that this refers either to the known composer Christopher Simpson, or to the Christopher Simpson (real name Sampson; 1605-74) who attended St Omers College until 1625 and then moved to the English College in Rome, where he stayed until 1632 (see ibid.:52) - these dates do not coincide with

known performances of **Zeno.** The hand of the setting does not match that of either of these Christopher Simpsons.

Notes on music:

For clarity in the following commentary, the constituent notes of chords are given individual part numbers; as usual, parts are numbered in descending order.

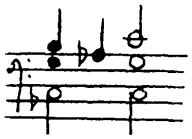
7.II.1 : s

8 : final bass chord (unclear)  or possibly 

9.III.1 : possibly s but probably m

22 : final bass chord 

28.III.1 : s.

29 : bass 

29-30 : E flat accidental marked in bass at beginning of line on which these two bars appear (not divided by a barline in the original)

Notes on lyric:

Lyric omitted from DT(c) and DT(e)

4 regnet,] ~$_{\Lambda}$ (Harl.5024)

5 malorum.] ~$_{\Lambda}$ (Harl.5024) maiorum$_{\Lambda}$ (DT[a])

Translation

The light of the stars pours forth on the world health-giving flames from heaven. But if a comet trailing threatening tresses of blood-red fire were to rule, alas how much evil would be imminent for the earth.

25. COM HEAVY SOULES, OPPRESSED WITH THE WEIGHT

Dramatic source:

W. Strode, **The Floating Island** (1655), V.vii.105-15

Performance details:

"An Attendant sings in a base" (ibid..104.1); no information regarding accompanying instrument(s)

Musical sources:

Copy-text - A, no. 76, f. 41 Dispaires Banquet Henry Lawes
† this songe was sunge in A play cald the pasions written by mr william strowd, presented by the schollers of christchurch before both their majestyes 1636

Concordance - L1653(a), p. 28 Desperato's Banquet

Discussion of musical sources and setting:

The two versions are very similar, but L1653(a) features some rhythmic differences in the vocal line and several alterations to the basso continuo line. L1653(a) is in D minor, but in the small notes above the stave I have transposed it down a tone for purposes of comparison. It is likely that A represents the setting used in the original production.

Notes on music:

5.I.3 : unclear whether this is c. or c q-rest; probably the former (A)
21.X.2 : s (A)
26.X.1 : s. (L1653[a])
29.I.2 : m-rest (L1653[a])
30.I.2-3 : no tie (just a slur over notes 1-3) (A, L1653[a])

Notes on lyric:

2 and pangs] or Pangs (DT) and want] or want (L1653[a], DT)
3 drowne] down (DT)

5 healthes] health (DT)

8 that] which (DT)

26. HAYLE THOU GREAT QUEENE OF VARIOUS HUMOURS

Dramatic source:

W. Strode, **The Floating Island** (1655), II.iv.15-21

Performance details:

Boy sings; no information regarding accompaniment. S.d. "(Sings)" (ibid..14.1)

Musical source:

Copy-text - T, f. 15v (p. 14) In Dr Strodes Play acted before the Kinge 29 Augt 1636 (Chan has observed "Date in title erased and added again in pencil in a later hand" [1979a:152].)

Discussion of musical source and setting:

Although the song is unascribed in T, attribution to Henry Lawes is suggested by the play-text, which notes that "The Aires and Songs [were] set by Mr. HENRY LAWES". Another of the songs is in T, also unascribed (No. 27 in this edition), and three more are in Lawes' autograph manuscript, A. Chan believes it is possible that the other song from **The Floating Island** was written into T at the same time as this song and one from **The Royal Slave**, another Christ Church play performed in 1636. Of these two latter she states, "There is no reason to believe that these songs were written into the book much later than the performance of the plays in which they occur" (1978:444). She further conjectures that Lowe intended to enter more songs from **The Floating Island**, leaving blank pages for this purpose (ibid.). If her suggestion concerning dating is correct, this is likely to be the original setting - by Henry Lawes.

Notes on music:

Notes on lyric:

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27. MY LIMBS I WILL FLINGE

Dramatic source:

W. Strode, **The Floating Island** (1655), I.iii.1-12

Performance details:

Hilario ("a merry jovial gentleman"); no information regarding accompaniment. Lyric is preceded by direction that Hilario enters "Singing, Dancing and Passing by" (I.iii.0.1-0.2)

Musical source:

Copy-text - T, f. 27 (p. 29) Hilario's Songe

Discussion of musical source and setting:

Although no accompaniment survives for this song, alternate staves in the source are empty and have bass clef and key signature, so it looks as though it was intended that one be written onto these. The source employs black notation; black semibreves have been transcribed as minims. Although it is unascribed in T, attribution to Henry Lawes is suggested. Concerning this, the possible date of entry of this song into T, and the likelihood that it is the original setting, see the 'Discussion of musical source and setting' for No. 26.

Notes on music:

Notes on lyric:

3 danceinge] dancing will (DT)

7 Chirpinge] chirpiu (DT)

10 fare] far (DT)

11 then] Than (DT)

11 Chayre] Jorgens notes that this "seems most likely to mean care" (ed. 1986-89:XII,391)

28. SWEET MORPHE LEND A FEELINGE EARE

Dramatic source:

W. Strode, **The Floating Island** (1655), IV.x.14-22

Performance details:

A musician sings; no information concerning accompaniment.

S.d. "Musitian Sings" (ibid..13.1)

Musical source:

Copy-text - A, no. 117, ff. 61v-62 Henry Lawes (ascription appears at top of f. 62)

Discussion of musical source and setting:

We know that Henry Lawes provided the settings for the original production of the play (see notes with no. 26), and unless he subsequently re-set this lyric, this is likely to be the original setting.

Notes on music:

3.I.4 : followed by a pen mark which looks like a large dot

10.X.1-3 : e flat is followed by what is probably a blot. However, the notation raises the possibility that this bar originally read m.e flat cd

11.X.1 : note unclear - could also possibly be F

14.I.3 : note unclear - could also possibly be e" flat

Notes on lyric:

2 these] the (DT)

29. A HALL A HALL

Dramatic source:

J. Suckling, **Brennoralt** (ed. 1971), II.ii.52-67

Performance details:

Grainevert sings, presumably with two of the others who are onstage, and perhaps most probably with Villanor and Marinell, who are, like him, officers under Brennoralt. No information regarding accompaniment.

Musical source:

Copy-text - C, ff. 7v-8 † Wj Lawes

Discussion of musical source and setting:

The existence of this setting disproves Bowden's theory that this lyric was "intended to be recited rather than sung" (1951:205). In C, the setting of lines 9-11 of the lyric is written after the rest of the song. This led Cutts to list "whats at our tongues End" separately (1952a:227); he also noted that it is imperfect at the end. In fact, these lines are part of "A hall a hall", although their setting does appear to have been an afterthought, since it was apparently written in over William Lawes' signature. I believe that the setting of these lines belongs at bars 14 to 18, and so have inserted it there. This is the order of the lines in the play-text; there are musical reasons for its insertion here; and there is an oblique line across the barlines in all three vocal parts at this point which could be intended to indicate insertion here. However, the directs in the vocal part at the end of the

setting of line 11 remain puzzling; perhaps they refer ahead to bar 20.

The lyric in the dramatic text concludes with an extra line not in C: "Wine, - Wine". I suggest this may in fact be dialogue which was mistakenly type-set as part of the lyric. This is almost certainly the original setting.

Notes on music:

4.I.1 : om.

9.III.2 : m

14.III.2 : m. (insertion of setting of ll. 9-11 here means replacement of final crotchet's worth of this note)

15-18.I,II.1 : om.

Notes on lyric:

4 Hoe A] A (DT) face$_{\wedge}$] face, (C)

7 Hoe, Wyne] Wine, Wine (DT)

9 our] the (DT)

10 doth] does (DT)

14 Other.] ~$_{\wedge}$ (C)

30. A HEALTH TO THE NOTHERNE LASSE

Dramatic source:

J. Suckling, **The Goblins** (ed. 1971), III.ii.72-89

Performance details:

Nashorat (a cavalier) sings, presumably with two of the other characters onstage; no indication concerning accompaniment. S.d. "Sing" (ibid..71.1)

Musical sources:

Copy-text - C, ff. 21v-22 † Wj Lawes

Concordance - M, no. 108, ff. 86v-87v W Lawes

Discussion of musical sources and setting:

This is almost certainly the original setting. C and M are almost identical musically. The reading 'nut browne' rather than 'Notherne' in the first line of the lyric in M, and the idiosyncratic spelling of 'Northern' in C, prompt speculation. The omission of the first 'r' in 'Northern' results in a visual similarity between the two readings, and I suggest that perhaps 'nut browne' is a misreading of 'Notherne'. The reading 'nut browne' is retained in Henry Purcell's setting of this lyric (in which other alterations are also made to the lyric), as a catch for three voices in P1685, no. 18, PMC1686, pt 1, no. 27, and PMC1687, pt 1, no. 27.

It is rather unclear, but it seems that the ascription in M was originally to 'H Lawes', but this was altered to 'W Lawes'.

The distribution of the line between voices I-III which is given in the edition is indicated in both C and M, but not in DT.

Notes on music:

1-3.I,II : Rests are editorial. In C (and M), the setting is written out on two staves only (apart from the final four bars), but here the opening is set out like this for purposes of clarity

1.III.3-2.III.1 : m (M)

6.II.1 : m (M)

6.X.1-4 : mc' (M)

10.X.1 : mf cF (M)

25.X.3 : e flat (M)

27.X.1,2 : A B (M)

33.II.1 : m (M) 33.X.1 : m (M) (Both with a pause)
40 : label "Coras" (M)

Notes on lyric:

1 A Health, a health, a health] A health (DT) Notherne] nut browne (M, DT)
2 passe.] ∿ (C)
9 has] as on repetition in C
18 andt] And it (DT) knack.] ∿ :(C)

31. SOME DRINK, BOY SOME DRINK

Dramatic source:

J. Suckling, **The Goblins** (ed. 1971), III.ii.28-34

Performance details:

S.d. in 1646 edition of **The Goblins**, reproduced in 1971 edition: "Sings a Catch" (ibid..27.1). Presumably the singer is Nashorat (a cavalier). However, the notes of the modern edition reveal that in the corrected edition of 1648, "Sings" was altered to "They sing". Presumably in this case, two of the other characters onstage would have joined Nashorat. No indication of accompaniment. See below for further discussion.

Musical sources:

Copy-text - B.2, p. 107
Concordances - II.c.15, f. 46 Mr William Lawes
P1667, p. 66 Mr. William Lawes

Discussion of musical sources and setting:

It is likely that this represents the original setting. In all sources the catch is for three voices. As we have seen, there is a discrepancy between the 1646 and 1648 editions of **The Goblins** concerning the number of performers of this song. I

think that this setting supports the view that the corrected stage direction of 1648 represents the original. In any case, a catch is much more likely to have been performed by several voices than solo, particularly when it is specifically referred to as "a Catch". Beaurline states that he is inclined "to believe that many of the alterations in FA48 [**Fragmenta Aurea,** 1648] represent an independent manuscript tradition, and at certain places they restore the text to its original purity" (ed. 1971:278). In his edition, he follows "most of FA48's substantive changes", although he preserves "the texture of accidentals in FA46 [**Fragmenta Aurea,** 1646]" (ibid.). I believe that in this case he should have preferred the 1648 reading.

B.2 contains no words other than "Some drink Boy:"; I have supplied the rest from P1667. The error in 3.III.2-3 has apparently resulted from not including the lyric. The setting is an octave higher in the other two sources, which are identical to each other, musically and textually. I have not followed the beaming in B.2, since this is influenced by the lack of the lyric.

Notes on music:

2.II.3-4 : c. g (II.c.15, P1667)
2.III.4 : d" (II.c.15, P1667)
3.III.2-3 : c (B.2)

Notes on lyric:

1 Boy] what Boy (DT)
4 Purse] Pockets (DT)
chink, chink] chinke (DT)
5 ah then] Then (DT)

32 a, b and c 1ST, 2ND AND 3RD SIMPHONYES IN ST. JOHN'S PLAY

Dramatic source:

Unknown, but possibly G. Wilde, **Love's Hospital** (ed. 1973), or J. Speed (?), **The Converted Robber** (GB-Lbl MS Add. 14047, ff. 44v-59v) (see below)

Performance details:

Two treble and a bass stringed instruments plus basso continuo. There may also originally have been countertenor and tenor parts (these two part-books are missing from the set), and in D.233, D.234 and D.236, these symphonies are copied at the end of the original five-voice section, but the surviving scoring may be the original one, since three-part symphonies were used in two Caroline masques. Viols or treble violins with bass viol are likely.

Musical sources:

Copy-text -

1st treble: D.233, f. 32 1 Simphonye in St Johns play. before the 1 song; 2d; 3d Ascribed H:L: at the end of each symphony

2nd treble: D.234, f. 43 Simphony in St Johns play. 1; 2d; 3d Ascribed H.L. after first two symphonies

Bass: D.236, f. 27 Simphonye. before the first Songe in St Johns play; 2d Simphonye before the 2d songe; 3d Ascribed H:L. after first symphony

Basso continuo: E.451, p. 205 thes 3 belonge to st Johns play. 1; 2d; 3d

Discussion of musical sources and setting:

The songs to which these symphonies belong are not known to survive and the play is unidentified. However, speculation as to the identity of the play is possible, based on several factors. The ascriptions to 'St Johns play' refer to St John's

College, Oxford, and the play is presumably one of those performed there. Significant factors in speculation are composition by Henry Lawes (the ascription to 'H.L.' presumably denotes him; he is known to have provided music for plays at Oxford), the Oxford provenance of the sources, and date of entry of the symphonies. They were entered in D.233, D.234 and D.236 by Edward Lowe after he had bought them on 6th October 1636. (E.451 was copied by him c. 1636-82.) Taken together, these suggest possible derivation from the play performed at St John's College for the royal visit to Oxford in August 1636, namely **Love's Hospital** (Henry Lawes composed songs for two of the other plays presented during this visit). Composition for the royal visit may also be supported by the careful planning suggested by the sequence of keys of the symphonies (D minor, D major, D minor); a planned scheme of keys is also followed in the songs for **The Royal Slave**, also performed for this visit, and for which Henry Lawes wrote songs. The text of **Love's Hospital** indicates only one song, but possibly the songs concerned were inter-act songs.

Alternatively, the songs may have been from another play in English dating from the following year: **The Converted Robber.** This play contains the direction "Soft Musicke plays. 2 boys sing" as "The Sceane is opend" (I.i.alongside 97-101), which I think very suggestive. In masques, symphonies accompanied the discovery of scenes (for instance, there are two instances of symphonies as the scene changes in **A Presentation for the Prince** [1638]), although they functioned primarily to accompany stage movement (Walls 1975:34, disagreeing with Lefkowitz, who believes the symphony and dance tune of the period performed identical functions [1959:329]). I think this may well be a parallel, and that the strings denoted by 'soft music' played a symphony here before the song, to accompany the discovery of the scene - possibly one of these symphonies.

In his interesting article on the symphony (1975-76), Holman mentions these symphonies (although he overlooks E.451), and make some points concerning attribution to this play with which I would quibble. He states there are three songs in the play, whereas I can discover only this one; and he implies that the 'soft music' is performed on the 'Pipes and Cornetts' which are mentioned in a speech (ibid.:24). In fact, this speech is over 60 lines later, and does not refer to the instrumentation here; and in any case, the evidence in play-texts suggests that 'soft music' denoted strings not wind. (Incidentally, he earlier observes [ibid.:10] that the symphony is "found in the more masque-like sections of Caroline tragedies and comedies", but I have come across no evidence for symphonies in any Caroline play-text, and these three for the St John's play are the only examples I have discovered in musical sources. In other words, although their use in other Caroline plays is possible, there is so far evidence for symphonies in only this one play [others may of course survive but be unascribed in musical sources].)

Eight more plays were performed at St John's College during the Caroline period; these are also possibilities, if less likely.

The ascriptions suggest that these symphonies were used at the original performance of the 'St Johns play', whatever it was.

Notes on music:

32a : ---

32b : X : Bars 1-5 continue on same stave as that used for 32a, without a new k-s or t-s. At bar 6, a new stave commences, with a k-s of F sharp (as in III). I have put a k-s of F sharp from bar 1

4.X.1 : B flat (because of B flat in k-s at beginning of stave - see above)

5.II : cg' mf', i.e. a note (or rest) omitted. Other possible readings in this bar are mg' mf' and cg' mf' c-rest

13.I.1 : sign above note presumably indicates orn.

32c : X : Continues on same stave as that used for 32b, without a new k-s or t-s. I have put a k-s of B flat

2.X.3, 4.X.1, 7.X.1 : B natural (because there is no B flat in k-s at beginning of stave - see above)

3.X.2, 5.X.1 : F sharp (because there is F sharp in k-s at beginning of stave - see above)

ALPHABETICAL FIRST-LINE INDEX TO EDITION

APPENDIX 3

CHART SHOWING USE OF INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC IN CAROLINE PLAYS

Introduction

This chart contains a comprehensive listing of all the specified instances of instrumental music contained in Caroline play-texts, classified by the dramatic context of the music or the function which it performs. It also includes occasions where music is strongly implied though not directed. Its correlation of instruments and types of music used with particular dramatic contexts and functions tells us more about the use of instrumental music. It presents in summary form all the basic data concerning the use of instrumental music in Caroline plays on which the discussion and conclusions in the body of the thesis are based.

This chart and that constituting Appendix 4 were produced using software written in Pascal and shell-script and running under SunOS on a Sun 3/60 computer. The data is stored alphabetically by play in a free-format database, and each entry is keyed by a set of descriptive attributes. The various tables constituting the two charts are then produced by searching the database for particular attributes. Further tables can be produced from the same set of data by sorting for other key-words, and indeed parts of the discussion in the thesis are based on the results of other sortings.

It should be acknowledged that the separation in this and the next Appendix of instrumental music and dance is artificial and difficult: they and song often functioned in combination, and the dramatic effect was a result of this combination. In order to understand properly the use of music in any particular instance, and so that the full dramatic context can be appreciated, one should

always look back at the play-text, since of necessity, information appears in very abbreviated form in the charts. As regards cross-reference between Appendices 3 and 4, details of accompaniment to dances have been included in Appendix 3.

References to music or dancing being prepared are not included; only music or dancing apparently actually performed are contained in the charts. In both this and Appendix 4, the use of square brackets round an entry or part of an entry indicates that the information within the brackets is implied or suggested by the dialogue rather than actually specified in a stage direction. (In particular, brackets round an entire entry mean that instrumental music or a dance presumably or possibly occurred here although they are not actually directed.)

Details given for each entry in the tables constituting this Appendix are as follows:

Column 1 ('Play') specifies play (abbreviated title) and act.

Column 2 ('Instrument/term') cites instruments specified or implied and signalling, technical, descriptive and other terms. Where a particular instrument is associated with a technical term, it apppears in parentheses after the term. Spellings are standardized. Where some sort of music is implied but with no specification of type or instrument, the term 'music' appears in brackets. The term 'music' could imply a song in some instances.

Column 3 ('Dramatic context/function') describes dramatic context or function in brief outline; such aspects as subsequent reversals have not been included. Where function is not clear, the most likely of the possibilities is given first.

Column 4 ('General') includes details concerning the type of music, the tune, who performs, where they

perform, and any other relevant information (for example, amplification of the information in Column 2). The spelling of 'fiddlers' has been standardized. The location of instrumentalists is given as "within" if cited thus in the play-text. Where location 'within' or 'above' is implied but not specified, the chart cites location as '[offstage]'.

The chart is divided into twenty-five broad categories, each representing a particular dramatic context or function. There are overlaps between them and there is some cross-referencing: some entries appear in more than one category. The general range of the categories is evident from the chart, but explanatory notes on the scope of certain of them appear below for elucidation.

Accompaniment to dance - there are no cross-references to dramatic context of dance accompanied (see Appendix 4 for this)

Accompaniment to song - there are no cross-references to dramatic context of song accompanied

Celebration - excludes wedding and banquet

Ceremony - excludes ceremonial entry/exit, entry of banquet, wedding and sacrifice

Embedded masques and other shows - there are cross-references for all components of these except dances (see note with 'Accompaniment to dance')

Entry/exit (except of messengers and military) - there are cross- references to

	other categories if music used seems especially relevant to the other categories concerned (for example, recorders to accompany entry of a hearse). Excludes entry of banquet (as well as entry/exit of messengers and military); includes all other entries/exits. Not all characters who enter are listed, only the most important
Inter-act music, and music before and after plays -	excludes final flourish if it accompanies an exit and music towards end of acts; includes music at end of acts and inter-scene music
Signals (non-military) -	signals other than for entry and exit
Supernatural -	includes quasi-supernatural

Index to categories on instrumental music chart

ACCOMPANIMENT TO DANCE

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Amyntas III	[music]	accompanies dance	
Antipodes V	[music]	accompanies dance	[discordant]
[Arcadia III	music	accompanies dance]	
[Arg.& Parth. II	[music]	accompanies dance]	
[Ball II	fiddle	possibly accompanies dance	dancer, onstage]
Ball III	fiddle	accompanies dance	dancer, onstage
[Ball IV	fiddle	possibly accompanies dance]	
[Bird in Cage III	lutes	possibly accompany dance	ladies]
[Bride III	music	possibly accompanies dance]	
Broken Heart V	music	accompanies dancing of 4 changes (dialogue between these), then ceases	"more sprightly" music called for during dancing
Changes V	[music]	entry and dance of masquers	"chime other music" [dance music]
City Madam III	[consort]	accompanies dance	musicians
Contention H/R	[music]	accompanies dance	"some nimble air"
[Converted Robber	music	possibly accompanies dance]	
[Coronation IV	music	accompanies (and possibly introduces) masque dance	"shoot inticing harmony"]
Country Girl II	a treble [violin] (twice)	accompanies on way to country dancing match	"within"
[Country Girl II	a treble [violin]	as exit to dancing match	"within"]
[Court Beggar IV	music	accompanies dance	possibly imaginary accompaniment]
Court Beggar V	[viol]	accompanies practising of dancing and singing for revels	"fidls"
Court Beggar V	[viol]	plays while those who have been practising exit	Exeunt "fidling, footing, singing, acting, etc."
Court Beggar V	[music]	accompanies dancing	
Covent Garden V	[music]	accompanies dance	servants, onstage
Duke's Mistress IV	[consort]	accompanies dancing	[musicians]

ACCOMPANIMENT TO DANCE cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
English Moor I	violins, cornetts	accompany dancing	
English Moor IV	music	dance music (continues during dialogue and action)	[galliard?], "quick" music
Example II	[music]	accompanies dance	
Fair Md.of Inn III	[music]	accompanies dance	"sprightly musick"
Fair Md.of Inn IV	music	summoned up in show of supposed magical powers; accompanies entry and dance of 'frogs' [dialogue continues during it]	"musick playes"
Fairy Knight III	lute	accompanies dance	
Fancies Chast II	[consort]	accompanies dance	fiddlers
Fine Companion IV	[consort]	accompanies dance	fiddlers, onstage
Fuimus Troes III	[music]	accompanies dance	
[Gent.of Venice III	music [consort]	possibly accompanies dance	possibly fiddlers]
Goblins III	music	accompanies (and possibly introduces) dance	"music and a dance"
Goblins IV	[consort]	accompanies dance	[fiddlers]
[Guardian(Cowley) V	[consort]	music for dancing (seduction scene)	fiddlers, onstage]
[Guardian(Cowley) V	music [consort]	accompanies dancing exit	fiddlers, onstage]
[Guardian(Cowley) V	[consort]	wedding entry with dance music]	fiddlers, onstage
Guardian(Mass.) IV	[cittern/bandora(s), violin/viol(s)], hautboys	accompanies dance	("wire-string and cats-guts men and strong-breath'd Hoboys")
Hollander IV	[music]	accompanies dance	[offstage]
[Hyde Park II	music	dance music for wedding; beginning of act	offstage]
[Hyde Park II	[music]	dance music at wedding	"Excuse me" is played and danced to]
Hyde Park II	[music]	accompanies dance	

ACCOMPANIMENT TO DANCE cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Hyde Park IV	bagpipe	dancing challenge; [music begins before the dancing, then] music accompanies dance	bagpiper, onstage, galliard
Jew's Tragedy V	music	accompanies and possibly introduces masque dance	"music, and they dance"
Jovial Crew I	music (pipe)	accompanies and possibly introduces dance	piper, "music. Dance"
Jovial Crew IV	music [pipe and fiddles?]	introduction and accompaniment to dance at beggars' wedding	
King John III	[violins]	accompany two dances	("cats guts")
Knave Grain III	[consort]	accompanies dance	fiddler and Rupert's noise, onstage
Lady Mother II	[music]	accompanies dance	fiddler and "the town waits", "behind the arras"
[Lady Mother V	music	accompanies dance]	
[Lady of Pleas.V	music	end of play, to accompany dancing]	
Landgartha III	a violin or nothing	accompanies dance	"to no music, or at most to a single violin"
Late Lanc.W.III	[consort]	accompanies dancing at wedding; musicians bewitched [continue playing during dialogue]	fiddlers (above, behind curtain) play "Sellenger's Round"; "as they begin to dance, they play another tune, then fall into many".
Late Lanc.W.III	[bagpipe]	accompanies dance	Lancashire bagpiper, onstage
Late Lanc.W.IV	music	accompanies dance	"in the air"
Late Lanc.W.IV	[music]	accompanies 4 dances	

ACCOMPANIMENT TO DANCE cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Leo Armenus III	music	in play within play - worship of Alexander, followed by dance	
[Love or Money I	music [consort]	accompanies dance	musicians, onstage]
[Love or Money III	music	accompanies dance	"lively"]
Love or Money IV	music [violins]	dance music plays as characters order themselves for a dance for merriment (dance presumably does not begin because it is interrupted)	musicians, [onstage]
Love or Money IV	music [violins]	accompanies dance	musicians, onstage
Love's Mistress V	[sweet music]	accompanies wedding dance	"sweet music of the spheres"
Love's Sacrif.III	[music]	accompanies dance	
[Messalina II	music	possibly accompanies dance	"rich music"]
[Messalina V	music	accompanies dance]	
Microcosmus I	music	accompanies dance	dance"to their own antique musique"
[Microcosmus I	music	accompanies dance	"lusty, moving sounds", supposedly of spheres]
[Microcosmus II	music	accompanies dance	supposedly music of the spheres]
[Microcosmus III	music	accompanies dance	"livelier music"]
New Academy III	[consort]	accompanies dances	musicians
New Academy IV	[consort]	accompanies dance	musicians
New Academy V	[consort]	accompanies dance	
New Trick V	[music]	accompanies dance of devils	music "all of discords"
[Northern Lass II	music	accompanies dancing]	
Novella III	[music]	accompanies dance	maid [offstage]
Ob.Lady IV	[consort]	accompanies dance	fiddlers
[Opportunity III	music	accompanies dance]	
Parson's Wedd. IV	[consort]	accompanies dance	fiddlers, onstage

ACCOMPANIMENT TO DANCE cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Partial Law II	[music (? including tabor and pipe)]	accompanies dance	
Perkin III	music (?including fiddles, bagpipes, harps)	accompaniment and possibly introduction to dance	
[Picture II	lute	possibly accompanies dance]	
Pleas.Dials.P & A	music	rural entertainment for the queen - accompanies and possibly introduces dance	
[Politician III	[consort]	accompanies dance]	
Queen and Conc.V	music	queen's entertainment for king and new queen - presumably accompanies dancing; is possibly an introduction to dance	"music, dance"
Queen's Exch.III	loud music	presumably accompanies dance of ghosts in dumb-show (dream)	"fall into a dance; loud music; after the dance..."
Rival Friends IV	[music]	accompanies dance	3 fiddlers, onstage
[Rival Friends IV	music [consort]	as rustics exit from wedding dancing]	fiddlers, onstage
School of Comp. V	[music]	accompanies dance	
[Senile Odium V	music [violins]	accompany dancing at bawdy house, & play again	musicians ("torturers of the gut strings"), onstage]
Seven Champs.III	soft music	enchanter trying to captivate David from his purpose. Music accompanies entry of temptations; they dance; then three embrace him "to a lazy tune" and carry him away	
Sicily and Nap.II	music	accompanies dance of furies	
Siege (Cart.) V	violins	accompany dance	

ACCOMPANIMENT TO DANCE cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Soddered Cit.IV	soft music	entry of masquers in shrouds; presumably also accompanies dance; induces sleep	"enter...and tread a solemne measure"
Sparagus Gdn. III	[music]	accompanies dancing	
[St.Patrick II	music	introduction and accompaniment to dance]	
Strange Discov. II	music	accompanies dancing and singing	"at the sound of musicke and a song made fit and agreeable to the musicke, they dance"
Strange Discov. III	[music]	accompanies dance	
Tis Pity IV	music	accompanies and possibly introduces masque dance	"music, and a dance"
[Tot. Court III	music [consort]	accompanies dance	musicians, onstage]
[Twins V	music	swains' dance music	offstage, coming closer]
[Variety III	fiddle	possibly accompanies dancing (along with singing)	Galliard (dancing master), onstage]
[Variety III	fiddle	accompanies possible dancing, or plays some of tune	Galliard, onstage, possibly one of four named tunes]
[Variety IV	fiddle	accompanies possible dancing	Galliard]
Walks Isl. II	[consort], including bass violin	tavern scene - plays then accompanies dancing	musicians, onstage
Walks Isl. IV	[consort]	accompanies dancing	musicians, onstage
Weeding C/G IV	[consort]	accompanies dance	fiddlers, [offstage]
Zeno III	[music]	accompanies dance	
Zeno V	[music]	accompanies masque dance	boys "dance to rhythms"

ACCOMPANIMENT TO SONG

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Antiquary II	[consort](including fiddle)	accompanies song	musicians
Arcadia II	music (lute)	introduction and accompaniment to song	"music. Song", Pyrocles, [offstage]
Arcadia III	lute	accompanies song	Philoclea
Arg.& Parth. I	music	nymph's entry for pastoral entertainment; could be introduction to following song, if it is sung by her (singer unclear)	
Arg.& Parth. II	[music]	entry to or music for Pan's feast/ introduction to song/ possibly refers to song itself	
Arg.& Parth. II	lute	accompanies song	Parthenia, "within"
Bel. as List IV	music (lute)	introduction and accompaniment to song	"lute strikes and then the Songe"; "[music and a songe]"
Bird in Cage III	lutes	accompany song	ladies, onstage
Broken Heart III	soft music	introduction and accompaniment to song	"soft music. A song", [offstage]
Broken Heart IV	soft sad music (lute)	introduction and accompaniment to song	"soft sad music. A song", maid, [offstage]
[Calisto I	?pipe	accompanies song]	
Cardinal V	lute	curative music/introduction and accompaniment to song?	"the best player of Italy", [offstage]
Chances II	lute	introduction and accompaniment to song/separate music (solace for thwarted love)?	whore, above and "within"
[Chances III	[consort]	accompanies song in scene of operation on Antonio	musicians, onstage]

ACCOMPANIMENT TO SONG cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Chances IV	music	introduction to song (at drinking party)	[offstage]
II Cid III	lute	accompanies song	boy, onstage
[City Madam V	[consort]	accompany song	musicians, "at Aras"]
[City Madam V	[consort]	accompanies song	musicians]
[City Wit IV	lute (3 times)	accompanies 3 songs]	
[City Wit V	lute	accompanies song]	
[Confessor II	lute	accompanies song	lute player, onstage]
[Confessor III	lute	accompanies song	musician, onstage]
Confessor III	lute (4 times)	accompanies 4 songs	
[Confessor III	lute	accompanies song	Morello(fool), onstage]
Converted Robber	soft music	introduction and accompaniment to song	"soft music plays. Two boys sing"
[Country Captain IV	[consort]	accompanies song	musicians, onstage]
Country Girl V	music	introduction and accompaniment to song	"music, and a song from the Music Room"
Court Beggar V	[viol]	accompanies practising of dancing and singing for revels	"fidls"
Court Beggar V	[viol]	plays while those who have been practising exit	Exeunt "fidling, footing, singing, acting, etc."
Cruel Brother II	music	accompanies song (music lesson); continues during dialogue	Corsa, offstage
Cyprian Conq.V	soft music	introduction and accompaniment to song/ possibly separate piece; accompanies descent of Cupid	"enter Cupid with soft musique and a song"
Drinking Academy V	[consort]	accompanies song	fiddlers, onstage
Duke's Mistress I	lute(s)	accompany song	
Duke's Mistress II	music	introduction to song	"music, and song in dialogue"
Duke's Mistress IV	[consort]	accompanies song	musicians

ACCOMPANIMENT TO SONG cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
[Elder Brother IV	[consort]	accompanies song	fiddlers]
Eumorphus V	lyre	accompanies song	Glycerium, "in the window"
Example V	music	introduction to song/ separate piece?	
[Fatal Contract I	lute	accompanies song]	
Fatal Contract III	sad solemn music	accompanies entry of procession before execution / is possibly introduction to song	[offstage]
Fatal Contract IV	music [consort]	introduction and accompaniment to song	"music above, and this song", [musicians]
[Floating Island IV	[fiddle] (twice)	accompanies 2 songs	fiddler, onstage]
Fuimus Troes III	harp	accompanies song	
Fuimus Troes V	viol	accompanies song	Eulinus, onstage
[Gent.of Venice III	[consort]	accompanies song	fiddlers]
Goblins II	[consort]	introduction and/or accompaniment to song	musicians, onstage, "musicke plays and sings"
Hannibal I	music [soft]	introduction to song	referred to as soft and lascivious
Hannibal IV	music	prelude to soldiers' "solemnity" to congratulate victory and peace/ introduction to song?	
Imposture II	soft music	entry of nuns - scene at convent; mood of religious peace; possibly accompanies song	
Jew's Tragedy IV	still music	religious entry; possibly introduction and accompaniment to song	"a noise of still musick"
Jew's Tragedy IV	music	introduction and accompaniment to song	"music, and M.sings"; "when the music has played a while she sings"

ACCOMPANIMENT TO SONG cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
[Jovial Crew II	fiddle	accompanies song	Partrico]
Jovial Crew IV	rude music	beggars' wedding; possibly accompanies singing	"a great noise within of rude music, laughing, singing"
King John V	sad music (flutes)	entry of hearse/could be introduction and/or accompaniment to following song	
[Knave Grain III	[consort]	accompanies song	Rupert's noise, onstage]
Ladies' Priv.V	recorders	virgins' entry; possibly introduction and accompaniment to song	
[Lady Errant I	lute	accompanies song	young lady]
[Lady Errant III	lute	accompanies song	princess]
[Lady Mother II	music [consort] (?including treble)	introduction and accompaniment to song	waits, "behind arras", "indifferent music"]
Lady's Trial IV	music (fiddles)	wooing music for Amoretta/introduction and accompaniment to song?	
Leo Armenus IV	lute/lyre	accompanies sedative song	musician, onstage
Lost Lady IV	lute	accompanies song	
Love and Honour IV	[consort]	accompanies song	musicians
Love in Ecstasy III	music (lute)	introduction and accompaniment to song	from "below ground"; "heavenly harmony", "harmonious accents"
Love in Ecstasy III	lute	accompanies song	
[Love's Mistress I	[music]	accompanies song	"heaven-tuned instruments"]
Love's Mistress II	loud music, and still music	to impress with supernatural powers [;possibly accompanies some singing]	[offstage], Psiche's unseen shapes [still music possibly includes "sweet voices"]

ACCOMPANIMENT TO SONG cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Love's Mistress III	lyre	accompanies song	
[Love's Mistress III	[music]	accompanies song]	
Lover's Mel.V	soft music	entry of those who will cure Meleander from madness / curative music / introduction and accompaniment to song? [continues during dialogue]	
Messalina V	horrid music	approach then entry of two spirits ("dreadfully enter")/ introduction to song? [unlikely]	
Messalina V	treble violin, lute	accompany song	
[Microcosmus I	?trebles	?accompany song	"spheres' brazen trebles" [could refer to voices/ instruments]
[Nauf.Joc.I	lute	accompanies song	lute player, "within"]
[New Academy IV	[music]	accompanies song]	
[News Plymouth III	[consort]	accompanies song	musicians, onstage]
News Plymouth IV	music	music of seduction (though could be intro. to seductive song)	[offstage]
Novella II	lute	accompanies song	Victoria, "above"
Novella III	[music]	accompanies song	maid (?and others), onstage
Ob.Lady I	lute	accompanies song	
[Ob.Lady IV	[consort]	accompanies song	fiddlers, onstage]
[Ob.Lady V	[consort]	accompanies song	musicians]
Ordinary III	music (lute)	introduction and accompaniment to song	"within"
Paria V	[consort]	accompanies song [ends play]	[musicians, onstage]

ACCOMPANIMENT TO SONG cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Picture II	loud music	victorious military entry; possibly refers to song or is introduction to song (could then accompany song)	"loud musicke as they passe, a song in the praise of war"
Picture II	lute	accompanies song	boy
Picture III	music	introduction and possibly accompaniment to song, or possibly refers to song itself	"music above, a song of pleasure"
Pleas.Dials.J & I	[music]	accompanies song	
[Prisoners II	lute	introduction and accompaniment to song	Pausanes (hero), offstage]
Pseudomagia III	music	introduction and accompaniment to song	"music from within"
Queen and Conc.IV	lute	accompanies song	
Queen of Cors.IV	lute	accompanies song	
Rhodon I	lute	accompanies song	Eglantine, onstage
Rival Friends I	lute	accompanies song	boy, onstage
Roman Actor II	music	introduction (and presumably accompaniment) to song	"musicke above and a song"
Roman Actor V	music	introduction (and possibly accompaniment) to song	"the musicke and song"
Sad One IV	lute	accompanies song	
School of Comp.II	[music]	accompanies song	musician, [offstage], first tunes instrument
[School of Comp.V	music	approach of shepherds for masque (sports) - with song too, presumably with accompaniment]	
School of Comp.V	music	accompanies entry of shepherds for masque (sports); possibly introduction and accompaniment to song	"Music. Enter... Song"

ACCOMPANIMENT TO SONG cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Sicily and Nap.III	lute	accompanies song	Felicia, "within"
Sisters III	lute	accompanies song	
[Sophy V	[consort]	accompanies song	musicians, onstage]
Spanish Bawd I	lute	accompanies song	Semprino, onstage
Spanish Lovers II	[consort] (includes bass viol)	accompanies song	musicians, onstage
[Spanish Lovers II	fiddle	accompanies song	Orco, onstage]
[St.Patrick III	harp (5 times)	accompanies 5 songs	bard]
[St.Patrick IV	harp (twice)	possibly accompanies 2 songs]	bard
[St.Patrick V	harp	possibly accompanies song	bard]
Staple News IV	[consort]	accompanies song	fiddlers, onstage
Strange Discov. II	music	accompanies dancing and singing	"at the sound of musicke and a song made fit and agreeable to the musicke, they dance"
Swag.Damsel II	lute	accompanies song	
[Swag.Damsel IV	[consort]	accompanies song	fiddlers, onstage]
Unfort.Lovers V	strange music	introduction to song (and possibly accompaniment)	"above", sound "not very amorous"
[Unnat.Combat III	music	introduction and/or accompaniment to song/ a separate piece (banquet)	"music there in some lofty strain, the song too"]
Valetud.IV	lyre/cittern	accompanies song	Cordelia, onstage
[Variety IV	[consort] (7 times)	accompanies 7 songs	musicians]
Very Woman IV	music	introduction to song / accompanies entry of Genius / curative music	
Weeding C/G I	lute	tuning it before song	Dorcas, "above"
Weeding C/G I	lute	accompanies song	Dorcas, "above"
Wit Const.III	[violin or viol]	accompanies song	[accompanying instrument involves gut and hair]

ACCOMPANIMENT TO SONG cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Wit Const.V	[consort]	accompanies song	musicians, onstage
Zeno II	lute/lyre (4 times)	accompanies 4 songs	musician, onstage
Zeno V	lute	accompanies song	

BACKGROUND TO SPEECH

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
[Ball V	music	descent of Venus and Cupid at beginning of masque; possibly continues during speech]	
Broken Heart V	soft music	accompanies rising and doing obeisance to altar; possibly accompanies following speech	
Chances IV	music	drinking party; is possibly a song (continues during dialogue), then "cease Musick"	[offstage]
City Madam IV	music (consort)	lavish entertainment of new inheritor; music continues during dialogue, "then cease music"	consort
Cruel Brother II	music	accompanies song (music lesson); continues during dialogue	Corsa, offstage
Cruel Brother V	still music (recorders)	represents soul ascending after death; continues during dialogue; then "Cease Rec." when soul has gone	"above"; compared with music of the spheres
English Moor IV	music	dance music (continues during dialogue and action)	[galliard?], "quick" music
Fair Md.of Inn IV	music	summoned up in show of supposed magical powers; accompanies entry and dance of 'frogs' [dialogue continues during it]	"musick playes"
Fatal Contract V	[music] [first soft, then louder, ruder]	accompanies entry and drawing of canopy round queen and Landrey (seduction). Presumably continues during dialogue - there is a call to play louder, then to "cease that ruder noise". Inter-scene music?	"whilst the waits play softly"

BACKGROUND TO SPEECH cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Just Italian V	soft music	possibly reconciliation/ mourning. Ends play	referred to as "sacred noise"; "hark, the Roman organ seems to invoke the Thracian lire; the cymbals of Judea call Castilian cornets forth; German viols wake the Tuscan lute"
Lady Mother II	[soft music?] [consort] (includes fiddle)	playing to sleeping steward, hoping for payment; continue while he speaks, then "cease music"	musicians ("town waits"), onstage
Late Lanc.W.III	[consort]	preparation for wedding dancing [plays during dialogue]	fiddlers play "Sellenger's Round"
Late Lanc.W.III	[consort]	accompanies dancing at wedding; musicians bewitched [continue playing during dialogue]	fiddlers (above, behind curtain) play "Sellenger's Round"; "as they begin to dance, they play another tune, then fall into many".
Late Lanc.W.III	[consort]	bewitched musicians play wedding dance music [continue playing during dialogue]	location as above; "The Beginning of the World" called for, but "every one a severall tune" (compared with "the Running o' the Country several Ways")

BACKGROUND TO SPEECH cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Lover's Mel.V	soft music	entry of those who will cure Meleander from madness / curative music / introduction and accompaniment to song? [continues during dialogue]	
Messalina III	solemn music	plays during Montanus' speech	"harmonious straines", "breathes delight"
Messalina V	solemn music	imperial courting (presumably music plays during dialogue)	
[Microcosmus III	music	possibly implied during dialogue in seduction scene, unless call for "a livelier music" for country dance is in comparison with previous song]	
Northern Lass V	soft music	to induce sleep and cure melancholy; "music continues" during action	
Queen and Conc.V	recorders	entry of entranced concubine; possibly play again after song (or song continues), over dialogue, and then "music ceased" at her recovery	
Queen's Exch.III	recorders	induce charmed sleep (witchcraft) [dialogue continues over them]	"tis the musick of the spheres"
Rebellion III	soft music	accompanies descent of Love in vision; possibly continues during Love's speech	
Senile Odium V	music [lute]	bawd's music (apparently continues during speech)	"in Lupa's house"; "it doesn't sound human"
Siege (Cart.)II	soft music [sad]	arrival of virgins to conduct Leucasia to be 'sacrificed' as whore; continues during speech	"the Musick sounds sad Accents"; "Soft Music awhile"

BACKGROUND TO SPEECH cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
St.Patrick V	soft music	induces sleep; presages & accompanies appearance of angels in vision (continues during dialogue before Patrick sleeps)	"heavenly"(i.e.suggestion of music of spheres)
Wizard IV	music	represents magician raising supposed spirits, accompanies their entry, continues during dialogue, then ceases when spirits have exited	"musick sounds ceremoniously", "ravishing aires", "the Sphears a louder Musick yeeld"

BANQUET AND HOSPITALITY

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Albovine II	[consort]	drinking healths at wedding banquet	[4 musicians,onstage]
Antipodes I	hautboys	entry of banquet	
Arg.& Parth. IV	music	shepherds' entry to wedding feast	[dance music]
Bloody Banquet III	loud music (twice)	entry of banquet and lights	
Bloody Banquet V	loud music	entry of banquet	
City Madam IV	music (consort)	lavish entertainment of new inheritor; music continues during dialogue, "then cease music"	consort
[Cleopatra I	soft music	banquet(after song)]	
[Court Secret III	music	banquet]	
[Court Secret III	music	drinking health	"more sprightly music"]
Cunning Lovers IV	hautboys	entry of banquet and of duke	
[Elder Brother IV	music [consort]	seductory banquet	fiddlers, onstage]
Grateful Serv.IV	recorders	seduction scene: entry of banquet and of woman supposed Queen of Love	compared with music of the spheres
[Guardian(Cowley) V	[consort]	drinking health	"a health", fiddlers, onstage]
Hannibal II	music	music ushers feast	
[Lady Mother II	[consort]	a health requested by steward	musicians, onstage]
Late Lanc.W.III	[consort]	accompany wedding banquet to table	fiddlers (enter & exit with banquet)
Launching Mary I	music	banquet	"aloft"
Launching Mary V	music	banquet in honour of Lord Admiral, to celebrate launching of ship	"aloft"
Love's Sacrif. III	loud music	ceremonial entry of Duke, Abbot, etc.; music continues during dumb-show of greeting, while rank & pass over stage	

BANQUET AND HOSPITALITY cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Messalina III	hautboys	during entry of banquet and diners; then "hautboys cease" and there is a direction for "solemn music"(during Messalina's seductory speech)	
[New Inn III	music [consort]	banquet	fiddlers [offstage]]
New Trick V	[music]	accompanies entry of apparent angels and banquet	music "sweeter then the first" (i.e.than that with vision)
News Plymouth IV	music	music of seduction (though could be intro. to seductive song)	[offstage]
Noble Sp.Soldier V	cornetts	banquet and processional royal entry	"sounding"
Noble Sp.Soldier V	cornetts	drinking health	
[Ob.Lady V	music [consort]	serenading music at banquet	musicians, onstage, melancholy music (since something merrier is called for)]
[Opportunity III	[music] (twice)	presumably musical sounding of health at banquet	"sound a health"
[Paria V	music [consort]	wedding feast	musicians, onstage]
[Politician III	loud music	accompanies drinking of healths]	
Queen and Conc.II	flourish (twice)	royal toast at banquet	
[Thibaldus V	music	wedding celebration and banquet; possibly arrival of dancers]	
[TR's Salting	kit	imaginary feast	Evans (a kit player)]
Tis Pity IV	hautboys	entry of wedding banquet	
Unnat.Combat III	loud music	victor's exit to banquet	
Unnat.Combat III	loud music	servants' exit to banquet?	
Unnat.Combat III	loud music	drinking toast at banquet	

BANQUET AND HOSPITALITY cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
[Unnat.Combat III	music	introduction and/or accompaniment to song/ a separate piece (banquet)	"music there in some lofty strain, the song too"]
Variety V	flourish	final exit; and possibly accompanies drinking health to brides	
Wasp V	soft music (twice)	banquet	
Wonder Kingdom III	trumpets	stately entry of banquet	
Wonder Kingdom III	music	accompanies drinking of health	
[Wonder Kingdom IV	trumpet	announces dinner	trumpeter, onstage]
Wonder Kingdom V	trumpets	accompany carrying of banquet over stage	

CELEBRATION

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Adastra I	cornetts or hautboys	ducal entry on occasion of welcoming back son	
I Arv.& Phil. I	hautboys	royal entry; dumb-show of reception and crowning of victor	[direction in play text(b)]
Fatal Contract I	flourish [drums, trumpets?]	victorious military jubilation	"within"
[Knave Grain V	music	end of play - festival to celebrate joy and happy ending]	
Launching Mary V	music	banquet in honour of Lord Admiral, to celebrate launching of ship	"aloft"
[Love's C.C.III	trumpet	retreat from fight; celebration of victor's glory]	
[Love's C.C.IV	music (bells, drums, trumpet)	celebration]	
Love's Cure I	music	to welcome back banished husband	"choice music in best voice"
Plutophth.II	music	accompanies exit as off to celebrate being rich	
[Queen's Exch.II	music (bells)	joy at forthcoming royal marriage	"a shout within, the Musick, sound the Bells" - but the reference to music could be the shout rather than a direction for music]
[Royal Slave V	music	presumably involved in masque celebrating Arsamnes' and Cratander's return	"ladies in a solemn march, present themselves in war-like habits, and dance"]

CEREMONY

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Antipodes IV	hautboys [loud]	royal welcome by city	"loud harmony", [offstage]
Antipodes IV	soft music [solemn]	royal welcome by court	"solemn music, state, and beauty sweet", [offstage]
Bloody Banquet I	flourish	proclamation of new king	
Calisto V	music	accompanies making of "Antick conges" during sardonic courtesy	
[Cleopatra I	music	entry with and presentation of crowns (investiture)	"louder music"
Dist. State I	loud music	beginning of play; entry of king for coronation; presumably continues during dumb-show of coronation	
Fairy Knight IV	music	coronation	"music sounding"
Grateful Serv.V	recorders	ceremony of reception into religious order	
Hannibal II	music	ceremonial welcome of Sophonisba (future wife)	
Hollander IV	[consort]	a health (after knighting)	"sound", [offstage], musicians
King John II	flourish	toast at investiture	
King John V	hautboys	accompany dumb-show of cerremony of barons' obeisance to king	"suddenly cease", followed by direction for "sad music (flutes)", with entry of hearse
Leo Armenus III	music	in play within play - worship of Alexander, followed by dance	
Love in Ecstasy I	trumpets	coronation	[offstage]

CEREMONY cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Love's Sacrif. III	loud music	ceremonial entry of Duke, Abbot, etc.; music continues during dumb-show of greeting, while rank & pass over stage	
Perkin II	hautboys	processional entry of duke and pretender; music continues during dumb-show of ceremonial royal presentation	"sprightly music"
Telltale V	a sennet	processional entry for coronation and wedding	
Zeno I	trumpets and drums	accompanies laying out of imperial ornaments	

DEATH/MOURNING/SADNESS

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Arcadia V	recorders	mourning; prepares for noble entry of bier and mourners	
Bloody Banquet V	soft music	entry of distracted Queen to eat lover's body	
Cardinal III	recorders	entry of dead body (is bridegroom)	
City Madam V	sad music [consort]	entry of those who have been badly treated, in a pseudo-supernatural show	[musicians]
Cruel Brother V	recorders [sad]	death scene	"Recorders: Sadly"
Cruel Brother V	still music (recorders)	represents soul ascending after death; continues during dialogue; then "Cease Rec." when soul has gone	"above"; compared with music of the spheres
II Fair Md.West I	recorders	royal entry; king's beloved has just married someone else	
Fatal Contract III	sad solemn music	accompanies entry of procession before execution / is possibly introduction to song	[offstage]
Fatal Contract V	[music]	carrying out of dead at end of play	"a dead march within"
Fool Favourite V	recorders	ghost/mourning	
[Fuimus Troes III	sweet music	death scene]	
Hyde Park V	recorders	entry of device with garlands for forsaken lovers	
Just Italian V	soft music	possibly reconciliation/ mourning. Ends play	referred to as "sacred noise"; "hark, the Roman organ seems to invoke the Thracian lire; the cymbals of Judea call Castilian cornets forth; German viols wake the Tuscan lute"

DEATH/MOURNING/SADNESS cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Ladies' Priv.IV	recorders	virgins' entry to plead	"harmonious notes"
Landgartha I	recorders	entry of King and lady mourning because he has seduced her	"music of recorders"
Love in Ecstasy V	solemn music [sad]	entry of those to be sacrificed	"sad"
Love's C.C.IV	loud music (twice)	entry looking for revenge/to represent doom, death?	"loud music twice above"
[Love's Mistress I	music [sad]	woe (at Psiche's fate)	change of "Arcadian tunes to Lidian sounds" and "sad notes" are ordered]
Love's Mistress V	hideous music	represents Hell's mourning til Pluto's love returns	
Love's Sacrif. V	soft music [sad]	accompanies discovery of tomb; continues during mourning dumb-show; then "music cease"	"a sad sound of soft musicke. The tomb is discovered"
Lover's Mel.II	soft music	entry of melancholy prince	
Partial Law I	still music	inter-act music? (or possibly lamentation over estranged mistress)	
Queen and Conc.V	recorders	entry of sad king	
Revenge for Hon.V	recorders	sorrowfully bearing off body in state	
[Rival Friends II	bell	marks supposed death	offstage]
Roman Actor IV	a sad music	accompanies exit of actors with body after play within play and of emperor (upset); ends act (could be inter-act)	
Siege (Cart.)II	soft music [sad]	arrival of virgins to conduct Leucasia to be 'sacrificed' as whore; continues during speech	"the Musick sounds sad Accents"; "Soft Music awhile"
Siege (Cart.)II	soft music	accompanies exit to be 'sacrificed'	

DEATH/MOURNING/SADNESS cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
[Spanish Lovers II	fiddle	to reflect Amiana's melancholy mood	Orco(disguised as fiddler), onstage, bit of "Dying dumps"]
Traitor V	recorders	discovery of dead Amidea and her laying out	
Unnat.Combat II	sad music	accompanies bearing off of body	
Wedding IV	music	to create funereal atmosphere	

EMBEDDED MASQUES AND OTHER SHOWS

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Antipodes II	hautboys	entry of masked audience for play within play	
Antipodes II	flourish	1st entry of actors in play within play	
Antipodes III	flourish (twice)	entry of actors in play within play	
Antipodes V	recorders [solemn]	entry of audience for masque	"a solemn lesson"
Antipodes V	flourish	entry of antimasque characters (Discord, etc.)	"a most untunable flourish"
Antipodes V	flourish	entry of masque characters (Harmony etc.)	
Arg.& Parth. I	music	nymph's entry for pastoral entertainment; could be introduction to following song, if it is sung by her (singer unclear)	
Arg.& Parth. II	[music]	entry to or music for Pan's feast/ introduction to song/ possibly refers to song itself	
II Arv.& Phil. V	[music]	masque	
[Ball V	music	descent of Venus and Cupid at beginning of masque; possibly continues during speech]	
Cardinal III	hautboys	royal entry to watch masque	
Changes V	recorders	entry of masquers (lovers)	[offstage], "harmonious strains [which]...shame the spheres, charm our ears with heavenlier notes"
Changes V	[music]	entry and dance of masquers	"chime other music" [dance music]
City Madam V	music [consort]	accompanies dumb-show of Orpheus	[musicians]

EMBEDDED MASQUES AND OTHER SHOWS cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Converted Robber	music [pipes and cornetts]	beginning of pastoral entertainment (to impress shepherdess)	"the musicke plays louder"
Converted Robber	wind music	accompanies presentment in honour of shepherdess	
Court Beggar V	[viol]	accompanies practising of dancing and singing for revels	"fidls"
Court Beggar V	[viol]	working out tune for revels	Dainty, onstage, "playes softly"
Court Beggar V	[viol]	plays while those who have been practising exit	Exeunt "fidling, footing, singing, acting, etc."
Court Beggar V	flourish	entry of masquers	
Deserving Fav.I	[music]	laid on by Duke to impress and entertain lady	compared to music of the spheres
English Moor I	sowgelders' horns [hideous] [flourish]	approach of masquers for masque of cuckolds	"within"; their "hideous noyse" referred to as "a new kind of florish"
English Moor I	flourish	entry of Mercury in prologue for masque	
English Moor IV	flourish	first entry of actors in masque	
Fool Favourite III	recorders	entertainment (seduction)	
[Fuimus Troes III	music	at triumphs]	
Hannibal IV	music	prelude to soldiers' "solemnity" to congratulate victory and peace/ introduction to song?	
Hyde Park V	recorders	entry of device with garlands for forsaken lovers	
[Il Pastor F. (Sidnam) III	music	nymphs' sports	compared with harmony of the spheres]
Imperiale IV	[music]	approach of masquers	

EMBEDDED MASQUES AND OTHER SHOWS cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Jew's Tragedy V	a flourish	announces masque and approach of masquers	"from within", "music"
Jovial Crew V	a flourish	entry of actor in play within play	
King John III	loud music	entry of royalty and masquers	
Lady Mother II	[soft music?] [consort] (includes fiddle)	playing to sleeping steward, hoping for payment; continue while he speaks, then "cease music"	musicians ("town waits"), onstage
Lady Mother V	flourish horrid music	entry of Death and furies in masque	
Lady Mother V	recorders	entry of Hymen and lovers in masque	
Landgartha III	loud music	entry of spectators (including King) for wedding masque	
Leo Armenus III	music	in play within play - worship of Alexander, followed by dance	
Love's C.C.III	music	shepherdess' pastoral	"pleasant sound"
Love's Sacrif. III	music	preparation for entertainment of abbot	[offstage]; "sound of music"
Lover's Mel.III	flourish	entry of first character in masque of melancholy	
Lovesick Court V	loud music	announcement of rural presentation/ masque	"loud music is here"
[Maid's Revenge IV	music	precedes entry of masque of soldiers, and possibly accompanies it]	
Messalina II	music	imperial entertainment, to induce sleep	"ravishing"
Messalina V	music	entry of Antique maske	enter "during first strain of the music played four times over, by two at a time; stand at the Tune's end"
Northern Lass II	flourish (cornetts)	arrival of masquers	[offstage]

EMBEDDED MASQUES AND OTHER SHOWS cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Northern Lass II	music	entry of masquers	
Osmond II	flourish	announces masque	
[Perkin III	music (bells, pipes, tabor, Gaelic harp)]	masque	
Perkin III	flourish	royal exit of audience from masque	
Pleas.Dials J & I	music (pipes) [sweet]	for entertainment and to induce sleep	[shepherds, offstage], "sweet and delicat", "dainty"
Pleas.Dials.P & A	music	rural entertainment for the queen - accompanies and possibly introduces dance	
[Politician II	music (possibly twice)	for King's entertainment/his entry	Sueno, onstage, [an instrument], music adds to King's melancholy]
Queen and Conc.V	music	queen's entertainment for king and new queen - presumably accompanies dancing; is possibly an introduction to dance	"music, dance"
Queen and Conc.V	shalms	approach of sports to entertain melancholy king (precede and possibly accompany entry of participants)	[offstage]
Queen and Conc.V	fiddle	accompanies entry of sports to entertain king (possibly shalms still playing?)	Curat, onstage
Roman Actor III	flourish	precedes entry of first character in play within play	"a short flourish"
[Royal Slave V	music	presumably involved in masque celebrating Arsamnes' and Cratander's return	"ladies in a solemn march, present themselves in war-like habits, and dance"]

EMBEDDED MASQUES AND OTHER SHOWS cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
[School of Comp.V	music	approach of shepherds for masque (sports) - with song too, presumably with accompaniment]	
School of Comp.V	music	accompanies entry of shepherds for masque (sports); possibly introduction and accompaniment to song	"Music. Enter... Song"
Seven Champs.III	sweet music	enchanter demonstrating pleasure; presumably prelude to following "soft music" (accompanies tempting of David)	
Seven Champs.III	soft music	enchanter trying to captivate David from his purpose. Music accompanies entry of temptations; they dance; then three embrace him "to a lazy tune" and carry him away	
[Seven Champs.III	music	?enchanter's music of pleasure and temptation	referred to as the music of some Deity; "heavenly music"]
Sicily and Nap.II	[music]	inter-act music, which continues - for royal entry / entertainment / to tease music-hater	"while the Act is playing, enter..."; then "strike higher, higher yet"
Siege (Cart.)V	trumpets [sad]	in masque, statues of commanders come to life, "walk about stage in a grave sad march to Trumpets, with their weapons in their hands, the Curtain in the mean time shutting"	"a grave sad march"

EMBEDDED MASQUES AND OTHER SHOWS cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Soddered Cit.IV	soft music	entry of masquers in shrouds; presumably also accompanies dance; induces sleep	"enter...and tread a solemne measure"
[Sophister V	music [consort]	accompanies masque/show	musicians, onstage]
Tale of Tub V	loud music/ flourish [fiddle/s]	entry of audience for masque	Rosin (fiddler) and two "fidling boys", onstage, "flourish to the masque"
[Tale of Tub V	whistle	to indicate beginning of masque]	
Tale of Tub V	loud music [fiddle/s], five times	introduces the five motions of the masque	[Rosin and two boys, onstage]
Tis Pity IV	hautboys	masquers' approach	
[Trappolin II	music	entry of masquers	"after Music, enter..."]
Variety IV	music [consort]	descent of throne containing supposed angel (in 'show')	[musicians, onstage], supposedly represents music of spheres
Wonder Kingdom IV	trumpets	noble entry for masque; begins act	
Zeno III	trumpets	entry of Mars' chariot in masque	
Zeno III	trumpet	rouses sleeping heroes in masque	
Zeno V	music	masque (could refer to song)	

ENTRY/EXIT (EXCEPT OF MESSENGERS AND MILITARY)

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Adastra I	cornetts or hautboys	ducal entry on occasion of welcoming back son	
[Aglaura III	lute	entry of Aglaura / consolation / lute as image	heroine, as enters]
Albovine I	loud music	royal entry	
Albovine II	loud music	royal entry (for wedding)	
Antipodes II	hautboys	entry of masked audience for play within play	
Antipodes II	flourish	1st entry of actors in play within play	
Antipodes III	flourish (twice)	entry of actors in play within play	
Antipodes IV	soft music	processional royal entry and some dumb-show	
Antipodes IV	hautboys	ceremonial royal nuptial exit	
Antipodes V	recorders [solemn]	entry of audience for masque	"a solemn lesson"
Antipodes V	flourish	entry of antimasque characters (Discord, etc.)	"a most untunable flourish"
Antipodes V	flourish	entry of masque characters (Harmony etc.)	
Arcadia V	recorders	mourning; prepares for noble entry of bier and mourners	
Arcadia V	flourish	noble entry of bier and mourners, ready for judgement	
Arg.& Parth. I	music	nymph's entry for pastoral entertainment; could be introduction to following song, if it is sung by her (singer unclear)	
Arg.& Parth. II	[music]	entry to or music for Pan's feast/ introduction to song/ possibly refers to song itself	

ENTRY/EXIT (EXCEPT OF MESSENGERS AND MILITARY) cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Arg.& Parth. IV	music	shepherds' entry to wedding feast	[dance music]
I Arv.& Phil. I	hautboys	royal entry; dumb-show of reception and crowning of victor	[direction in play text(b)]
I Arv.& Phil. II	flourish	royal exit	
I Arv.& Phil. III	flourish	military and noble entry	
I Arv.& Phil. IV	flourish	royal exit	
II Arv.& Phil. I	loud music	royal preparation for solemn sacrificial ceremony approach and entry?	[offstage]
[Ball V	music	descent of Venus and Cupid at beginning of masque; possibly continues during speech]	
[Bashful Lover IV	music	approach of princess and of peace]	"choise Musique"
Bel. as List III	flourish	priests' entry	
Bel. as List III	flourish (twice)	royal entry and exit	
Bird in Cage II	flourish	noble exit	
Bird in Cage IV	music [consort]	introduces Prologue of play within play	[musicians]
Bloody Banquet Ind.	flourish	beginning of play (Induction); royal and military entry	
Bloody Banquet III	soft music	entry of Queen in nightgown (before seduction)	
Bloody Banquet V	soft music	entry of distracted Queen to eat lover's body	
Bride I	soft music	bridal entry	
Broken Heart I	flourish	royal entry	
Broken Heart III	flourish	royal entry	
Broken Heart V	loud music	accompanies bridal entry (then ceases)	

ENTRY/EXIT (EXCEPT OF MESSENGERS AND MILITARY) cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Broken Heart V	recorders	entry of hearse and procession to altar to pray after coronation	"music of recorders" accompanies action, then "cease recorders" during devotions
Calisto I	alarm	entry of Jupiter (after fighting)	
Calisto I	loud music	precedes entry of Jupiter disguised as a nymph	"Loud Musicke, which Doon" Jupiter enters
Calisto II	bell	announces arrival of King	"larum bell"
Calisto II	bell	announces arrival of Jupiter	
Calisto III	loud music	processional stately entry	
Candy Restored x	sennet	entry of 3 symbolic figures, now cured	
Cardinal III	hautboys	royal entry to watch masque	
Cardinal III	recorders	entry of dead body (is bridegroom)	
Chall.Beauty IV	music	exit to wedding	
Chall.Beauty V	[music]	royal entry	"sound"
Changes V	recorders	entry of masquers (lovers)	[offstage], "harmonious strains [which]...shame the spheres, charm our ears with heavenlier notes"
Changes V	[music]	entry and dance of masquers	"chime other music" [dance music]
City Madam III	wanton music [consort]	accompanies exit to bawd's chamber	musicians, as exit
City Madam IV	flourish (cornetts) [loud music]	lavish entry of new inheritor	
City Madam V	sad music [consort]	entry of those who have been badly treated, in a pseudo-supernatural show	[musicians]
City Wit V	music	approach and entry of wedding	[offstage]

ENTRY/EXIT (EXCEPT OF MESSENGERS AND MILITARY) cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
City Wit V	flourish	entry of Prologue for play within play	
Cleopatra I	a flourish	royal entry	
[Cleopatra I	music	entry with and presentation of crowns (investiture)	"louder music"
Constant Maid III	flourish	noble entry	
Constant Maid III	soft music (lutes)	to represent court/for entry of Hornet (usurer) to supposed court?	
Constant Maid III	flourish	lord's exit	
Constant Maid IV	flourish	entry of supposed king	
Constant Maid V	[music]	entry of cousin and newly-wed niece	
Contention H/R	music	entry of Honour and Ingenuity, just wed	
Converted Robber	music	accompanies exit of all [interscene music?]	
Converted Robber	bells	arrival with carthorse	
Converted Robber	music	accompanies exit	(this direction has been crossed out)
Converted Robber	music (twice)	accompanies exit	
Country Girl V	flourish	final exit of the play, to wedding	
Court Beggar IV	a gelder's horn	approach of supposed sowgelder (really a member of the house music)	[offstage]
Court Beggar V	music [soft and sweet]	welcoming entry for wedding	"soft but sweetest notes"
Court Beggar V	[viol]	plays while those who have been practising exit	Exeunt "fidling, footing, singing, acting, etc."
Court Beggar V	flourish	approach of revellers	
Court Beggar V	flourish	entry of masquers	
Court Secret III	music	royal entry	
Cunning Lovers I	flourish	represents arrival of ambassadors	
Cunning Lovers I	flourish	ducal exit	

ENTRY/EXIT (EXCEPT OF MESSENGERS AND MILITARY) cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Cunning Lovers IV	hautboys	entry of banquet and of duke	
Cunning Lovers V	hautboys	accompany dumb-show representing Mantua giving daughter away in marriage	
Cunning Lovers V	flourish (twice)	ducal entry	
Cyprian Conq.V	soft music	introduction and accompaniment to song/ possibly separate piece; accompanies descent of Cupid	"enter Cupid with soft musique and a song"
Deserving Fav.I	flourish	royal entry	
Deserving Fav.V	flourish	royal entry	
Dist. State I	loud music	beginning of play; entry of king for coronation; presumably continues during dumb-show of coronation	
Emperor of East I	solemn loud music	imperial approach; ushers morning devotions	
Emperor of East I	music	imperial entry	enters "after a strayne of musicke"
Emperor of East I	loud music	imperial entry (on return from temple)	
Emperor of East III	loud music	processional imperial entry (being generous with petitions); possibly continues during dumb-show regarding petitions	
English Moor I	sowgelders' horns [hideous] [flourish]	approach of masquers for masque of cuckolds	"within"; their "hideous noyse" referred to as "a new kind of florish"
English Moor I	flourish	entry of Mercury in prologue for masque	
English Moor IV	flourish	first entry of actors in masque	
Fair Favourite I	flourish	royal entry	

ENTRY/EXIT (EXCEPT OF MESSENGERS AND MILITARY) cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Fair Md.of Inn IV	music	summoned up in show of supposed magical powers; accompanies entry and dance of 'frogs' [dialogue continues during it]	"musick playes"
Fair Md.of Inn V	[music] [loud]	ducal arrival	"music in her loud voice"
II Fair Md.West I	recorders	royal entry; king's beloved has just married someone else	
II Fair Md.West II	flourish	royal entry	
II Fair Md.West IV	flourish (twice)	ducal entry and exit	
Fancies Chast V	flourish	marquess' entry	
Fool Favourite II	flourish	ducal entry	
Fool Favourite II	flourish	ducal and knightly exit	
Fool Favourite IV	flourish	ducal entry	
Fool Favourite V	flourish	ducal exit (and marriage will be prepared for)	
Fuimus Troes I	flourish [drum, trumpet]	imperial entry	
[Fuimus Troes III	drums	imperial and military entry	drummers, onstage]
[Fuimus Troes III	drum (twice)	imperial and military exit	march]
[Fuimus Troes III	drum	imperial and military entry	drummer, onstage, a march]
[Fuimus Troes IV	drum and trumpet	military imperial entry	drummer and trumpeter,onstage]
Fuimus Troes V	[trumpet]	royal entry	"within"
Fuimus Troes V	trumpets	victorious military and imperial exit (final exit in play)	exeunt "while trumpets sound"
Goblins I	a horn	entry of thieves with prize	
Goblins III	horns, brass pots	entry of thieves with prize	"horns blow, brass pots beat on"
Grateful Serv.IV	recorders	seduction scene: entry of banquet and of woman supposed Queen of Love	compared with music of the spheres

ENTRY/EXIT (EXCEPT OF MESSENGERS AND MILITARY) cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
[Guardian(Cowley) V	music [consort]	accompanies dancing exit	fiddlers, onstage]
[Guardian(Cowley) V	[consort]	wedding entry with dance music]	fiddlers, onstage
Guardian(Mass.) IV	[cornett]	announces approach of bridegroom etc.	"within"
Guardian(Mass.) V	cornett	announcement of bandits' approach with spoil	"within"
[Guardian(Mass.) V	cornett (twice)	" "	"]
[Hierarch.Int.	music	entry of Prologue	"now the music sounds"]
Humorous Ctier V	loud music	duchess' entry	
Hyde Park IV	bagpipe	accompanies entry of victorious jockey	bagpiper, as comes onstage
Hyde Park V	recorders	entry of device with garlands for forsaken lovers	
Imperiale IV	[music]	approach of masquers	
Imposture II	soft music	entry of nuns - scene at convent; mood of religious peace; possibly accompanies song	
Jew's Tragedy I	music	imperial entry	
Jew's Tragedy I	flourish	royal entry	
Jew's Tragedy II	music	entry of dumb-show (possibly music continues during it)	
Jew's Tragedy IV	still music	religious entry; possibly introduction and accompaniment to song	"a noise of still musick"
Jew's Tragedy V	a flourish	announces masque and approach of masquers	"from within", "music"
Jovial Crew V	flourish (shalms)	entry of Prologue in play within play	"a flourish of shalms"; referred to as the "beggars' hautboys"
Jovial Crew V	a flourish	entry of actor in play within play	
King John III	loud music	entry of royalty and masquers	

ENTRY/EXIT (EXCEPT OF MESSENGERS AND MILITARY) cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
King John V	sad music (flutes)	entry of hearse/could be introduction and/or accompaniment to following song	
Knave Grain II	music	entry at beginning of act (merchant and Knave)	"sound"
Knave Grain III	music	entry at beginning of act (gentlemen etc.)	"sound"
Ladies' Priv.I	flourish	ducal entry	
Ladies' Priv.I	flourish	ducal exit	
Ladies' Priv.IV	recorders	virgins' entry to plead	"harmonious notes"
Ladies' Priv.V	recorders	virgins' entry; possibly introduction and accompaniment to song	
Lady Mother V	flourish horrid music	entry of Death and furies in masque	
Lady Mother V	recorders	entry of Hymen and lovers in masque	
Landgartha I	recorders	entry of King and lady mourning because he has seduced her	"music of recorders"
Landgartha III	loud music	entry of spectators (including King) for wedding masque	
Landgartha V	sweet solemn music (recorders)	angel's entry	"a sweet solemn music of recorders"; referred to as "heavenly"
Landgartha V	flourish	royal entry	
Late Lanc.W.V	flourish	final exit of play	
Lodowick Sforza II	solemn music	precedes ducal entry	
Love in Ecstasy I	loud music	royal entry	
Love in Ecstasy V	loud music	entry to see sacrifice / discovery of altar	
Love in Ecstasy V	solemn music [sad]	entry of those to be sacrificed	"sad"
[Love's C.C.III	trumpet	entry of judges	onstage]

ENTRY/EXIT (EXCEPT OF MESSENGERS AND MILITARY) cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Love's C.C.IV	loud music (twice)	entry looking for revenge/to represent doom, death?	"loud music twice above"
Love's Mistress I	recorders	royal entry; reference that sounds indicate arrival at sacred Delphos	
Love's Mistress I	recorders	Venus' entry	
Love's Mistress II	recorders	to induce rest/ Zephirus' entry with gold?	
Love's Mistress III	a flourish	entry of royalty, Apollo, Pan, etc. for competition	
Love's Mistress III	recorders	descent of Cupid	
Love's Sacrif. III	loud music	ceremonial entry of Duke, Abbot, etc.; music continues during dumb-show of greeting, while rank & pass over stage	
Lover's Mel.II	soft music	entry of melancholy prince	
Lover's Mel.III	flourish	entry of first character in masque of melancholy	
Lover's Mel.V	flourish	prince's entry	
Lover's Mel.V	soft music	entry of those who will cure Meleander from madness / curative music / introduction and accompaniment to song? [continues during dialogue]	
Lover's Mel.V	loud music	prince's entry	
Lovesick Court V	recorders	accompany exit of hearse	
Mad Couple V	music	wedding entry	
Maidenhead I	flourish	ducal entry	
Maidenhead II	horns	precede entry of Prince from hunting	
Maidenhead IV	music	accompanies inter-act dumb-show of entry for wedding night	

ENTRY/EXIT (EXCEPT OF MESSENGERS AND MILITARY) cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
[Mercurius Sive II	music	entry of Mercurius - possibly a musical sound?]	"a sound"
Messalina I	hautboys	imperial entry	
Messalina II	a bell	approach of villains	"as far off"
Messalina II	a bell	approach of villains	"as near at hand"
Messalina III	hautboys	during entry of banquet and diners; then "hautboys cease" and there is a direction for "solemn music"(during Messalina's seductory speech)	
Messalina IV	cornetts	imperial entry, going to wedding	
Messalina V	a flourish (cornetts)	during entry of Senate; then ceases	
Messalina V	music	entry of Antique maske	enter "during first strain of the music played four times over, by two at a time; stand at the Tune's end"
Messalina V	horrid music	approach then entry of two spirits ("dreadfully enter")/ introduction to song? [unlikely]	
Microcosmus I	[music]	entry of four dissenting Elements	Elements enter "playing on antique instruments out of tune"
Microcosmus II	recorders	anticipate and presumably accompany discovery of second scene (clouds, Bellamina, etc.)	
Microcosmus III	music	entry of Five Senses, preparatory to seduction	"the soul of harmony"
Muses' L.G.V	flourish	entry of Mediocrity	
New Trick IV	music	precedes approach of antics and finally the Devil	

ENTRY/EXIT (EXCEPT OF MESSENGERS AND MILITARY) cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
New Trick V	[music]	accompanies entry of apparent angels and banquet	music "sweeter then the first" (i.e.than that with vision)
[New Trick V	music	entry of friars and hallowing, then entry of supposed ghost for marriage]	"sweeter music" than above
Noble Gentleman III	[trumpets]	ducal entry	
Noble Sp.Soldier I	loud music	processional state entry from church	
Noble Sp.Soldier V	cornetts	banquet and processional royal entry	"sounding"
Noble Stranger I	flourish	royal exit	
Noble Stranger IV	soft music	entry of supposed goddess	
[Noble Stranger IV	music	royal entry]	
Northern Lass II	flourish (cornetts)	arrival of masquers	[offstage]
Northern Lass II	music	entry of masquers	
Novella I	bell	announcement of presence	
Novella IV	bell (twice)	to announce arrival	
Novella V	bell	to announce arrival	
Opportunity III	[music]	noble entry	
Osmond V	hautboys	imperial entry (emperor has become warlike)	
[Parl. Bees X	bell	represents suitors calling]	
Parson's Wedd. V	[consort]	wedding entry	fiddlers, onstage
Perkin I	flourish	royal exit	
Perkin II	flourish	royal entry	
Perkin II	hautboys	processional entry of duke and pretender; music continues during dumb-show of ceremonial royal presentation	"sprightly music"
Perkin II	flourish	royal entry	
Perkin III	flourish	noble entry and announcement of victory	

ENTRY/EXIT (EXCEPT OF MESSENGERS AND MILITARY) cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Perkin III	flourish	royal entry	
Perkin III	flourish	royal exit of audience from masque	
Picture I	loud music	processional state entry	
[Picture V	trumpets	royal arrival]	
Picture V	loud music	royal entry	
Plat.Lovers I	flourish	signifies ducal arrival	"afar off"
Plutophth.II	music	accompanies exit as off to celebrate being rich	
Plutophth.II	music	inter-scene music/for exit of rustics?	
[Politician II	music (possibly twice)	for King's entertainment/his entry	Sueno, onstage, [an instrument], music adds to King's melancholy]
[Politician V	trumpet	entry with coffin thought to contain Prince's body	onstage]
Prisoners III	alarm	royal and military entry	
Queen I	flourish	royal entry	
Queen III	loud music	processional state entry	"choicest music"
Queen and Conc.I	hautboys	royal entry	
[Queen and Conc.I	drum	royal and military entry	drummer, onstage]
Queen and Conc.II	loud music	accompanies dumb-show of royal entry and accusal of queen; then "musick ceases"	
Queen and Conc.II	loud music	bridal entry of royal concubine	
[Queen and Conc.IV	music	entry of queen]	
Queen and Conc.V	soft music [sweet]	approach of deposed but happy queen/queen and girls practising	[offstage], "sweet"
Queen and Conc.V	recorders	entry of sad king	

ENTRY/EXIT (EXCEPT OF MESSENGERS AND MILITARY) cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Queen and Conc.V	shalms	approach of sports to entertain melancholy king (precede and possibly accompany entry of participants)	[offstage]
Queen and Conc.V	fiddle	accompanies entry of sports to entertain king (possibly shalms still playing?)	Curat, onstage
Queen and Conc.V	recorders	entry of entranced concubine; possibly play again after song (or song continues), over dialogue, and then "music ceased" at her recovery	
Queen's Exch.I	hautboys	royal entry	
Queen's Exch.V	hautboys	royal entry	
Rebellion II	alarm	entry of colonels and count	
Rebellion III	soft music	accompanies descent of Love in vision; possibly continues during Love's speech	
Revenge for Hon.V	flourish	final exit of play	
Rhodon V	music	precedes and possibly accompanies entry of goddess bringing peace and harmony	[offstage], "most harmonious melody"
[Rival Friends IV	music [consort]	as rustics exit from wedding dancing]	fiddlers, onstage
Roman Actor III	flourish	precedes entry of first character in play within play	"a short flourish"
Roman Actor IV	a sad music	accompanies exit of actors with body after play within play and of emperor (upset); ends act (could be inter-act)	
Roman Actor V	a dreadful music	accompanies entry of and possibly continues during dumb-show of apparitions (dreams)	

ENTRY/EXIT (EXCEPT OF MESSENGERS AND MILITARY) cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Roman Actor V	flourish	final exit of play	
Royal Master V	loud music	ceremonial noble entry	
[Sad Shepherd I	music of all sorts [possibly includes bells, pipes, tabors, tambourines]]	approach of Robin Hood et al.for his feast	offstage
[Sad Shepherd I	music of all sorts [possibly includes bells, pipes, tabors, tambourines]]	entry of Robin Hood et al.	as enter
[School of Comp.V	music	approach of shepherds for masque (sports) - with song too, presumably with accompaniment]	
School of Comp.V	music	accompanies entry of shepherds for masque (sports); possibly introduction and accompaniment to song	"Music. Enter... Song"
Seven Champs.I	soft music	approach of ghosts	"thunder and lightning, then soft musicke"
Seven Champs.I	music	witch sinking to hell (music to cover noise of rock cleaving?)	"Musick: The Rocke cleaves, she sinkes: thunder and lightning"
Seven Champs.II	loud music	imperial approach	[offstage]
Seven Champs.II	flourish	imperial entry	
Seven Champs.III	loud music	entry of enchanter; possibly accompanies enchantments	
Sicily and Nap.II	[music]	inter-act music, which continues - for royal entry / entertainment / to tease music-hater	"while the Act is playing, enter..."; then "strike higher, higher yet"

ENTRY/EXIT (EXCEPT OF MESSENGERS AND MILITARY) cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Sicily and Nap.III	flourish	inter-scene music; royal exit (possibly "long" to represent wedding taking place offstage)	"exeunt, with a long flourish"
Sicily and Nap.III	flourish	royal entry of newly-weds	
Sicily and Nap.III	a flourish	royal exit	
Siege (Cart.)II	soft music [sad]	arrival of virgins to conduct Leucasia to be 'sacrificed' as whore; continues during speech	"the Musick sounds sad Accents"; "Soft Music awhile"
Siege (Cart.)II	soft music	accompanies exit to be 'sacrificed'	
[Siege (Dav.)V	music	bridal music; final exit	"let bridal tunes sound high"]
Sisters IV	loud music	processional entry of supposed prince in state	
Soddered Cit.IV	soft music	entry of masquers in shrouds; presumably also accompanies dance; induces sleep	"enter...and tread a solemne measure"
St.Patrick III	music	appearance of supposed god	
Tale of Tub V	loud music/ flourish [fiddle/s]	entry of audience for masque	Rosin (fiddler) and two "fidling boys", onstage, "flourish to the masque"
Telltale I	flourish	ducal entry	
Telltale I	flourish	royal entry	
Telltale V	a sennet	processional entry for coronation and wedding	
[Thibaldus V	music	wedding celebration and banquet; possibly arrival of dancers]	
Tis Pity IV	hautboys	masquers' apprcach	
Tis Pity V	flourish	announces Cardinal's arrival	
[Trappolin II	music	entry of masquers	"after Music, enter..."]
Unfort.Mother I	flourish	ducal entry	

ENTRY/EXIT (EXCEPT OF MESSENGERS AND MILITARY) cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Unfort.Mother I	flourish	ducal exit	
Unfort.Mother III	flourish	ducal entry	
Unfort.Mother III	flourish	ducal exit	
Unnat.Combat III	loud music	servants' exit to banquet?	
[Valiant Scot IV	drums	military and royal entry]	drummers, onstage
Valiant Scot V	flourish	stately royal entry	
Variety III	flourish	sarcastic accompaniment to entry of oddly dressed Manly (then mocked)	
Variety IV	flourish/ loud music [consort]	mock elaborate entry of Formall (an usher)	musicians, onstage
Variety IV	music [consort]	descent of throne containing supposed angel (in 'show')	[musicians, onstage], supposedly represents music of spheres
Variety V	flourish	final exit; and possibly accompanies drinking health to brides	
Vow Breaker V	music	noble entry	
Wasp I	flourish	entry of Prorex and nobles	
Wasp I	flourish	exit of nobles	
Wasp II	flourish	[royal exit]	
Wasp IV	horn	precedes royal entry	[offstage]
Wizard IV	music	represents magician raising supposed spirits, accompanies their entry, continues during dialogue, then ceases when spirits have exited	"musick sounds ceremoniously", "ravishing aires", "the Sphears a louder Musick yeeld"
Wonder Kingdom III	trumpets	accompanies ceremonial entry of lord and gallants; begins act	
Wonder Kingdom IV	trumpets	noble entry for masque; begins act	
Young Admiral V	loud music	royal entry; emphasises peace and harmony	

ENTRY/EXIT (EXCEPT OF MESSENGERS AND MILITARY) cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Zeno III	trumpets	entry of Mars' chariot in masque	

ENTRY/EXIT OF NON-MILITARY MESSENGERS

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Andromana II	a horn	messenger's entry	"within"
Fairy Knight I	horn	entry with announcement	Craft(cheater),as enters
Queen and Conc.IV	post-horn	arrival of messenger	
Queen's Exch.IV	horn	messenger arriving with news	Jeffrey (fool), as enters
Time's Trick II	carriers horse bells	arrival of horses bringing news	"within"
[Time's Trick II	carriers horse bells]	" "	"
Wasp IV	horn	precedes messenger's entry	

FUNERAL

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Arcadia V	recorders	mourning; prepares for noble entry of bier and mourners	
Arcadia V	flourish	noble entry of bier and mourners, ready for judgement	
Broken Heart V	recorders	entry of hearse and procession to altar to pray after coronation	"music of recorders" accompanies action, then "cease recorders" during devotions
[Julia Agrip.V	music	possibly funeral music implied, or could refer to lamenting	"dolefull noise"]
King John V	sad music (flutes)	entry of hearse/could be introduction and/or accompaniment to following song	
Lovesick Court V	recorders	accompany hearse	
Lovesick Court V	recorders	accompany exit of hearse	
[Politician V	trumpet	anticipates arrival of coffin thought to contain Prince's body	offstage]
[Politician V	trumpet	entry with coffin thought to contain Prince's body	onstage]
Revenge for Hon.V	recorders	sorrowfully bearing off body in state	
Seven Champs.III	music	funeral	"a dead March within"
Wasp II	solemn music (recorders)	funeral - entry of hearse	
Wedding IV	music	to create funereal atmosphere	
Zeno V	drum	funeral procession	drummer, onstage

HUNTING

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
[Calisto I	bugles	hunting]	
Calisto I	bugles (twice)	hunting	"bugles and a noyse off huntingge" (first time)
[Calisto I	bugles	hunting	"the Noyse Continew'd"]
Cunning Lovers I	horns (twice)	hunting	[offstage]
[Cunning Lovers I	horns (three times)	hunting]	
Deserving Fav.IV	horns	hunting	
Love in Ecstasy III	horns	hunting	"within"
Love's C.C.I	horn	hunting entry	
Love's C.C.I	[horns]	hunting	
Maidenhead II	horns	hunting	"within"
Maidenhead II	horns	precede entry of Prince from hunting	
[Maidenhead II	horns	hunting]	
I Pass.Lovers IV	horn	hunting	"within" (and receding into the distance)
Queen of Cors. I	horns	hunting	
[Sad Shepherd I	horns	hunting	offstage]

INTER-ACT MUSIC, AND MUSIC BEFORE AND AFTER PLAYS

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Arcadia V	flourish	end of play (all united)	
Bird in Cage IV	music [consort]	introduces Prologue of play within play	[musicians]
Bloody Banquet Ind.	flourish	beginning of play (Induction); royal and military entry	
[Brothers II	fiddles	inter-act music	"now fiddles do your worst"]
City Wit V	flourish	entry of Prologue for play within play	
Converted Robber	music	accompanies exit of all [interscene music?]	
Dick of Dev.II	alarm, soft music, battle (cornetts)	inter-act music? and representation of offstage battle, followed by victorious naval entry	"alarum. As the soft musicke begins, a peale of ordnance goes off; then Cornetts sound a Battaile, which ended; Enter..."
Dist. State I	loud music	beginning of play; entry of king for coronation; presumably continues during dumb-show of coronation	
Fatal Contract V	[music] [first soft, then louder, ruder]	accompanies entry and drawing of canopy round queen and Landrey (seduction). Presumably continues during dialogue - there is a call to play louder, then to "cease that ruder noise". Inter-scene music?	"whilst the waits play softly"
Floating Island I	music [soft]	inter-act music	"music begins softly"
Floating Island	music	end of play (while posture/ while exit/after have exited?)	"after the music ended, the island appearing settled"

INTER-ACT MUSIC, AND MUSIC BEFORE AND AFTER PLAYS cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
[Hierarch.Int.	music	entry of Prologue	"now the music sounds"]
[Hierarch.II	music	inter-act]	
[Hierarch.III	music	inter-act]	
[Hyde Park II	music	dance music for wedding; beginning of act	offstage]
Jew's Tragedy II	music	inter-act music	"pleasing music"
Jovial Crew V	flourish (shalms)	entry of Prologue in play within play	"a flourish of shalms"; referred to as the "beggars' hautboys"
Launching Mary II	music	inter-act	
Launching Mary III	music	inter-act; entry of Lord Admiral	
Launching Mary III	music (twice)	inter-act; accompanies dumbshow	
Launching Mary IV	music	inter-act	
Leo Armenus III	music	between Prologue and start of dialogue in play within play	
Maidenhead IV	music	accompanies inter-act dumb-show of entry for wedding night	
Necromantes I	consort	inter-act music	"Here They knockt up the consort"
Necromantes II	consort	inter-act music	"Here They knock up the Consort"
Necromantes III	consort	inter-act music	"Here they Knockt up the Consort"
[Novella II	music	whores' entertainment of customers; possibly also inter-act music]	
Partial Law I	still music	inter-act music? (or possibly lamentation over estranged mistress)	
Phoenix IV	a charge [flourishing]	represents thieves seizing booty from rear of army, then precedes their entry with it; inter-scene music	[offstage], "a flourishing charge"

INTER-ACT MUSIC, AND MUSIC BEFORE AND AFTER PLAYS cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Plutophth.I	music	inter-scene music, to represent time passing	
Plutophth.II	music	inter-scene music/for exit of rustics?	
Roman Actor IV	a sad music	accompanies exit of actors with body after play within play and of emperor (upset); ends act (could be inter-act)	
Sicily and Nap.II	[music]	inter-act music, which continues - for royal entry / entertainment / to tease music-hater	"while the Act is playing, enter..."; then "strike higher, higher yet"
Sicily and Nap.III	flourish	inter-scene music; royal exit (possibly "long" to represent wedding taking place offstage)	"exeunt, with a long flourish"
[Sisters II	music	inter-act; to alleviate melancholy]	
Telltale V	flourish	end of play	
Witty Fair III	music	inter-act represents time passing and creates atmosphere of darkness and stealth	"while the music is playing, enter..."
Zeno I	[consort]	[interact music] (or interlude)	"chorus of musicians or interlude"
Zeno II	[consort]	[inter-act music] (or interlude)	"chorus of musicians or interlude"
Zeno III	[consort]	[inter-act music] (or interlude)	"chorus of musicians or interlude"
Zeno IV	[consort]	" "	" "

LOVE/LUST

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Adastra III	[fiddle]	seduction	page, onstage
Bloody Banquet III	soft music	preparing seduction scene	
Bloody Banquet III	soft music	entry of Queen in nightgown (before seduction)	
Changes V	recorders	entry of masquers (lovers)	[offstage], "harmonious strains [which]...shame the spheres, charm our ears with heavenlier notes"
City Madam III	wanton music [consort]	accompanies exit to bawd's chamber	musicians, as exit
[Confessor III	lute(s)	serenade	referred to as music of the spheres; lute player(s), onstage]
Drinking Acad.V	[consort]	on way to serenade	fiddlers, [offstage]
[Elder Brother IV	music [consort]	seductory banquet	fiddlers, onstage]
English Moor I	sowgelders' horns [hideous] [flourish]	approach of masquers for masque of cuckolds	"within"; their "hideous noyse" referred to as "a new kind of florish"
Fatal Contract V	[music] [first soft, then louder, ruder]	accompanies entry and drawing of canopy round queen and Landrey (seduction). Presumably continues during dialogue - there is a call to play louder, then to "cease that ruder noise". Inter-scene music?	"whilst the waits play softly"
Fool Favourite III	recorders	entertainment (seduction)	
Grateful Serv.IV	recorders	seduction scene: entry of banquet and of woman supposed Queen of Love	compared with music of the spheres
Grateful Serv.IV	recorders	seduction scene	"ravishing"
[Guardian(Cowley) V	[consort]	music for dancing (seduction scene)	fiddlers, onstage]
Lady Mother V	recorders	entry of Hymen and lovers in masque	

LOVE/LUST cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
[Lady of Pleas.IV	music	seductory]	
Lady's Trial IV	music (fiddles)	wooing music for Amoretta/introduction and accompaniment to song?	
Messalina I	music	seduction	"delicious"
Messalina V	solemn music	imperial courting (presumably music plays during dialogue)	
[Messalina V	music	accompanies kissing of everyone	"Musicke, distill new sweetnesse, vary thy Nectar Notes"]
Microcosmus III	music	entry of Five Senses, preparatory to seduction	"the soul of harmony"
[Microcosmus III	music	possibly implied during dialogue in seduction scene, unless call for "a livelier music" for country dance is in comparison with previous song]	
News Plymouth IV	music	music of seduction (though could be intro. to seductive song)	[offstage]
Novella I	music	gentlemen on way to serenade mistresses/to set mood of tranquillity and night?	
[Novella II	music	whores' entertainment of customers; possibly also inter-act music]	
[Ob.Lady V	music [consort]	serenading music at banquet	musicians, onstage, melancholy music (since something merrier is called for)]
[Parson's Wedd. I	music	serenade (though is possibly a song)]	
Parson's Wedd. V	[consort]	serenade to supposed newly-weds	fiddlers, "in the tiring room", "a new tune"

LOVE/LUST cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
[Parson's Wedd. V	music [consort]	serenade to supposed newly-weds	"the fiddlers play again"; "the fiddlers are merry still"]
Senile Odium V	music [lute]	bawd's music (apparently continues during speech)	"in Lupa's house"; "it doesn't sound human"
[Senile Odium V	music [violins]	accompany dancing at bawdy house, & play again	musicians ("torturers of the gut strings"), onstage]
Seven Champs.III	sweet music	enchanter demonstrating pleasure; presumably prelude to following "soft music" (accompanies tempting of David)	
Seven Champs.III	soft music	enchanter trying to captivate David from his purpose. Music accompanies entry of temptations; they dance; then three embrace him "to a lazy tune" and carry him away	
[Seven Champs.III	music	?enchanter's music of pleasure and temptation	referred to as the music of some Deity; "heavenly music"]
Sicily and Nap.I	soft music [consort]	morning salute (to annoy music-hater)	musicians, onstage, "your last new tune"
Sicily and Nap.I	loud music [consort]	morning salute (to wake music-hater)	musicians, onstage
[Spanish Lovers II	music [consort] (includes bass viol)	tuning up in preparation for serenade]	musicians, onstage
Wizard V	[consort] [including violins]	serenade	musicians ("gutvexers"), onstage
[Wizard V	music [consort]	possibly begin a second serenade]	musicians, onstage
Wonder Kingdom IV	music [consort] (includes lute)	serenade, possibly including song	[musicians], offstage (approach then enter)

MILITARY ENTRY/EXIT (INCLUDING MILITARY MESSENGERS)

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Albovine I	drums	military entry	
Amorous War III	[drum]	military entry and exit	"most totter'd march", a drummer, onstage
Andromana II	a horn	victorious military arrival and welcome	"without"
I Arv.& Phil. I	horn	military entry	
I Arv.& Phil. I	drum	victorious military entry	a march
I Arv.& Phil. III	drum (twice)	military entry	march
I Arv.& Phil. III	drum	military exit	march
I Arv.& Phil. III	alarm	military entry	
I Arv.& Phil. III	flourish	military and noble entry	
I Arv.& Phil. IV	a horn	entry of military messenger	[offstage]
I Arv.& Phil. V	drum	military entry	march
I Arv.& Phil. V	[drums]	military exit	march
Bloody Banquet Ind.	flourish	beginning of play (Induction); royal and military entry	
Brennoralt I	alarm (twice)	entry of soldier with news that enemy approach	"within"
Broken Heart I	flourish	victorious entry	
Calisto I	alarm	entry of Jupiter (after fighting)	
Calisto IV	battle and flourish	victorious entry	
[Cleopatra III	drum	military entry	"his" drum]
Dick of Dev.II	alarm, soft music, battle (cornetts)	inter-act music? and representation of offstage battle, followed by victorious naval entry	"alarum. As the soft musicke begins, a peale of ordnance goes off; then Cornetts sound a Battaile, which ended; Enter..."
[Dick of Dev.IV	drums	bringing in of prisoner by soldiers]	two drummers
[Dist. State V	[music]	military exit	march]

MILITARY ENTRY/EXIT (INCLUDING MILITARY MESSENGERS) cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
[Eumorphus V	drum (twice)	military entry	drummer]
II Fair Md.West II	alarm	entry of Watch	
Fairy Knight IV	drum	comic parody of military procession	onstage; says plays barrel as drum and tobacco pipe as flute
Fairy Knight IV	drum	exit for fight	"a dreadful march"
Fairy Knight IV	drum	entry for fight	as comes onstage
[Fairy Knight V	drum	military entry	drummer, onstage]
Fatal Contract V	[drum] [soft]	military approach	"beat a March softly within"
Fool Favourite II	flourish (trumpet)	arrival of herald	[offstage]
Fool Favourite II	flourish, charge	entry of knights of combat	
Fool Favourite II	flourish	ducal and knightly exit	
[Fuimus Troes III	drums	imperial and military entry	drummers, onstage]
[Fuimus Troes III	drum (twice)	imperial and military exit	march]
[Fuimus Troes III	drum	imperial and military entry	drummer, onstage, a march]
[Fuimus Troes IV	drum and trumpet	military imperial entry	drummer and trumpeter,onstage]
[Fuimus Troes IV	drum and trumpet (twice?)	military exit	drummer and trumpeter, onstage, march]
Fuimus Troes V	drum	precedes entry with prisoner	"within"
Fuimus Troes V	trumpets	victorious military and imperial exit (final exit in play)	exeunt "while trumpets sound"
Hannibal II	flourish [loud]	general's entry	"fill the shrill throats of warres loud instruments and [let] Dodonean brasse be beaten deafe"
Hannibal II	flourish	general's exit	

MILITARY ENTRY/EXIT (INCLUDING MILITARY MESSENGERS) cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Hannibal III	flourish	military entry	
Imposture I	alarm	entry of Duke's son from battle	
[Jealous Lovers V	drum and trumpet	entry in arms to give challenge]	
Jew's Tragedy II	drums	military entry	
[Jew's Tragedy II	drum	military entry	drummer]
Jew's Tragedy II	drums	military exit	
[Jew's Tragedy III	drum	military entry	drummer]
[Jew's Tragedy III	drum	military exit	"strike up"]
Jew's Tragedy IV	trumpet	herald's entry	"sounds from within"
Jew's Tragedy IV	drum	military approach and entry	"within"
Jew's Tragedy IV	drums	military exit	
Jew's Tragedy V	a trumpet	military entry (of Captain)	
King John V	charge	military royal entry	
Lady Errant V	[trumpets]	approach of soldiers and priests	[offstage]
Landgartha I	[music]	military entry	"a march"
Landgartha I	[music](twice)	military exit	"a march"
Landgartha V	[music] (twice)	military entry	"a march"
Landgartha V	[music]	military exit	"a march"
Landgartha V	alarms	military exit to battle	
Landgartha V	alarms	military approach then entry	
Launching Mary III	music	inter-act; entry of Lord Admiral	
Launching Mary V	trumpet	Lord Admiral's entry	
Love and Honour I	drum	represents military approach	"march afar off" (Prince's march)
Love and Honour I	flourish (cornett)	represents Duke offstage, thnking he is victorious	"afar off"
Love's C.C.III	music [drum and trumpet?]	military entry	
Love's C.C.III	drums and trumpets	military exit	
Love's C.C.III	a retreat	military exit	
Love's C.C.III	trumpets	accompanies entry of fighter	

MILITARY ENTRY/EXIT (INCLUDING MILITARY MESSENGERS) cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
[Maid's Revenge IV	music	precedes entry of masque of soldiers, and possibly accompanies it]	
Messalina V	alarm	represents army's arrival	"within"
Noble Gentleman V	loud music (trumpet)	entry of champion	
Noble Stranger I	sennet flourish	victorious royal entry	
Osmond I	an alarm	precedes victorious military entry	
Osmond II	flourish	military entry	
Osmond V	hautboys	imperial entry (emperor has become warlike)	
Perkin III	flourish	noble entry and announcement of victory	
[Perkin IV	drum	military entry]	
Perkin IV	trumpet	approach of herald	
Picture I	a horn	post's entry	
Picture II	a sowgelder's horn	approach of supposed post	[offstage]
[Picture II	a sowgelder's horn	entry of supposed post	horn player, onstage]
Picture II	a trumpet	represents general's arrival	[offstage]
Picture II	loud music	victorious military entry; possibly refers to song or is introduction to song (could then accompany song)	"loud musicke as they passe, a song in the praise of war"
Prisoners III	alarm	royal and military entry	
Prisoners III	alarm	military - represents approach of pursuers	"within"
[Queen V	trumpet	entry of champion with herald]	
Queen V	a trumpet	approach for combat	"within"
Queen V	[trumpet]	entry for combat	herald, as enters
Queen V	a trumpet	entry of champion	herald, as enters
[Queen and Conc.I	drum	royal and military entry	drummer, onstage]

MILITARY ENTRY/EXIT (INCLUDING MILITARY MESSENGERS) cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Queen of Aragon I	the drum [?parley]	military exit; ends act	["wee'l parley in the drumme" - but seems unlikely that parley is played]
[Queen of Aragon II	drum	military entry]	
Rebellion I	alarm (drum)	military entry	
Rebellion II	alarm	military entry	
Rebellion II	alarm	represents approach of soldiers	"within"
Rebellion II	alarm	entry of colonels and count	
Rhodon V	drum	represents military approach	"a march", "within"
Seven Champs.I	horn	announces approach of St.George	"his" horn, "within"
[Seven Champs.V	drum	military approach	offstage]
[Seven Champs.V	drum	military entry	drummer, onstage]
Sicily and Nap.I	summons (drum); trumpets	military entry (general & captains)	"a March within, the word, 1.stand, 2. stand, 3.stand:drumme beates a summons, trumpets sound: then enter..."
Sisters III	a drum	represents approach of forces	"far off" [march]
[Sisters III	a drum	" " "]	
Sophy I	a horn	approach of messenger	"within"
Sophy I	a horn	approach of messenger	
Sophy III	a horn	approach of messenger	"without"
Time's Trick I	a post horn	represents approach of messenger	"within"
Time's Trick II	post horn	post with news	
Unnat.Combat I	a trumpet	arrival of sea captain wanting combat	"within"
Unnat.Combat II	loud music	accompanies victorious exit	"sound all loud instruments of joy and triumph"

MILITARY ENTRY/EXIT (INCLUDING MILITARY MESSENGERS) cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Unnat.Combat III	loud music	announces arrival of victor to be entertained	
Unnat.Combat III	loud music	victor's exit to banquet	
Unnat.Combat V	a flourish	governor's victorious entry	[offstage]
Valiant Scot II	alarm	military entry	
Valiant Scot II	trumpet	entry of military messenger	
[Valiant Scot II	drums	military approach of lords	"their" drums, offstage]
Valiant Scot II	drums	accompany military exit; end act	onstage
[Valiant Scot IV	drum (twice)	military entry	drummer, onstage]
[Valiant Scot IV	[music]	military approach	offstage, "the English march"]
[Valiant Scot IV	drums	military and royal entry]	drummers, onstage
[Valiant Scot IV	trumpet	approach of herald with message]	offstage
[Vow Breaker I	drum	military entry	drummer, onstage]
Vow Breaker I	[music]	military entry	"a march"
Vow Breaker I	trumpet	entry of military messenger	[offstage]
Vow Breaker III	trumpet	arrival of messenger	[offstage]
Vow Breaker IV	alarm	militry entry	
[Wits III	drums	approach of constable and watchman]	
[Wonder Kingdom III	charge (drums and trumpets)	entry of brother from sea, being treated as if is commander]	"our" charge

MILITARY - OTHER THAN ENTRY/EXIT

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Amorous War I	drums and trumpets	represent offstage fighting	"a Warlike sound", "within"
Amorous War IV	an alarm (drums)	represents military camp up in arms	"within"
Amorous War V	a battle [drum] (twice)	represents fighting offstage	"within"
Antipodes IV	drums and trumpets	represents soldier threatening foes	[offstage]
Bashful Lover II	[alarm]	military	
[Brennoralt I	retreat	military]	
Brennoralt V	alarm	represents offstage fighting	"within"
Calisto I	[alarms]	represent removal of those opposing Jupiter	
Candy Restored i	a drum	proclamation for levying men	"within"
Candy Restored iii	a drum	represents press-ganging	"within"
Claracilla I	a charge	represents military attack	[offstage]
Dick of Dev.II	alarm, soft music, battle (cornetts)	inter-act music? and representation of offstage battle, followed by victorious naval entry	"alarum. As the soft musicke begins, a peale of ordnance goes off; then Cornetts sound a Battaile, which ended; Enter..."
[Dick of Dev.IV	drums	during fight]	
Dick of Dev.IV	drums	during second fight	
Dist. State III	[parley][drums]	military	"beat a parley"
Dist. State V	drums, trumpets, etc.	represent fighting	
Doubtful Heir V	soft alarm	represents approach of troops	"clamour", "frightfull noise"; [offstage, getting louder]
[Eumorphus II	trumpet	military]	
[Fairy Knight IV	drum	to summon opponent]	
[Fairy Knight IV	drum [dreadful]	notice of victory - to accompany triumphal walk through streets]	"a dreadfull march"

MILITARY - OTHER THAN ENTRY/EXIT cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
[Fairy Knight V	drum [summons]	summons to fight]	
Fairy Knight V	alarm (drum)	daring opponent to fight	Lossorello (fairy knight), onstage
Fatal Contract I	flourish [drums, trumpets?]	victorious military jubilation	"within"
Floating Island V	a drum	call to arms	
Fool Favourite IV	flourish	preparation for combat	
Fuimus Troes III	a retreat, [alarms]	represents end of battle and victory	[offstage], "a retrait sounded", "hot Alarums dye"
[Fuimus Troes IV	music	simulates battle; battle sounds - possibly include music?	"the whole battaile within"]
Imposture I	[drums]	represent offstage battle	"the drums talk louder", [offstage]
Imposture I	soft alarm	military	
Imposture I	alarm and retreat	represents end of battle	[offstage]
Jew's Tragedy II	drums	represent military presence	"afar off"
[Jew's Tragedy II	[music - ?parley/ summons]	possibly musical summons to parley and reply?	"Herald summons town to a parley, and is answered"]
Jew's Tragedy II	drums	represent military presence	"their drums beat", "afar off"
[Jew's Tragedy II	music	possibly music used to represent offstage fighting]	
Jew's Tragedy IV	drums	represent offstage fighting	[offstage]
Jew's Tragedy V	drums	represent offstage fighting	
Jew's Tragedy V	retreat (drum) [sad]	military	drummer, "beating a sad retreat"
King John III	a charge	represents offstage battle	"afar off"
Landgartha I	alarms	represent offstage fighting	
Landgartha V	alarms	represent battle	[offstage]

MILITARY - OTHER THAN ENTRY/EXIT cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Landgartha V	alarms	represent battle	[offstage]; "a while after which is begun", enter...
Landgartha V	alarms	represent battle	"sound as a farre off"
[Lodowick Sforza IV	drum	preparation for battle]	
Love and Honour I	a retreat	represents offstage fighting and retreat	"sounded as from far"
[Love's C.C.I	a retreat	end of fighting]	
Love's C.C.III	a drum	military	"from within"
Love's C.C.III	drum	represents offstage fighting/accomp. military entry	[offstage or as enters]; "his" drum
Love's C.C.III	trumpet	for beginning of duel	
[Love's C.C.III	trumpet	retreat from fight; celebration of victor's glory]	
[Love's C.C.III	trumpets	beginning of combat]	
Love's C.C.IV	drum and trumpet	represent offstage battle	[offstage]
Love's Cure V	drums	to announce duel	"within"
[Love's Cure V	drums	duel]	
[Maid's Revenge IV	music	precedes entry of masque of soldiers, and possibly accompanies it]	
[Noble Gentleman V	music [trumpets]]	military	"warlike music"
[Partial Law I	trumpets	tilters	offstage]
Partial Law I	trumpets	as challenger passes by	
[Partial Law I	trumpets	as four more tilters pass by]	
Partial Law I	trumpets	represent tilting	"within"; "then still music" (inter-act?)
Partial Law V	trumpets	give "the warning to the battell"	
Perkin III	parley	military	

MILITARY - OTHER THAN ENTRY/EXIT cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Phoenix IV	a charge [flourishing]	represents thieves seizing booty from rear of army, then precedes their entry with it; inter-scene music	[offstage], "a flourishing charge"
[Princess III	drums	beat watch	two drummers]
Princess IV	drum	watch	
Princess V	horn (twice)	call for aid in fighting	lieutenant, onstage
Queen V	trumpet	warning of combat	herald, onstage, "trumpet sounds", "second sound"
Queen of Aragon II	alarm	warning of enemy's arrival	
Queen of Aragon II	drum	indicates military presence	[offstage], noise "of death and mischiefe"
Queen of Cors. III	an alarm	military	
Queen of Cors. V	drums	military	
[Read and Wonder	parley (drums)	presumably figurative	"harke, hell's drums do strike a parley"]
Seven Champs.III	a charge (three times)	represents battle	[offstage]
Siege (Cart.)V	trumpets [sad]	in masque, statues of commanders come to life, "walk about stage in a grave sad march to Trumpets, with their weapons in their hands, the Curtain in the mean time shutting"	"a grave sad march"
[Sophy V	drums and trumpets	represent fighting offstage	offstage, "horrid noyse"]
Sophy V	drums and trumpets	" "	"without"
Unfort.Lovers III	drums	military	"a noyse of Drummes first heard a farre off"
Unfort.Lovers III	drums	military	"a farre off"
Unnat.Combat V	an alarm	represents fighting	[offstage]
[Valiant Scot II	drum	represents military presence]	"their" drums, offstage
[Valiant Scot IV	drum	to summon council]	
[Valiant Scot IV	drums	military	onstage]

MILITARY - OTHER THAN ENTRY/EXIT cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Valiant Scot IV	alarm	battle call	
[Valiant Scot V	drum	to summon troops; simulate retreat]	offstage
[Vow Breaker I	drum	military summons	offstage]
Vow Breaker II	alarm	military	
Vow Breaker II	alarms	military	
[Vow Breaker IV	alarm	warning of battle	offstage]
Vow Breaker IV	alarms	military	
Weeding C/G V	an alarm (drum and trumpet)	supposedly military (part of cure)	"drum and trumpet: an alarm"
[Weeding C/G V	drum and trumpet	represent supposed battle]	
[Weeding C/G V	a retreat	supposed battle]	

OTHER

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
[Filli di Sciro	music [sweet]	coming of day	"sweet pleasing music"]
Microcosmus I	music	represents rebel mutiny against Nature	"music out of tune"
[Staple News IV	music [consort]	to drown noise as somebody is kicked out]	fiddlers, onstage
[Valiant Scot II	drums	to drown cries of those being punished]	offstage

PROCESSION

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Antipodes IV	soft music	processional royal entry and some dumb-show	
Broken Heart V	recorders	entry of hearse and procession to altar to pray after coronation	"music of recorders" accompanies action, then "cease recorders" during devotions
Calisto III	loud music	processional stately entry	
City Wit V	music (twice)	procession to wedding	
Emperor of East III	loud music	processional imperial entry (being generous with petitions); possibly continues during dumb-show regarding petitions	
[Fairy Knight IV	drum [dreadful]	notice of victory - to accompany triumphal walk through streets]	"a dreadfull march"
Fatal Contract III	sad solemn music	accompanies entry of procession before execution / is possibly introduction to song	[offstage]
[Fuimus Troes V	music	march of kings over stage	march]
[Knave Grain V	music	possibly some music with Skimmington?	"a great noise" (includes "a ringing of basons")]
Late Lanc.W.Iv	drum	before Skimmington	
Leo Armenus III	music	triumphal Bacchic procession	
Noble Sp.Soldier I	loud music	processional state entry from church	
Noble Sp.Soldier V	cornetts	banquet and processional royal entry	"sounding"
Opportunity III	loud music	ducal passage over stage	
Perkin II	hautboys	processional entry of duke and pretender; music continues during dumb-show of ceremonial royal presentation	"sprightly music"
Picture I	loud music	processional state entry	

PROCESSION cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Queen III	loud music	processional state entry	"choicest music"
Queen of Cors. V	soft music	discovery of Hymen's image on altar; presumably continues during procession to altar, and perhaps during marriage vows	
Sisters IV	loud music	processional entry of supposed prince in state	
Telltale V	a sennet	processional entry for coronation and wedding	
Wonder Kingdom V	trumpets	accompany carrying of banquet over stage	
Zeno V	drum	funeral procession	drummer, onstage

RECREATION

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
[Eumorphus II	music (lyres)	to pass time]	
Fancies Chast III	music	ladies' exercise in singing and dancing	[offstage]
Queen and Conc.V	soft music [sweet]	approach of deposed but happy queen/queen and girls practising	[offstage], "sweet"

RELIGION

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
II Arv.& Phil. I	loud music	royal preparation for solemn sacrificial ceremony approach and entry?	[offstage]
Broken Heart V	recorders	entry of hearse and procession to altar to pray after coronation	"music of recorders" accompanies action, then "cease recorders" during devotions
Broken Heart V	soft music	accompanies rising and doing obeisance to altar; possibly accompanies following speech	
Emperor of East I	solemn loud music	imperial approach; ushers morning devotions	
Emperor of East I	loud music	imperial entry (on return from temple)	
Grateful Serv.V	recorders	ceremony of reception into religious order	
Imposture II	soft music	entry of nuns - scene at convent; mood of religious peace; possibly accompanies song	
Jew's Tragedy IV	still music	religious entry; possibly introduction and accompaniment to song	"a noise of still musick"
[Leo Armenus V	organ	Matins scene]	
Love in Ecstasy V	loud music	entry to see sacrifice / discovery of altar	
Love in Ecstasy V	solemn music [sad]	entry of those to be sacrificed	"sad"
Love's Mistress I	recorders	royal entry; reference that sounds indicate arrival at sacred Delphos	
[New Trick III	bell	monastery	offstage]

RELIGION cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
[New Trick V	music	entry of friars and hallowing, then entry of supposed ghost for marriage]	"sweeter music" than above
Noble Sp.Soldier I	loud music	processional state entry from church	
St.Patrick IV	recorders	religious sacrifice	

SEDATIVE/CURATIVE/CONSOLATORY

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
[Aglaura III	lute	entry of Aglaura / consolation / lute as image	heroine, as enters]
Arcadia III	lutes, recorders	sedative music provided by King for Queen	
[Bird in Cage V	music	as revives from supposed death]	
[Calisto II	music	lullaby]	
Calisto IV	music	lullaby	
Cardinal V	lute	curative music/introduction and accompaniment to song?	"the best player of Italy", [offstage]
Chances II	lute	introduction and accompaniment to song/separate music (solace for thwarted love)?	whore, above and "within"
Chances III	music [consort]	operation on Antonio (possibly musicians play as enter)	[musicians], onstage [possibly as enter]
[Chances III	[consort]	accompanies song in scene of operation on Antonio	musicians, onstage]
Love's Mistress II	recorders	to induce rest/ Zephirus' entry with gold?	
Lover's Mel.V	soft music	entry of those who will cure Meleander from madness / curative music / introduction and accompaniment to song? [continues during dialogue]	
Messalina II	music	imperial entertainment, to induce sleep	"ravishing"
Northern Lass V	soft music	to induce sleep and cure melancholy; "music continues" during action	
Pleas.Dials J & I	music (pipes) [sweet]	for entertainment and to induce sleep	[shepherds, offstage], "sweet and delicat", "dainty"

SEDATIVE/CURATIVE/CONSOLATORY cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Queen and Conc.V	shalms	approach of sports to entertain melancholy king (precede and possibly accompany entry of participants)	[offstage]
Queen and Conc.V	recorders	entry of entranced concubine; possibly play again after song (or song continues), over dialogue, and then "music ceased" at her recovery	
Queen's Exch.III	recorders	induce charmed sleep (witchcraft) [dialogue continues over them]	"tis the musick of the spheres"
[Sisters II	music	inter-act; to alleviate melancholy]	
Soddered Cit.IV	soft music	entry of masquers in shrouds; presumably also accompanies dance; induces sleep	"enter...and tread a solemne measure"
St.Patrick V	soft music	induces sleep; presages & accompanies appearance of angels in vision (continues during dialogue before Patrick sleeps)	"heavenly"(i.e.suggestion of music of spheres)
Very Woman IV	music	introduction to song / accompanies entry of Genius / curative music	

SIGNALS (NON-MILITARY)

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Amyntas V	quailpipe	supposed birdsong, taken as omen	Dorylas (a knavish boy), onstage
Arcadia III	a bell	to summon assistance	"rings"
Bird in Cage III	bell	announces arrival of letter from Duke	
Bird in Cage IV	bell	announces arrival of present	"within"
Cardinal V	bell	to alert court to murder	"rings"
English Trav.IV	horn	to summon rescuers	Reignald(serving man), onstage
Fatal Contract II	bell	to summon help	"larum Bell"
Guardian(Mass.) I	horn	to summon bandits	Severino (banished nobleman) blows, onstage
Il Pastor F. (Sidnam) II	[horn]	looking for dog in woods	Silvio(priest's son), [offstage]
Lady Mother II	treble [violin]	to rouse sleeping steward	"one fit of mirth", Grimes(servant), onstage
Late Lanc.W.IV	alarm (drum)	warning for help	
Launching Mary I	bell	summons to work	
Launching Mary II	bell	summons back to work	
[New Trick V	alarm	signal for beginning of action]	
News Plymouth IV	bell	summons	
[Roman Actor II	trumpet	attempt to wake sleeper in play within play]	
Sicily and Nap.I	loud music [consort]	morning salute (to wake music-hater)	musicians, onstage
Sparagus Gdn.IV	whistle	to summon housekeeper	
[Variety IV	[consort] [?including fiddles and trumpets]]	to startle girl and get her to appear	musicians, onstage, "a ratling tune"
[Very Woman III	bell	announces market wares are ready]	
[Ward II	bells	announce birth of heir]	
Weeding C/G II	bell (twice)	summons for service in tavern	
Wonder Kingdom IV	cornett	signal for assignation	"within"

SIGNALS (NON-MILITARY) cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Zeno I	trumpet	called on to "sound the omen" (when deaths are prophesied)	"lugubre" (plaintively)
Zeno III	trumpet	rouses sleeping heroes in masque	

SUPERNATURAL

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Amyntas V	quailpipe	supposed birdsong, taken as omen	Dorylas (a knavish boy), onstage
[I Arv.& Phil. V	[music?] [hideous]	as enter witch's cave	"hideous noyse" - possibly created by musical instruments?; "out of the cave"]
Chances V	soft music	spirits conjured (after incantation)	
[Chances V	music	passing by of heroine as supposed spirit]	
City Madam V	sad music [consort]	entry of those who have been badly treated, in a pseudo-supernatural show	[musicians]
Cruel Brother V	still music (recorders)	represents soul ascending after death; continues during dialogue; then "Cease Rec." when soul has gone	"above"; compared with music of the spheres
Fair Md.of Inn IV	music	summoned up in show of supposed magical powers; accompanies entry and dance of 'frogs' [dialogue continues during it]	"musick playes"
Fool Favourite IV	recorder	summons lady for supposed magical entry	
Fool Favourite V	recorders	ghost/mourning	
Lady Mother V	flourish horrid music	entry of Death and furies in masque	
Landgartha V	sweet solemn music (recorders)	angel's entry	"a sweet solemn music of recorders"; referred to as "heavenly"
[Late Lanc.W.III	bells	wedding	[offstage]; ringing backwards because of witches' influence]

SUPERNATURAL cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Late Lanc.W.III	[consort]	accompanies dancing at wedding; musicians bewitched [continue playing during dialogue]	fiddlers (above, behind curtain) play "Sellenger's Round"; "as they begin to dance, they play another tune, then fall into many".
Late Lanc.W.III	[consort]	bewitched musicians play wedding dance music [continue playing during dialogue]	location as above; "The Beginning of the World" called for, but "every one a severall tune" (compared with "the Running o' the Country several Ways")
[Late Lanc.W.V	music [dreadful]	"noise" possibly musical?	"spirits come about him with a dreadful noise"]
Love's C.C.II	still music	associated with angel; possibly refers to song	"from above"; "music with shrill voice naming Philoclea"
Love's Mistress II	loud music, and still music	to impress with supernatural powers [;possibly accompanies some singing]	[offstage], Psiche's unseen shapes [still music possibly includes "sweet voices"]
Messalina V	horrid music	approach then entry of two spirits ("dreadfully enter")/ introduction to song? [unlikely]	
New Trick IV	music	precedes approach of antics and finally the Devil	
New Trick V	[music]	accompanies entry of apparent angels and banquet	music "sweeter then the first" (i.e.than that with vision)

SUPERNATURAL cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
[New Trick V	music	entry of friars and hallowing, then entry of supposed ghost for marriage]	"sweeter music" than above
Noble Stranger IV	soft music	entry of supposed goddess	
Pleas.Dials.A & D	music	accompanies turning of Daphne into a laurel tree	"sudden musicke"
[Queen and Conc.III	music	accompanies dumb-show (vision) of past events]	
Queen's Exch.III	recorders	induce charmed sleep (witchcraft) [dialogue continues over them]	"tis the musick of the spheres"
Queen's Exch.III	loud music	presumably accompanies dance of ghosts in dumb-show (dream)	"fall into a dance; loud music; after the dance..."
Rebellion III	soft music	accompanies descent of Love in vision; possibly continues during Love's speech	
Roman Actor V	a dreadful music	accompanies entry of and possibly continues during dumb-show of apparitions (dreams)	
Seven Champs.I	soft music	approach of ghosts	"thunder and lightning, then soft musicke"
Seven Champs.I	music	witch sinking to hell (music to cover noise of rock cleaving?)	"Musick: The Rocke cleaves, she sinkes: thunder and lightning"
Seven Champs.III	loud music	entry of enchanter; possibly accompanies enchantments	
Seven Champs.III	sweet music	enchanter demonstrating pleasure; presumably prelude to following "soft music" (accompanies tempting of David)	

SUPERNATURAL cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Seven Champs.III	soft music	enchanter trying to captivate David from his purpose. Music accompanies entry of temptations; they dance; then three embrace him "to a lazy tune" and carry him away	
[Seven Champs.III	music	?enchanter's music of pleasure and temptation	referred to as the music of some Deity; "heavenly music"]
St.Patrick III	music	appearance of supposed god	
St.Patrick V	soft music	induces sleep; presages & accompanies appearance of angels in vision (continues during dialogue before Patrick sleeps)	"heavenly"(i.e.suggestion of music of spheres)
Variety IV	music [consort]	descent of throne containing supposed angel (in 'show')	[musicians, onstage], supposedly represents music of spheres
Very Woman IV	music	introduction to song / accompanies entry of Genius / curative music	
Wizard IV	music	represents magician raising supposed spirits, accompanies their entry, continues during dialogue, then ceases when spirits have exited	"musick sounds ceremoniously", "ravishing aires", "the Sphears a louder Musick yeeld"

TAVERN AND DRINKING SCENES

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Chances IV	music	drinking party	[offstage]
Chances IV	music	drinking party; is possibly a song (continues during dialogue), then "cease Musick"	[offstage]
Country Captain IV	[consort]	tavern scene	musicians, onstage, play three of "Master Adson's new ayres"; Captain sings, reels and clicks fingers to presumably third of tunes, then song to "this thumping tune" is performed (MS of play has additional directions that musicians play twice more)
Drinking Acad.I	[fiddles]	accompany drinking lesson	two fiddlers, onstage
[Love's Cruelty III	music [consort]	tavern	fiddlers]
Politician III	music	drinking scene	
[Royal Slave III	music [consort]	tavern scene	musicians, onstage, "Battle" implied]
Tot. Court III	music	tavern music	[offstage]
Walks Isl. II	[consort], including bass violin	tavern scene - plays then accompanies dancing	musicians, onstage
Weeding C/G II	[consort]	tuning before playing in tavern	fiddlers, "below"
Weeding C/G II	[music - rude] [consort]	tavern scene	fiddlers, "fiddling rude tunes"

WEDDING

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Albovine II	loud music	royal entry (for wedding)	
Albovine II	[consort]	drinking healths at wedding banquet	[4 musicians,onstage]
Antipodes IV	hautboys	ceremonial royal nuptial exit	
Arg.& Parth. IV	music	shepherds' entry to wedding feast	[dance music]
Bride I	soft music	bridal entry	
Broken Heart V	loud music	accompanies bridal entry (then ceases)	
Cardinal III	recorders	entry of dead body (is bridegroom)	
Chall.Beauty IV	music	exit to wedding	
City Wit V	music (twice)	procession to wedding	
City Wit V	music	approach and entry of wedding	[offstage]
Constant Maid V	[music]	entry of cousin and newly-wed niece	
Contention H/R	music	entry of Honour and Ingenuity, just wed	
Country Girl V	flourish	final exit of the play, to wedding	
Court Beggar V	music [soft and sweet]	welcoming entry for wedding	"soft but sweetest notes"
Cunning Lovers V	hautboys	accompany dumb-show representing Mantua giving daughter away in marriage	
[Cure Cuckold I	music	wedding	offstage]
Cure Cuckold V	soft music	wedding	
II Fair Md.West I	recorders	royal entry; king's beloved has just married someone else	
Fool Favourite V	flourish	ducal exit (and marriage will be prepared for)	
[Guardian(Cowley) V	[consort]	wedding entry with dance music]	fiddlers, onstage
Guardian(Mass.) IV	[cornett]	announces approach of bridegroom etc.	"within"
Jovial Crew IV	rude music	beggars' wedding; possibly accompanies singing	"a great noise within of rude music, laughing, singing"

WEDDING cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Landgartha III	loud music	entry of spectators (including King) for wedding masque	
[Late Lanc.W.III	bells	wedding	[offstage]; ringing backwards because of witches' influence]
Late Lanc.W.III	[consort]	wedding	fiddlers [from offstage, then fiddlers enter]
Late Lanc.W.III	[consort]	wedding celebration	fiddlers play "the battle" (though "the Sack of Troy" is called for) as they "pass through"
Late Lanc.W.III	[consort]	accompany wedding banquet to table	fiddlers (enter & exit with banquet)
Late Lanc.W.III	[consort]	preparation for wedding dancing [plays during dialogue]	fiddlers play "Sellenger's Round"
Late Lanc.W.III	[consort]	accompanies dancing at wedding; musicians bewitched [continue playing during dialogue]	fiddlers (above, behind curtain) play "Sellenger's Round"; "as they begin to dance, they play another tune, then fall into many".
Mad Couple V	music	wedding entry	
Maidenhead IV	music	accompanies inter-act dumb-show of entry for wedding night	
Messalina IV	cornetts	imperial entry, going to wedding	
New Inn V	[music] (twice)	greeting wedding couple (presumably represent wedding bells)	fiddlers [onstage], "the bels" called for
[New Trick V	music	entry of friars and hallowing, then entry of supposed ghost for marriage]	"sweeter music" than above
[Paria V	music [consort]	wedding feast	musicians, onstage]

WEDDING cont.

Play	Instrument/term	Dramatic context/function	General
Parson's Wedd. V	[consort]	wedding entry	fiddlers, onstage
[Parson's Wedd. V	music [consort]	wedding	fiddlers, offstage]
I Pass.Lovers IV	[music]	bride's approach to bed	
Queen and Conc.II	loud music	bridal entry of royal concubine	
Queen of Cors. III	soft music	at bridal chamber	
Queen of Cors. V	soft music	discovery of Hymen's image on altar; presumably continues during procession to altar, and perhaps during marriage vows	
[Queen's Exch.II	music (bells)	joy at forthcoming royal marriage	"a shout within, the Musick, sound the Bells" - but the reference to music could be the shout rather than a direction for music]
[Rival Friends IV	music [consort]	as rustics exit from wedding dancing]	fiddlers, onstage
Sicily and Nap.III	flourish	royal entry of newly-weds	
[Siege (Dav.)V	music	bridal music; final exit	"let bridal tunes sound high"]
Telltale V	a sennet	processional entry for coronation and wedding	
[Thibaldus V	music	wedding celebration and banquet; possibly arrival of dancers]	
Tis Pity IV	hautboys	entry of wedding banquet	
Vow Breaker II	music	wedding (to accompany supposed dancing offstage)	[musicians, offstage, "Trenchmore"]
[Wonder Kingdom V	music	wedding	offstage]

APPENDIX 4

CHART SHOWING USE OF DANCE IN CAROLINE PLAYS

Introduction

This chart contains a comprehensive listing of all the specified instances of dance contained in Caroline play-texts, classified by the dramatic context of the dance or the function which it performs. It also includes occasions where a dance is strongly implied though not directed. Its correlation of dance and types of dance used with particular dramatic contexts and functions tells us more about the use of dance. It presents in summary form all the basic data concerning the use of dance in Caroline plays on which the discussion and conclusions in the body of the thesis are based.

The reader is referred back to the Introduction to Appendix 3, since many of the notes there also apply to this Appendix.

Details given for each entry in the tables constituting this Appendix are as follows:

Column 1 ('Play') specifies play (abbreviated title) and act.

Column 2 ('Dramatic context/function') describes dramatic context or function in brief. Where function is not clear, the most likely of the possibilities is given first.

Column 3 ('Who dances') specifies who dances.

Column 4 ('General') includes details concerning the type of dance, named tunes and dances, accompanying instruments, and who accompanies. It is assumed that the phrase 'Music and a Dance' could imply an

introduction and/or an accompaniment. In some cases where accompanying instruments are not specified, instruments have provided music earlier in the scene and could possibly be the accompanying instruments, but such speculation is not included in this chart.

In this chart the dances have been sorted into thirteen broad categories indicating their dramatic context or function. There are overlaps between the categories, and there is some cross-referencing, with some entries appearing in more than one category. Dances performed in practice for a particular occasion are included in the category relevant to the occasion.

The following notes explain the scope of certain of the categories:

Celebration -	excludes wedding
Inter-act dances, and dances at end of plays -	includes dances at end of acts
Supernatural -	includes quasi-supernatural

Index to categories on dance chart

BANQUET AND HOSPITALITY

Play	Dramatic context/function	Who dances	General
Late Lanc.W.IV	ridiculous revenge at banquet	a pedant	[with accomp.], dances to one strain
Late Lanc.W.IV	"	nimble tailor	[with accomp.], "using the same posture"
Late Lanc.W.IV	"	Robin	[with accomp.]
Late Lanc.W.IV	"	gallant	[with accomp.]
Launching Mary V	banquet celebrating launching	Tarre,Trunnell, Tallow, Okum, Sheathingenayle	"some daintie dance" (emblematic)
Strange Discov.III	entertainment at banquet	Thessalian youths and captain	"Pyrricha"(an armoured Thessalian dance), "with a gracefull dexterity", with accomp.

CELEBRATION

Play	Dramatic context/function	Who dances	General
Arg.& Parthenia III	celebration of forthcoming wedding and of joy; ends act	shepherds	
[Candy Rest.X	celebration of recovery	3 symbolic figures	dance to singing]
Converted Robber	pastoral celebration of thief's reformation	"an antique of shepherds"	"antique dance", [possibly accompanied]
[Example V	celebration of recovery and happiness; ends play]	major characters	
Fancies Chast V	celebration of happiness [end of play]	servants (as soldier, gentry, fool, scholar, merchant, clown)	dance shows "how love oreswayes All men"
Fuimus Troes III	triumphs in celebration of victory	"a dancing maske of 6"	[with accomp.]
Goblins III	celebration of prize	thieves	dance to singing
Goblins III	welcoming revels for Orsabrin (or possibly celebration of prizes)	thieves	with accomp. and possibly intro. - "Musicke and a Dance"
Hannibal IV	"solemnity" celebrating victory	soldiers	martial dance (soldiers put themselves in figure for it during previous song), symbolically "expressing a fight"
Launching Mary V	banquet celebrating launching	Tarre,Trunnell, Tallow, Okum, Sheathingenayle	"some daintie dance" (emblematic)
Microcosmus I	celebrates reconciliation of warring elements[ends act]	[Love and 4 Elements]	[accomp.by "lusty moving sounds", supposedly of the spheres]
Microcosmus V	celebration of love, happy ending, etc. [ends play]	"inhabitants of Elysium"	"active measures"; are first placed in figure for it; afterwards, return to first order

CELEBRATION cont.

Play	Dramatic context/function	Who dances	General
New Academy V	celebrates that all have made up [ends play]	[all major characters]	"Les tous ensembles"[="Alltowell"="Omnium Gatherum"], "dainty", a "frisk", a "fling", a "cariering dance", with accomp.
[Plutophth.III	dance from joy at Plutus' recovery	rustics	"clatterdepouch",possibly dance to singing]
Queen and Conc.III	to celebrate recovery	Andrea(fool)	"capers and turns"
Royal Slave V	masque celebrating Arsamnes' and Cratander's return	4 slaves and 2 whores	"they dance in their Cripple Postures"
Royal Slave V	" "	younger ladies (in warlike habits)	"the whole Dance expressing these verses of Claudian"[then quoted]
St.Patrick III	rejoicing (at forthcoming rape)[ends act]	devils	
Walks Isl. V	celebration of happiness and forthcoming weddings[ends play]	[major characters]	
Wizard V	celebration of forthcoming weddings and happy ending	[major characters]	

CEREMONY

Play	Dramatic context/function	Who dances	General
Arg.& Parthenia II	country sports/ pagan ritual	shepherds	"country measure", [with accomp.]
Fairy Knight IV	coronation of prince of fairies (sham)	4 "fairies"(boys)	
Hollander IV	sham ceremony of investiture as knight	knights	"the Twibill dance", [with accomp., offstage]
Jovial Crew I	welcoming beggar king	beggars	accomp.by piper; possibly has intro. - "Music. Dance"
Strange Discov.II	pagan sacrifice	virgins	accomp.by music and singing ("at the sound of musicke and a song made fit and agreeable to the musicke, they danced")

EMBEDDED MASQUES AND OTHER SHOWS

Play	Dramatic context/function	Who dances	General
Amorous War III	entertainment for supposed Amazon	moors	warlike, "after the ancient AEthiopian manner", has "closes"
Amyntas III	entertainment of fairy knight by supposed fairies	"fairies"	"fairy ring", "light ayry measures, & fantastique rings", [with accomp.]
Antipodes V	masque	antimasquers (Discord etc.)	[antimasque dance]
Antipodes V	masque	masquers and antimasquers (Harmony, Discord, etc.)	[possibly dance to singing]
[Arcadia III	preparation of dance for king	rebels	"new friske", [with accomp. - "strike up behind the tree"]
Arg.& Parthenia I	pastoral entertainment	shepherds	"morris dance", "idle"
Arg.& Parthenia II	country sports/ pagan ritual	shepherds	"country measure", [with accomp.]
Arg.& Parthenia IV	celebration of wedding	shepherds and shepherdesses	[possibly dance to singing]
Ball V	masque (at ball)	masquers: Venus, Diana, Cupid	
Ball V	[antimasque] (at ball)	"satyr"	
[Calisto I	sports to entertain Calisto (princess)	Diana's train: nymphs, fauns, satyrs]	possibly dance to singing
[Calisto III	seductory entertainment for princess, to make her continue Jupiter's	shepherds and shepherdesses	possibly dance to singing]
Cardinal III	masque	six vizarded masquers (one of them the Cardinal's nephew)	
Changes V	masque	masquers	[with accomp. - "chime"]

EMBEDDED MASQUES AND OTHER SHOWS cont.

Play	Dramatic context/function	Who dances	General
Constant Maid IV	masque	Paris (played by Playfair,a major character)	
Constant Maid IV	masque	goddesses	
Converted Robber	masque	[masquers]	
Coronation IV	masque	Fortune, Love, et al.	[with accomp.]
Court Beggar V	demonstrating a dance and its tune for revels	Doctor	dances to singing
Court Beggar V	practising for revels	Citwit(citizen's son)	
Court Beggar V	practising for revels	Swaynwit(country gentleman)	dances to whistling: "He whistles and dances to Sellenger's Round, or the like"
Court Beggar V	practising for revels	Doctor, Citwit, Swaynwit, Courtwit(a complementer)	dance to singing [and viol, played by Daynty, onstage]
Court Beggar V	as exit	"	" " exeunt "fidling, footing, singing, acting, etc."
Court Beggar V	nuptial masque	masquers	
Court Beggar V	masque	masquers	"our dance" [the one Daynty was taught], with accomp.
English Moor I	masque	masquers	"Cuckold's Joy", accomp. by violins and cornetts
English Moor IV	masque	6 blackamores	"an Antique"
English Moor IV	plot at masque to abduct the moor (Phillis) (Nat "daunces her quite away")	Nat(young gentleman)	[galliard],with accomp. ("he dances vily", calls for "quick" music)

EMBEDDED MASQUES AND OTHER SHOWS cont.

Play	Dramatic context/function	Who dances	General
Eumorphus V	nuptial masque	9 masquers	"present themselves with ridiculous gestures"
Floating Island III	masque	"6 sleeping persons"	
Goblins III	welcoming revels for Orsabrin (or possibly celebration of prizes)	thieves	with accomp. and possibly intro. - "Musicke and a Dance"
Grateful Serv.IV	masque; seduction	nymphs and satyrs	in a ring
Guardian(Mass.) IV	wedding masque	countrymen and servant	with accomp.("wire-string and cats-guts men and strong-breath'd Hoboys"), "a most melodious note"
Hannibal II	masque-like entertainment	Sophonisba and ladies	(ladies previously placed in figure for it)(discovery during dance)
Imperiale IV	hymeneal masque	Hymen and youths "in antique forms"	"a wanton dance"
Imperiale IV	" "	masquers (as Thalassius and Romans)	"a warlike dance"
[Jew's Tragedy IV	show giving warning of imminent doom	three furies	"they circle him [Eleazer] about" while Persiphone sings]
Jew's Tragedy V	masque	[masquers]	with accomp.; possibly has intro. - "Musick, and they dance"
King John III	masque	[masquers]	
King John III	masque	masquers and ladies	[?"a hall a hall"], with accomp.("cats guts")
Landgartha III	wedding masque	6 satyrs	"a short nimble anticke to no music, or at most to a single violin"
Landgartha III	wedding masque	Hector and Achilles	encounter each other "in a dumb show by way of a dance"

EMBEDDED MASQUES AND OTHER SHOWS cont.

Play	Dramatic context/function	Who dances	General
Landgartha III	masque	Hubba and Marfisa (comic characters)	"Whip of Donboyne"; dance merrily
Landgartha III	masque	4 couples(major characters)	"the grand Dance"
Leo Armenus III	play within play - worship of Alexander, followed by dance	six drunkards	[with accomp.]
Love or Money IV	entry with merry entertainment for wife (begins act)	Anteus and merry company	dance to singing [of all or of Anteus] [presumably also accomp. by musicians]
Lover's Mel.III	masque of melancholy	sea nymph	dances to singing
Lover's Mel.III	masque of melancholy	masquers	
Love's C.C.II	shepherds' revels	shepherds	dance to singing; then dance faster
Love's Hospital V	antimasque	4 beasts	"dance in their several orders"
Love's Hospital V	antimasque	4 beasts and 4 satyrs	
Love's Hospital V	antimasque	4 beasts, 4 satyrs, 4 little boys	
Love's Hospital V	nuptial masque	masquers	
Love's Mistress I	show	various asses (proud, prodigal, drunken, etc.)	(several dances)
Love's Mistress II	show of Arcadian sport	swains, wenches, etc.	
Love's Mistress III	demonstration of Cupid's art	"Love's Contrarities"(king and beggar, old and young men, lean and fat men)	
Love's Mistress IV	diversion, to keep awake	Vulcan and his Ciclops	"a low dance"

EMBEDDED MASQUES AND OTHER SHOWS cont.

Play	Dramatic context/function	Who dances	General
Love's Sacrif. III	masque for Abbot	masquers (enter "in an antic fashion")	dance "a short time"
Love's Sacrif.III	masque for Abbot	3 revenging women "in "odd shapes"	dance "sundry changes",then "dance round Ferentes", with accomp.
Lovesick Court V	rural masque	[shepherds]	"antic dance", "country toy", "rustic round", [possibly accomp. by music and singing]
[Messalina IV	practising dancing for masque	Valens(fairly imp.character)	dances to singing
Messalina V	masque	"8 Bachinalians" ("antique maske")	
Messalina V	hymeneal masque	emperor et al.	[with accomp.]
Microcosmus II	entertainment of Bellanima and Physander[ends act]	Complexions and 2 Genii	supposedly accomp. by music of the spheres; Complexions express their differences in the dance
Muses' L.G.I	masque	7 deadly sins	"a rude Dance", [possibly dance to singing]
Muses' L.G.V	masque	Virtues	[possibly "Prinkum Prankum", but seems very unlikely]
Northern Lass II	masque	masquers	[with accomp.]
Ob.Lady IV	nuptial masque	[masquers]	accomp.by fiddlers
Opportunity III	entertainment for noble	[servants]	[with accomp.]
Perkin III	masque	masquers	with accomp.[possibly includes fiddles, bagpipes, harps] and possibly intro. ("Music. The Maskers dance")
Picture II	masque	masquers	[possibly French brawle], [possibly dance to singing and/or to lute]
Pleas.Dials.P & A	royal entertainment	[shepherdesses]	"measure", with accomp. and possibly intro. ("Musicke sounds, and they dance")

EMBEDDED MASQUES AND OTHER SHOWS cont.

Play	Dramatic context/function	Who dances	General
Queen and Conc.V	royal entertainment	swains and maids	with accomp. and possibly intro. ("Musick, Dance")
Queen and Conc.V	royal entertainment	[lads and lasses]	
Queen's Exch.III	dream (dumb-show)	ghosts of 6 Saxon kings	accomp.by loud music (they "fall into a dance; loud musick; after the dance...")
Royal Slave V	masque celebrating Arsamnes' and Cratander's return	4 slaves and 2 whores	"they dance in their Cripple Postures"
Royal Slave V	" "	younger ladies (in warlike habits)	"the whole Dance expressing these verses of Claudian"[then quoted]
[S.Damianus II	games	chorus of dancers]	
School of Comp.V	masque (country sports)	shepherds	[possibly dance to singing]
School of Comp.V	"	"a maske of Satyres etc"	
School of Comp.V	"	[major characters]	1 dance; "One measure. Dance"; a 3rd dance, with accomp.
Seven Champs.IV	presentation of pleasures of night	enchanter's spirits	"an active dance"
Shepherds' Hol.III	rehearsal of masque (country sports)	[shepherds and shepherdesses]	"a well pac'd measure"
Sicily and Nap.II	dumb-show to aid recovery	6 furies(enter "in anticke postures")	with accomp.
Sicily and Nap.II	"	chorus of ghosts and Calantha (major character)	"some solemne measures"
Siege (Cart.)V	hymeneal masque	ladies and 5 statues of commanders (come to life)	"a sprightly dance", accomp.by violins

EMBEDDED MASQUES AND OTHER SHOWS cont.

Play	Dramatic context/function	Who dances	General
Soddered Cit.IV	masque	"7 Maskers all in Shrowdes" and Wittworth (patient)	"a solemne measure with changes", accomp.by soft music; meanwhile Wittworth "daunces an antick mockway"
Telltale V	dumb-show	supposed ghosts	dance, then "another straine"
Thibaldus V	wedding revels	young people, masked	
Tis Pity IV	nuptial masque	maidens	with accomp. and possibly intro. ("music, and a dance")
[Traitor III	masque	Pleasures]	
Traitor III	masque	Pleasures and Furies	
Trappolin II	hymeneal masque	masquers	"Hymen leads it"
Trappolin II	hymeneal masque	masquers	"they dance another dance which Hymen leads"
Twins V	sports	[swains]	
Wonder Kingdom IV	masque	women "in strang habitts"	
Zeno II	dream (dumb-show)	Fortune and two men	(symbolic action during dance)
Zeno III	play	soldiers, led by Mars	with accomp.
Zeno V	masque	7 Ethiopian boys(in Turkish habits);4 satyrs	possibly with accomp. ("ad numeros" - to rhythms/patterned steps?); they are "succeeded after an interval" by satyrs

EXPRESSION OF CHARACTER/MOOD/EMOTION

Play	Dramatic context/function	Who dances	General
Bride I	to prove youth	Goodlove (old merchant)	"capers"
Byrsa II	on way to taproom	messenger boy	dances to singing
City Madam III	merriment after rescue; possibly also seduction	prentices, wench and bawd	"a light lavolta", [accomp. by musicians ("strike up"), onstage]
[City Wit IV	demonstration of dances to strengthen disguise	Crasy (decayed citizen)"like a dancer"]	
Constant Maid II	to impress (wooing)	Startup (a foolish gentleman)	dances to singing
[Constant Maid II	supposedly mad dancing	niece	possibly dances to singing]
Country Captain IV	tavern scene	captain	"reeles", to singing, [and possibly playing]
Court Beggar IV	mad dancing	Frederick(supposedly mad)	practises, then "a conceited Countrey Dance", with imaginary partners [calls for accomp., but possibly imaginary]
English Moor IV	mad dancing (several times)	Buzzard (mad)	dances to singing
Floating Island I	expression of merry character	Hilario(jovial gentleman)	dances to singing
Floating Island II	teasing courtship	Hilario(jovial gentleman)	[very likely "Love's Trenchmore"], dances to singing
Gamester III	expressing gay mood and pretending wantonness in seduction scene	Penelope(major character)	dances to singing
Ghost IV	amorous anticipation; indicates wanton character	Philarchus(usurer, major character)	dances to singing
[Ghost IV	"	" "	" "]
[Humorous Ctier III	showing off	Depazzi(young foolish lord)	capers]

EXPRESSION OF CHARACTER/MOOD/EMOTION cont.

Play	Dramatic context/function	Who dances	General
Humorous Ctier III	showing off	Volterre (young lord)	dances to singing (twice)
[Humorous Ctier IV	showing off	Volterre]	
[Humorous Ctier IV	imitating Volterre	Crispino(servant)	dances to singing]
[Jew's Tragedy V	mad dancing from joy	Eleazar	dances to singing]
Love or Money II	showing off to girl (ends act)	Mendoso	dances on bench [presumably no accomp.]
Love or Money III	for merriment; and supposedly practising for wedding (ends act)	merry company - men and women	[with "lively" accomp.]
[Love or Money IV	for merriment	Anteus	dances to his singing]
Love's Hospital I	mocking communication with deaf Surdato	Macilent (servant)	
Love's Riddle I	dance from merriment	shepherds	a "round", [possibly dance to singing]
Microcosmus I	scene setting at beginning of play: represents chaos of the elements	4 Elements and their creatures	"a confused dance to their owne antique musicke"
Northern Lass III	taunting Fitchow	Luckless(major character)and friends	dance to singing
Paria IV	mad dancing, celebrating Jupiter's wedding	madman and servant	
[Plat.Lovers II	taunting a fool	Amadine (servant)]	
[Plutophth.I	dance from joy	Carion(servant)	possibly dances to singing]
[Plutophth.III	dance from joy at Plutus' recovery	rustics	"clatterdepouch",possibly dance to singing]
Rival Friends IV	to contribute to disguise as shepherd's servant	Anteros(humorous fellow)	[country dance - Anteros has said he will "put the plod o'th'country on"], accomp. by whistling
Sad Shepherd II	dances from joy	Maudlin(witch)	

EXPRESSION OF CHARACTER/MOOD/EMOTION cont.

Play	Dramatic context/function	Who dances	General
School of Comp.IV	dances from joy	Gorgon(page)	"capers"
[Seven Champs.V	dances from joy	Clown	possibly dances to singing]
Sicily and Nap.II	to taunt Calantha	Alphonso (humorous character)	"capers"
Sicily and Nap.III	capers from lust	Alphonso	"capers"
Soddered Cit.I	drunken dancing	Brainsick (drunkard)	dances to his own singing
Sophister V	mad dancing	Fallacy's followers	dance to singing
St.Patrick II	dance from mirth	2 princesses	
St.Patrick III	rejoicing (at forthcoming rape)[ends act]	devils	
Time's Trick II	showing off	Spreggio(man) then Harry (jester)	"stink a pace"
Valetudinarium V	dance from joy at recovery	Molossus	dances and "capers"(twice)
Valetudinarium V	" "	Molossus	dances to singing
[Variety III	to demonstate his dancing skill	Galliard	possibly dances a bit, possibly to one of 4 tunes mentioned - "la Galiard, de Coran, la Princesse, le Buckingham" (or may just play a bit of tune); accomp. by his own fiddling]
[Variety III	demonstration of a famous dancer's dancing	Manly(major character)	compared to "a Bachanalian dancing the Spanish Morisco"]
[Variety III	showing off	Manly	bit of galliard and (twice) of "Lavaltoe" (the first time to his own singing)]
[Variety IV	practising and showing off	Nice(chambermaid)	possibly a fashionable court dance, accomp. by Galliard on fiddle]
Ward II	dances from joy	Scatterbraine	
[Wizard IV	to show not old	Sir Oliver(major character)	

EXPRESSION OF CHARACTER/MOOD/EMOTION cont.

Play	Dramatic context/function	Who dances	General
[Wizard IV	dance from joy	Sir Oliver	bit of "carnaries"]

INTER-ACT DANCES, AND DANCES AT END OF PLAYS

Play	Dramatic context/function	Who dances	General
Arg.& Parthenia III	celebration of forthcoming wedding and of joy; ends act	shepherds	
Ball V	ball [end of play]	[all at ball]	
[Ceph.et Procris V	end of play]		
Contention H/R	celebration of wedding and making up [end of play]	[all major characters]	"some nimble air", [instrumental accomp. - "strike up"]
[Country Captain V	wedding celebration [end of play]	major characters]	
Court Beggar V	dance takes place while "the rest confer" and make up[end of play]	Daynty and Philomel(chambermaid)	
Duke's Mistress IV	courtship; opens act	Horatio and Fiametta	"a Coranto", [accomp.by musicians]
[Example V	celebration of recovery and happiness; ends play]	major characters	
[II Fair Md. West I-II	wedding celebration, between acts	Mullisheg and others	possibly moriscos, country dances, "Sellenger's round", "Tom Tiler"]
Fancies Chast V	celebration of happiness [end of play]	servants (as soldier, gentry, fool, scholar, merchant, clown)	dance shows "how love oreswayes All men"
Florimene I	"1st intermedium" (represents Winter)	4 old men	
Florimene II	"2nd intermedium" (represents Spring)	3 young couples	
Florimene III	"3rd intermedium" (represents Summer)	5 reapers	
Florimene IV	"4th intermedium" (represents Autumn)	3 boon companions	

INTER-ACT DANCES, AND DANCES AT END OF PLAYS cont.

Play	Dramatic context/function	Who dances	General
Florimene IV	"	4 satyrs	"come leaping in"; later "dance with wanton Action"
Florimene IV	"	Pan	
Florimene IV	"	Pan and satyrs	
Lady Mother V	celebration of weddings [end of play]	[major characters]	[with accomp.]
Lady of Pleas.V	end of play	[major characters]	[with accomp.]
Love or Money I	wedding [ends act]	wedding guests	"Trenchmore", [accomp.by musicians, onstage]
Love or Money II	showing off to girl (ends act)	Mendoso	dances on bench [presumably no accomp.]
Love or Money III	for merriment; and supposedly practising for wedding (ends act)	merry company - men and women	[with "lively" accomp.]
Love or Money IV	entry with merry entertainment for wife (begins act)	Anteus and merry company	dance to singing [of all or of Anteus] [presumably also accomp. by musicians]
Love or Money IV	practising for wedding [ends act]	Mendoso, Corinna and friends	
Love's Mistress V	wedding and happy ending	Cupid, Psyche, gods,goddesses	a "measure", with accomp. ("to the sweete musicke of the spheares")(possibly also accomp.by singing of Muses)
Microcosmus I	celebrates reconciliation of warring elements[ends act]	[Love and 4 Elements]	[accomp.by "lusty moving sounds", supposedly of the spheres]
Microcosmus II	entertainment of Bellanima and Physander[ends act]	Complexions and 2 Genii	supposedly accomp. by music of the spheres; Complexions express their differences in the dance

INTER-ACT DANCES, AND DANCES AT END OF PLAYS cont.

Play	Dramatic context/function	Who dances	General
Microcosmus V	celebration of love, happy ending, etc. [ends play]	"inhabitants of Elysium"	"active measures"; are first placed in figure for it; afterwards, return to first order
New Academy V	celebrates that all have made up [ends play]	[all major characters]	"Les tous ensembles"[="Alltowell"="Omnium Gatherum"], "dainty", a "frisk", a "fling", a "cariering dance", with accomp.
St.Patrick III	rejoicing (at forthcoming rape) [ends act]	devils	
Walks Isl. V	celebration of happiness and forthcoming weddings [ends play]	[major characters]	

Play	Dramatic context/function	Who dances	General
Bride III	to incite desire and taunt	blades and wenches at inn	"a measure", [possibly dance to singing or to accomp. of musicians]
[Calisto III	seductory entertainment for princess, to make her continue Jupiter's	shepherds and shepherdesses	possibly dance to singing]
City Madam III	merriment after rescue; possibly also seduction	prentices, wench and bawd	"a light lavolta", [accomp. by musicians ("strike up"), onstage]
Constant Maid II	to impress (wooing)	Startup (a foolish gentleman)	dances to singing
Duke's Mistress II	diversion with mistress	Duke and mistress [and courtiers]	
Duke's Mistress IV	courtship; opens act	Horatio and Fiametta	"a Coranto", [accomp.by musicians]
Example II	courtship	[major characters]	[with accomp.]
Fair Md. of Inn III	courtship	tailor,dancer, etc. [minor characters]	"in lively measure", dance "in severall postures", with accomp. ("sprightly musick")
Floating Island II	teasing courtship	Hilario(jovial gentleman)	[very likely "Love's Trenchmore"], dances to singing
Gamester III	expressing gay mood and pretending wantonness in seduction scene	Penelope(major character)	dances to singing
Ghost IV	amorous anticipation; indicates wanton character	Philarchus(usurer, major character)	dances to singing
[Ghost IV	"	" "	" "]
Grateful Serv.IV	masque; seduction	nymphs and satyrs	in a ring
Guardian(Cowley)V	seduction (after wedding), as exit	Tabytha and Cutter(major characters)	[possibly coranto?], [accomp. by fiddlers, onstage]

LOVE/LUST cont.

Play	Dramatic context/function	Who dances	General
Lady of Pleas.II	courtship	Celestina,Bornwell (major characters)	[possibly coranto or brawls]
Messalina II	courtship	Saufellus and Messalina(major characters)	a coranto [possibly accomp. by "rich music"]
Microcosmus III	seduction	Sensuality and Physander (major characters)	"a familiar country dance", to "livelier music" [compared to previous song or implied music during dialogue]
Novella III	courting	the Novella and Horatio	"the Novella", [with accomp.], played by maid [offstage]
Partial Law II	courtship	3 men and 3 women	"a new dance", with accomp. [possibly including tabor and pipe] and possibly intro. ("The Musicke plays, and they dance")
Senile Odium V	bawdy house	Tricongio and Cotyttia(minor characters)	2 dances,accomp.by musicians ("torturers of the gut strings"), [onstage]
Senile Odium V	"	Tittus and Lupa (boy and bawd)	accomp. as above
Seven Champs.III	attempt by enchanter to captivate with pleasure	temptations	[possibly accomp.by soft music]
[St.Patrick II	courtship, in temple	2 princesses and their lovers	with accomp. and apparently an intro. - music is directed 2 lines before dance is]
Twins III	courting	Combo and Douze(minor characters)	

RECREATION/SOCIAL DANCING

Play	Dramatic context/function	Who dances	General
Ball II	dancing lesson (3 dances directed; 1 implied)	ladies (and demonstration by dancer)	[include a "coronte" and "a new country dance"], [possibly accomp. by dancer on fiddle]
Ball III	dancing lesson (one dance directed; several more implied)	two men and dancer (demonstrates)	[possibly include a "jygge", a "cinquepace", possibly a bit of "pardonne moy" (seems unlikely)], dancer accompanies on fiddle
Ball IV	dancing lesson	ladies and gentlemen	["a country dance"], [with accomp., possibly fiddle again]
Ball V	ball [end of play]	[all at ball]	
Country Girl II	practising for dancing match	country girl's sister	dances to singing
Country Girl II	on way to country dancing match	7 country wenches	["a Morice"], accomp. by fiddler (on "Treble"?), onstage
[Country Girl II	" "	" "	accomp.by fiddler, onstage]
[Country Girl II	as exit to dancing match	7 country wenches	accomp.by fiddler, onstage]
Covent Garden V	to fill time before supper (happy after consent to wedding)	[major characters]	accomp.by servants on instruments, onstage
Hyde Park IV	dancing challenge	Lacy(major character)	[galliard], accomp.by bagpiper, onstage [music begins before the dancing]
New Academy III	practising dancing at academy	[Camelion and Strigood(major characters)]	"the Tresboun", accomp. by musicians

RECREATION/SOCIAL DANCING cont.

Play	Dramatic context/function	Who dances	General
New Academy III	amusement at academy	[clients of academy]	several dances - presumably a selection from previously named dances. (Courantes: "La Miniard, La Vemimde, Le Marquesse, Le Holland, La Brittaine, Le Roy, Le Prince, Le Montague. The Sarabande, the Canaries, La Reverree". Galliards: "the sellibrand, the Dolphine, the new Galliard, the Valette Galliard and lepees".) [Accomp.by musicians]
New Academy IV	amusement at academy [end of act]	[clients of academy]	
School of Comp.III	practising at School of Compliment	Bubulcus(rich gull)	
Sparagus Gdn.III	amusement in Sparagus Garden	courtiers	"a curious knot", with "graceful footing", with accomp.
Variety III	dancing practice	Lady and Lucy(major characters)	accomp.by singing (and possibly fiddling) of Galliard (dancing teacher)

RELIGION

Play	Dramatic context/function	Who dances	General
Strange Discov.II	pagan sacrifice	virgins	accomp.by music and singing ("at the sound of musicke and a song made fit and agreeable to the musicke, they danced")

SEDATIVE/CURATIVE/CONSOLATORY

Play	Dramatic context/function	Who dances	General
Bird in Cage III	to cheer up	attendant ladies	"country figaries", "a nimble dance", [possibly accomp. by ladies on lutes]
Great Duke IV	to cheer melancholy Lidia	[servants]	"hornpipe", "lusty"
Jovial Crew II	to entertain and cheer melancholy Oldrents(squire)	beggars	
Leo Armenus I	to ease cares of emperor's mind and bring about sleep	"a chorus"	
Love or Money IV	forcing Xantippe to be merry	Xantippe, Orlando, Mendoso	dance to singing and instrumental accomp. (musicians, onstage - called on to "play louder")
Microcosmus IV	symbolizing the qualities with which Temperance is curing Physander	Temperance's followers: philosopher, hermit, ploughman, shepherd	dance "every one in a proper garbe, shewing their respect to Temperance"
Sicily and Nap.II	dumb-show to aid recovery	6 furies(enter "in anticke postures")	with accomp.
Sicily and Nap.II	"	chorus of ghosts and Calantha (major character)	"some solemne measures"
Walks Isl. IV	to enliven while imprisoned	[major characters]	"an antick"[accomp.by musicians,onstage]
[Wizard III	to get rid of stitch	Hog (a pander)	"capers"]

SUPERNATURAL

Play	Dramatic context/function	Who dances	General
Amyntas III	entertainment of fairy knight by supposed fairies	"fairies"	"fairy ring", "light ayry measures, & fantastique rings", [with accomp.]
Fair Md. of Inn IV	show of supposed magic power	4 boys "shap't like Frogs",then joined by Clown	"a new dance calld leap-frog", with accomp. ("Musick playes") and intro.
Fairy Knight III	witches' rites	witches	"anticke dance", accomp.by lute
Fairy Knight IV	coronation of prince of fairies (sham)	4 "fairies"(boys)	
[Late Lanc.W.II	witches' rites	witches	round]
Late Lanc.W.III	wedding	[wedding party]	"Sellenger's Round",then "as they begin to dance, they play another tune, & then fall into many". "Beginning of the World" called for, but "every one a several tune" (referred to as the "running o'the country severall waies") (possibly a dance tune). Accomp. by bewitched fiddlers, onstage
Late Lanc.W.III	wedding; dance disrupted by witchcraft	[wedding party]	"lusty hornpipe", accomp.by Lancashire bagpiper, onstage
Late Lanc.W.IV	witches' rites	witches	"a merry round", accomp. by music ("in the air") and possibly singing
Messalina II	dream (inciting evil plotting)	furies	"an anticke"
Necromantes II	witch's rites	3 maids	dance "the Three-footed Trichuris, round", accomp. by witch's song and by dancers beating kettles with pestles
Necromantes IV	witch's rites	witches	accomp. by singing
New Trick IV	appearance of antics (after devil has been summoned)	antic - scrivener	"dances a strain"
New Trick IV	" "	antic - knave	"dancing another strain"

SUPERNATURAL cont.

Play	Dramatic context/function	Who dances	General
New Trick IV	" "	6 more antics (prodigal, beggar, Puritan, whore, usurer, devil)	possibly each dances on entry; then "the Daunce continued"
New Trick V	precedes appearance of the supposed Devil	devils	accomp. by music "all of discords"
Queen's Exch.III	dream (dumb-show)	ghosts of 6 Saxon kings	accomp.by loud music (they "fall into a dance; loud musick; after the dance...")
Seven Champs.III	attempt by enchanter to captivate with pleasure	temptations	[possibly accomp.by soft music]
Seven Champs.IV	presentation of pleasures of night	enchanter's spirits	"an active dance"
Telltale V	dumb-show	supposed ghosts	dance, then "another straine"

TAVERN AND DRINKING SCENES

Play	Dramatic context/function	Who dances	General
Bride III	to incite desire and taunt	blades and wenches at inn	"a measure", [possibly dance to singing or to accomp. of musicians]
Byrsa II	on way to taproom	messenger boy	dances to singing
Country Captain IV	tavern scene	captain	"reeles", to singing, [and possibly playing]
Fine Companion IV	tavern scene	the fine companion, soldiers, 4 wenches	"the Fine Companion", accomp. by fiddlers, onstage
Gent.of Venice III	tavern scene	Malipiero(major character), 2 companions, whore	[possibly accomp.by fiddlers]
Knave Grain III	tavern scene	drinkers	["Gascoynes Whibling"], accomp. by fiddler and Rubert's noyse, onstage
Lady Mother II	tavern scene	drinkers and musicians	"some country Igg or so", accomp.by fiddler and "the town waits", "behind the arras"
Leo Armenus III	play within play - worship of Alexander, followed by dance	six drunkards	[with accomp.]
Parson's Wedd. IV	drinking party	Parson et al.	"a country dance", accomp. by fiddlers, onstage
Politician III	drinking scene	Haraldus(major character)and 2 courtiers	[with accomp., by musicians]
Soddered Cit.I	drunken dancing	Brainsick (drunkard)	dances to his own singing
Tottenham Court III	drinking scene	[young gentlemen]	[accomp.by musicians, onstage]
Walks Isl. II	tavern scene	[major characters]	dance has several"changes", accomp.by musicians,onstage
Walks Isl. II	tavern scene	[major characters]	dance "to a sprightly Ayr", dance has "changes"

TAVERN AND DRINKING SCENES cont.

Play	Dramatic context/function	Who dances	General
Weeding C/G IV	tavern scene	[major characters]	accomp.by fiddlers, offstage, dance twice

WEDDING

Play	Dramatic context/function	Who dances	General
Arg.& Parthenia III	celebration of forthcoming wedding and of joy; ends act	shepherds	
Arg.& Parthenia IV	celebration of wedding	shepherds and shepherdesses	[possibly dance to singing]
Arg.& Parthenia V	celebration of forthcoming wedding of shepherds	shepherds	"a frisque or so"
Broken Heart V	ceremonial wedding dance	[major characters]	has four "changes", with entries and dialogue between them, then "cease music"; has accomp. ("more sprightly" music called for during dancing)
Contention H/R	celebration of wedding and making up [end of play]	[all major characters]	"some nimble air", [instrumental accomp. - "strike up"]
[Country Captain V	wedding celebration [end of play]	major characters]	
Court Beggar V	practising for wedding revels	Daynty(pickpocket)	
Court Beggar V	nuptial masque	masquers	
Cyprian Conq.V	celebration of forthcoming weddings	2 servants, Petronia and Martiatus(major characters)	
Eumorphus V	nuptial masque	9 masquers	"present themselves with ridiculous gestures"
[II Fair Md. West I-II	wedding celebration, between acts	Mullisheg and others	possibly moriscos, country dances, "Sellenger's round", "Tom Tiler"]
Fancies Chast II	wedding	bridegroom etc.	accomp.by fiddlers
Goblins IV	wedding	[wedding party]	[accomp.by fiddlers]
[Guardian(Cowley) V	wedding entry	major characters	"a merry dance", accomp. by fiddlers, onstage]

WEDDING cont.

Play	Dramatic context/function	Who dances	General
Guardian(Mass.) IV	wedding masque	countrymen and servant	with accomp.("wire-string and cats-guts men and strong-breath'd Hoboys"), "a most melodious note"
Hyde Park II	wedding - as enter	bride,groom,etc.	
Hyde Park II	wedding	Bonavent	[Canaries most likely; "Monsieure" also possible, or (less likely) "pardonne moye"]
Hyde Park II	wedding	Bonavent	"Excuse me" (tune is played & danced to)
Hyde Park II	wedding - as exit	[wedding party]	[with accomp.]
Imperiale IV	hymeneal masque	Hymen and youths "in antique forms"	"a wanton dance"
Imperiale IV	" "	masquers (as Thalassius and Romans)	"a warlike dance"
Jovial Crew IV	beggars' wedding	[wedding guests]	with accomp.[?pipe and fiddles], and possibly intro. (music is directed 3 lines before dance)
Ladies' Priv.V	wedding	7 virgins	
Lady Mother V	celebration of weddings [end of play]	[major characters]	[with accomp.]
Landgartha III	wedding masque	6 satyrs	"a short nimble anticke to no music, or at most to a single violin"
Landgartha III	wedding masque	Hector and Achilles	encounter each other "in a dumb show by way of a dance"

WEDDING cont.

Play	Dramatic context/function	Who dances	General
Late Lanc.W.III	wedding	[wedding party]	"Sellenger's Round",then "as they begin to dance, they play another tune, & then fall into many". "Beginning of the World" called for, but "every one a several tune" (referred to as the "running o'the country severall waies") (possibly a dance tune). Accomp. by bewitched fiddlers, onstage
Late Lanc.W.III	wedding; dance disrupted by witchcraft	[wedding party]	"lusty hornpipe", accomp.by Lancashire bagpiper, onstage
Love or Money I	wedding [ends act]	wedding guests	"Trenchmore", [accomp.by musicians, onstage]
Love or Money III	for merriment; and supposedly practising for wedding (ends act)	merry company - men and women	[with "lively" accomp.]
Love or Money IV	practising for wedding [ends act]	Mendoso, Corinna and friends	
Love's Hospital V	nuptial masque	masquers	
Love's Mistress V	wedding and happy ending	Cupid, Psyche, gods,goddesses	a "measure", with accomp. ("to the sweete musicke of the spheares") (possibly also accomp.by singing of Muses)
Mad Couple V	wedding	[wedding party]	
Messalina V	hymeneal masque	emperor et al.	[with accomp.]
[Money is Ass IV	wedding	wedding party]	
Ob.Lady IV	nuptial masque	[masquers]	accomp.by fiddlers
Paria IV	mad dancing, celebrating Jupiter's wedding	madman and servant	

WEDDING cont.

Play	Dramatic context/function	Who dances	General
Rival Friends IV	wedding	rustics	[possibly "Sellenger's Round in Sippets"or"Put on thy Smock on Monday" - is implied that both could be danced here], two dances, accomp.by 3 fiddlers, onstage
Seven Champs.V	wedding celebration	[knights]	"a souldiers dance"
Siege (Cart.)V	hymeneal masque	ladies and 5 statues of commanders (come to life)	"a sprightly dance", accomp.by violins
Thibaldus V	wedding revels	young people, masked	
Time's Trick II	practising for wedding	"	cinquepace
Tis Pity IV	nuptial masque	maidens	with accomp. and possibly intro. ("music, and a dance")
Trappolin II	hymeneal masque	masquers	"Hymen leads it"
Trappolin II	hymeneal masque	masquers	"they dance another dance which Hymen leads"

APPENDIX 5

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TWO LATIN PLAY SONGS

JULIA K. WOOD

Musical settings of lyrics from Latin plays written by Englishmen during the Caroline period are extremely rare. Only two such songs survive: 'Dulcis somne' from William Johnson's university play *Valetudinarium*, and 'Astrorum iubar' from Joseph Simons's school play *Zeno sive Ambitio Infelix*. Unusually, both songs are known only from copies bound into the play-texts themselves rather than from exclusively musical sources.[1] This article sets out to evaluate both the songs themselves and their dramatic functions.

Most Caroline Latin plays were written by university men and acted at the universities, and it is clear that many of these plays included music. Of the 21 such plays listed by A.B. Harbage in *Annals of English Drama*,[2] nine were definitely and six were probably performed at Oxford or Cambridge. According to William Prynne in *Histriomastix* (London, 1633), college plays were at that time becoming less frequently produced than formerly, owing to '*those expences of time and mony which they occasion*, and that affinity they have with common Stage-playes, which all ages, all Christian, all prophane Authors of note, and these our Universities have solemnely condemned'.[3] Prynne added that plays were given only at some colleges, 'and that by the particular Statutes of those houses made in times of Popery, which require some Latine Comedies, for learning-sake onely, to bee acted now and then'.[4] More recent research has shown that at Cambridge in the period leading up to the outbreak of the Civil War, Trinity and Queens' seem to have been the only colleges left at which plays were performed with distinction. Queens' was especially active in the 1630s, and before the end of that decade had invested in a new comedy house.[5] It was at Queens' College, possibly in this new stage house, that *Valetudinarium*, a comedy set in St Bartholomew's Hospital, London, was performed by members of the college on 6 February 1638.[6] The play was written by William Johnson (*c.*1610-1667), who matriculated as a pensioner from Queens' in 1627 and subsequently received the degrees of B.A. (1631), M.A. (1634) and D.D. (1661).[7] Three manuscript copies of the play survive, all in Cambridge and all slightly different from one another: University Library, MS Dd.III.73 (henceforth 'CUL'); Emmanuel College, MS I.2.32 ('EMM'); and St John's College, MS S.59 ('STJ').[8]

Valetudinarium contains fewer specifications for music than certain other Latin university plays. Unusually for a Latin play, most of the stage directions are in English. In Act IV Scene ix, Archiater 'sings ridiculously' to Cordelia (CUL: IV, ix, 6) a taunting love song, 'Reluces ut stella'. She responds that it is hard to say which of them is out of his or her mind, he who is mad or she who perishes for love of the madman. Eventually, at the close of the scene, she calms the unruly Archiater and sends him to sleep by singing 'Dulcis somne', the song for which music survives. In this song, which includes a chorus, she calls for the God of Sleep to descend; evidently this has the desired effect, and in the EMM text Cordelia requests help in gently carrying off the sleeping Archiater: 'Ha! Iam tandem dormit. deportemus—placide, obsecro, placide' (EMM: IV, ix, 27).[9] Later in the play, in Act V Scene xii, the newly recovered Molossus sings to accompany his dancing: 'Enter Moloss, practicing his dancing, & singing it as they that dance doe tralle, lalle, tralle....' (EMM: V, xii, 24-24.1). In the next scene he insists on performing the laudatory song he has composed, 'Salta iam Molosse salta' (CUL: V, xiii, 14-25), which rejoices in his cure and praises Archiater. Neither the latter song nor 'Reluces ut stella' includes a chorus. No inter-act songs are indicated; indeed, play-texts of the period rarely specify them, although in practice such songs were often included in performance.[10]

The musical setting of 'Dulcis somne' is found uniquely in the CUL copy, immediately after the quotation of the lyric within the dialogue of the play on f.22v (ff.23-23v; Figure 1). The setting is notated in different ink and the textual underlay is in a different hand from that of the play-text. In

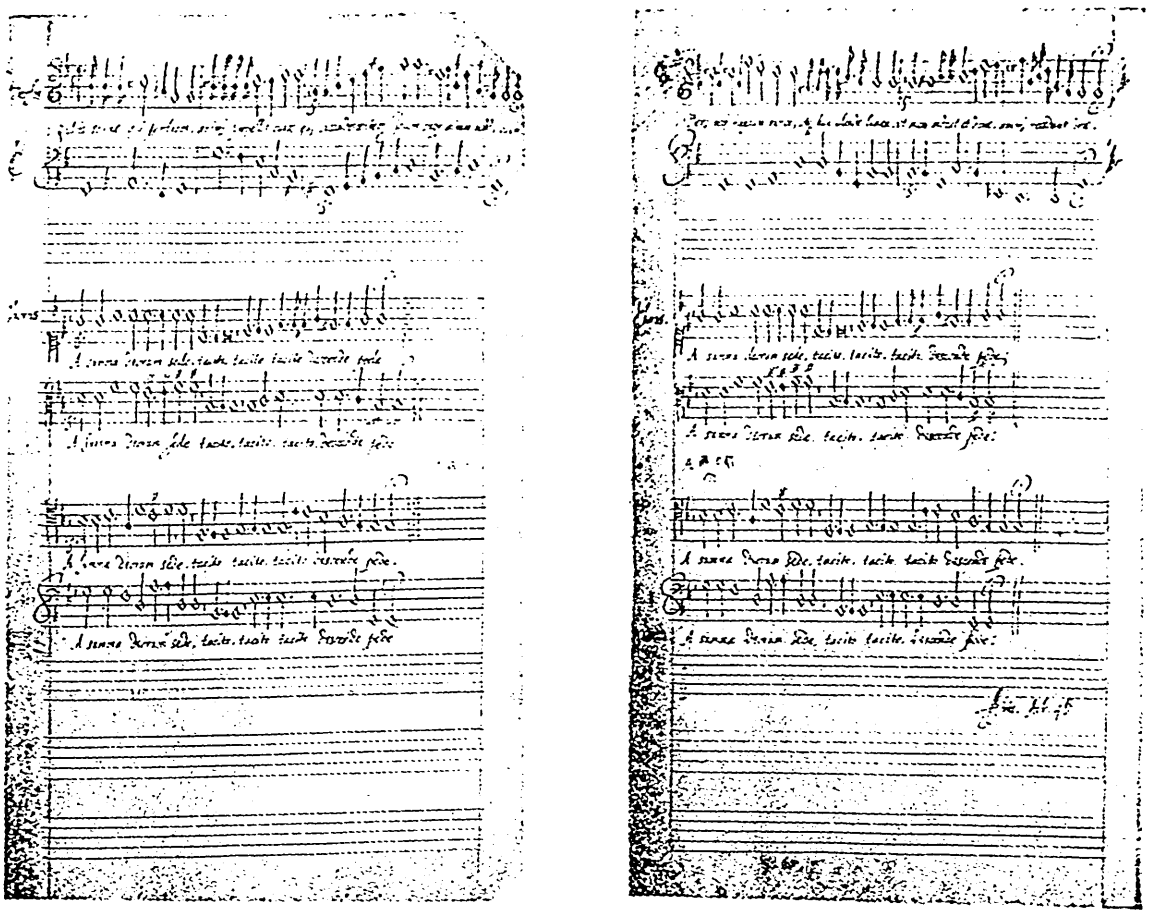

Figure 1: Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.III.73, ff.23-23v. Reproduced by permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

addition, the entire setting appears on a leaf separate from the rest of the play-text, containing no dialogue, and the song may have been copied on to a single leaf that was only later interpolated into the play-text. The idea that play-songs were kept by musicians or performers on separate sheets containing both words and music is not a new one;[11] Reed conjectured that it would have been unnecessary to insert such material into the texts used by the actors or prompter, 'since all that was needed was some cue or warning for actors and musicians that at a certain point in the play a song must be performed'.[12] Possibly in this instance a separate sheet containing the song was added after performance in order to make the manuscript as complete a record as possible of the performance—although this raises questions about the absence of music for the other two lyrics. It is even conceivable that the musical setting was composed and inserted into the play-text independently of dramatic performance, although the fact that the direction 'Finis. Act.4ti' is written below the setting by the hand that provided the underlay to the music does imply that the setting was linked to the performance of the play. Another possibility is that the setting was not after all a later interpolation but was written directly into the play-text, perhaps because this copy of the play belonged to the actor who took the part of Cordelia, the character who sings 'Dulcis somne'.

In 'Dulcis somne' a solo soprano alternates with a four-part chorus in music that is dramatic rather than lyrical in style. As Andrew J. Sabol has previously suggested, the music for this song is of considerable importance for establishing the tone of the scene, which with its invocation of the God of Sleep creates a sharp contrast with the fooling of Archiater earlier in the scene. Sabol also notes that the setting's 'alternation of a solo voice singing *recitativo* with a four-part chorus reveals that this university play was decked out with considerable care'.[13] The fairly sophisticated setting surely reflects the circumstances under which this play was produced and a university audience that was presumably musically literate. There are two solo verses, sung to different music, in a rhetorical declamatory style that shows some Italian influence; the style resembles that of other surviving Caroline university play songs, such as those for *The Rival Friends*. A chorus, mostly homophonic though with some overlapping of voices, follows each verse. This succession of solo by chorus can be found in certain Caroline masque songs, for example 'Hence, hence, ye profane' from *The Triumph of Peace*, and alternating verses and chorus occur in songs from other Caroline university plays, such as 'Come from the dungeon to the throne' and 'Now the sun is fled' from *The Royal Slave*.

The dialogue preceding 'Dulcis somne' indicates that Cordelia accompanies the song on a 'cythera' or 'cithara', presumably in this instance a lute. At its first performance at Queens', this part would have been sung by Jasper Whithead.[14] The chorus is more problematic: only in the EMM text for this scene is there mention of characters who could have formed part of the chorus, and even then further singers would have been necessary to make up the required number of four parts. At its first performance, the actors of *Valetudinarium* were all members of Queens' College, and as Ian Spink has observed, 'though the standard of acting [in university plays] might not have been high, yet the singing was surely good and permitted a considerable amount of chorus work, since musicians could be drawn from college chapels'.[15] Surviving bursarial accounts which record expenses connected with this play contain no specific reference to musicians, though some of the names mentioned might be relevant: for example, 'Mr Lilly', possibly John Lilly the Cambridge theorbo player, and 'Jo. Browne', conceivably the 'Mr Browne' of the University Waits who is mentioned in the records of Peterhouse and Trinity College.[16] There is some evidence of the involvement of the University Musick in college dramatic performances, with £2 paid 'To the University Musick for their attendance 2 days at the Comedy' in the Trinity accounts for 1669-70; however, the waits of the town are also known to have taken part in such performances.[17]

Although there is no indication of the composer of 'Dulcis somne', several possibilities come to mind. One is George Jeffreys, seven of whose settings for the production of Peter Hausted's play *The Rival Friends* in 1632, also at Queens', are extant.[15] They share some stylistic traits with 'Dulcis somne'; all but two are for between one and three solo voices with five-part chorus. Another possible

composer is Robert Ramsey, organist at Trinity College from 1628 to 1644 and Master of the Children from 1637 to 1644. Perhaps the 'Mr Loosemore' referred to in the bursarial accounts might even indicate the involvement of George or Henry Loosemore, both of them Cambridge composers, although for various reasons this is perhaps unlikely. It has not been possible to identify the hand of this setting from surviving autographs of likely composers.

Zeno sive Ambitio Infelix (Fratrum Concordia Saeva), a tragedy about the fall of Zeno of Byzantium, is one of three Latin school plays written during the Caroline period by the Englishman Joseph Simons and performed while he was a master at the Jesuit school for English boys in St Omers. Jesuit schools in many parts of Europe made much use of Latin school drama as an educational method; it 'strove to develop ... the pupil's ability in Latin, his oratorical powers, and ... to improve his character', and during the seventeenth century such plays became 'the most spectacular dramas of the age'.[19] St Omers in particular 'fostered an unusually active dramatic spirit in a significant Latin Theatre',[20] and its plays frequently involved elaborate staging.[21] Joseph Simons (1593-1671), born Emmanuel Lobb, became a Jesuit in 1619 and taught at St Omers College from 1623 to 1631. He was later rector of the English College at Rome, then at that of Liège. In 1667 he became the Provincial of the English Jesuits in London, and in 1669 received the Duke of York (later James II) into the Catholic Church.[22]

Zeno sive Ambitio Infelix was first performed by the boys of St Omers for the annual prize-giving or 'Distribution' on 7 August 1631,[23] and it was subsequently revived at many Jesuit schools;[24] the earliest printed edition indicates that by 1648 it had been given in Rome, Naples, Seville and elsewhere. The elaborate training in vocal and instrumental music at St Omers, and the dependence of the St Omers theatre on music, have been described by McCabe, who makes the following observation about Simons:

> [Simons] is of major importance, both as utilizing music on the stage to an impressive extent and as provoking thereby, in all probability, restrictions on both music and plays. Simons' texts show music wedded to drama chiefly in two ways: incidentally, as might be expected, in interludes separating the acts, and in occasional ballets and songs; structurally, and more skilfully, in scenes where music vitalizes the dramatic atmosphere, and in dumb shows and ballets that contribute to the dramatic framework of the play.[25]

As the following outline shows, *Zeno* contained much more music than *Valetudinarium*, and this music occupied a more integral part in the play, with songs, instrumental music, dances and dumb shows within the acts, and musical interludes between the acts. Again there are several extant texts, and these differ in their directions for music. The play survives in four manuscripts: London, British Library, Harleian MS 5024; Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii.VI.35; Cambridge, St John's College, MS 504; and Stonyhurst College, MS B.VI.25. In addition it appears in several seventeenth-century printed editions: Rome, 1648; Antwerp, 1649 (with Simons's *Mercia*); and in all editions of Simons's *Tragoediae Quinque* (Liège, 1656, reprinted 1657; Cologne, 1680 and 1697).[26] (A free translation and adaptation of the play, entitled *The Imperial Tragedy*, was published anonymously in 1669, and is usually ascribed tentatively to Sir William Killigrew.[27]) In general the printed editions give more directions and specify greater detail than the manuscript texts. The summary below is based on directions given in the 1648 Rome edition.

The most interesting passage in *Zeno*, the only one for which music survives, occurs during Act II Scene i. Here a musician sings in an attempt to ease Longinus's melancholy, twice cheerfully, once sadly, and then Longinus calls for an unlucky, wild song: 'Astrorum iubar'. This prose lyric makes an earlier appearance in the play. It comprises a warning made by Pelagius to Zeno about the latter's brother Longinus, opposing Zeno's plans to establish Longinus as co-ruler with himself in place of young Basiliscus. Longinus, listening in to this, notes on his writing tablets what Pelagius has said. He rushes in, furiously accusing Pelagius of lying, and claims vengeance. It is Pelagius's hostile opinion

of him that, in Act II Scene i, brings on Longinus's melancholy. According to the 1648 text, he reads the verses of 'Astrorum iubar' from the tablets ('legit Longinus haec carmina e pugillaribus': II, i, 25): the musician then sings this lyric, as is evident from the British Library manuscript, where this song is also written out in a musical setting.[28] A final stage direction indicates that Longinus falls asleep during the song, and a dumb show then takes place; dancing is specified. In this dumb show the outcome of the plot is foreseen: it depicts Fortune giving the crown to Anastasius rather than to Longinus. As a result of Longinus having fallen asleep, Longinus's tablets fall from his hands and are read by Anastasius, who is then forewarned of Longinus's intentions—information on which he is able to act. Having helped send Longinus to sleep, the song can therefore be said to have contributed to his downfall and death at the hand of Anastasius. *The Roman Actor* (V, i) contains a song important to the plot in a similar way.

Other references to music in *Zeno* are of a more general kind, and no music for them is known to exist. The play opens with the braying of trumpets and the sounding of drums. Trumpets are frequently called for later in the play, with both military and other connotations, and a drummer appears in the final scene to accompany Longinus's funeral procession. In Act III Scene ii, during the 'play within a play', the sleeping champions are roused to the sound of a trumpet, and they then perform a war-like dance under Mars's leadership. While music plays, they surrender their weapons to Mars. Zeno now calls his guards to arms, and the players and Harmatius—Zeno's discontented general—are taken. Harmatius's plan to kill Zeno during the military dance has been prevented by Urbitius's betrayal. The military ballet is thus vital to the plot. In Act IV Scene iv, two angels sing to Pelagius while he is worshipping; the scene closes with a chorus singing behind the curtain. Both singing and dancing are involved in the climax of the tragedy, the drinking party in Act V Scene viii. Longinus calls on Bacchus, and there follows another dumb show. There is a Bacchic procession, a song and music. Later a double ballet takes place: a dance of Ethiopian boys, followed by one of satyrs. Subsequently the drunken Zeno collapses, is captured, and buried alive as predicted. Between each of the acts, the 1648 edition includes a direction for a 'Chorus Musicorum, vel interludium'. Simons states in the preface to this edition that musical interludes replace the Chorus. This appears to be genuine neo-classicism and is interesting at this date.[29]

The setting of 'Astrorum iubar' is known only from the British Library text, Harleian MS 5024 (ff.13v-14; Figure 2), where it immediately follows the quotation of the lyric within the play-text itself. In this case the possibility of the leaves containing the setting being a later interpolation into the play-text does not arise, since the leaves in question are an integral part of the manuscript, with dialogue written on ff.13 and 14v—although the hand that has added the lyric, the setting, and a direction that the lyric is to be read out (presumably before it is sung), is not the same as that of the main text. It is significant that the musical setting of this song is only a sketch: the accompaniment is indicated by musically inelegant chords in staff notation, with blank staves left apparently for the realization of these chords into tablature. The play-text itself is incomplete in other respects: it contains blank spaces where, as comparison with the 1648 edition shows, stage directions were intended but never written in.[30] Taken together with the various insertions, deletions and work of different hands that appear in the manuscript, this raises the possibility that the text was a working copy, possibly one that was being prepared for stage use but was never completed, and it may even have been handed to the composer to sketch in his ideas for the setting of 'Astrorum iubar'. It is even possible that this manuscript was associated with the original performance of *Zeno*. (For various reasons, including its incompleteness and the fact that it is not in folio, it seems unlikely that this text was a prompt copy.[31]) The song itself, performed in response to Longinus's request for an unlucky, wild song to be howled with ill-omened sound ('Age: iunge carmen: carmen infaustum ferum. Inauspicato carmen ululandum sono': Harleian MS: Epitasis, i, 23-4), could have been so unconventional and vital to the dramatic situation as to merit the inclusion of the full lyric and the musical setting in such a copy of the play, while other songs in *Zeno* were of a type sufficiently conventional in the repertory of Jesuit theatre to be placed in the hands of performers or the stage manager, and thus left as cues only.[32] It is also possible that the setting

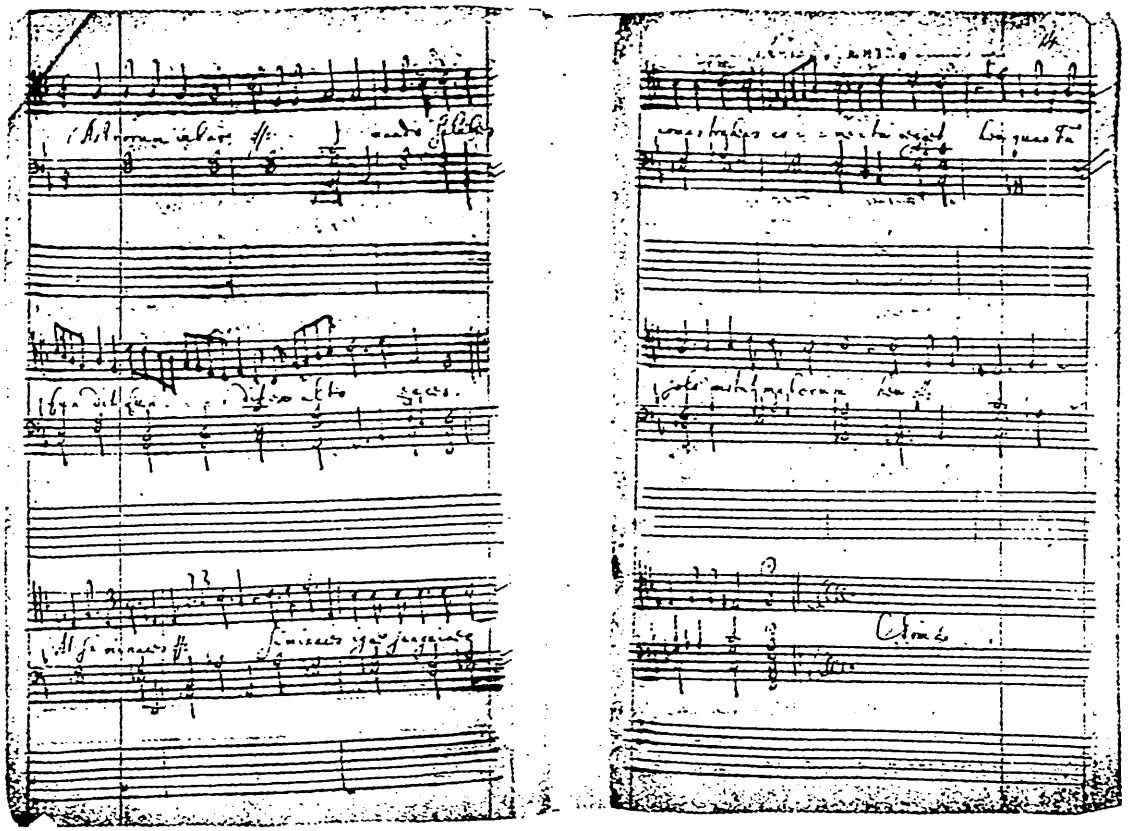

Figure 2: London, British Library, MS Harleian 5024, ff.13v-14. Reproduced by permission of the British Library.

[13] Andrew J. Sabol, 'Recent Studies in Music and English Renaissance Drama', *Shakespearean Research and Opportunities*, 4 (1968-9), 13.
[14] Smith, *College Plays*, 88.
[15] Ian Spink, 'English Cavalier Songs, 1620-60', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 86 (1959-60), 69.
[16] For quotation from the Peterhouse and Trinity records, see Craig Monson, *Voices and Viols in England, 1600-1650. The Sources and the Music* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1982), 127. The Queens' College bursarial accounts are quoted in George Charles Moore Smith, ed., 'The Academic Drama at Cambridge: Extracts from College Records', *Malone Society Collections*, 2/2 (n.p., 1923), 192-3.
[17] Smith, *College Plays*, 32 and 1-2.
[18] Peter Aston, 'George Jeffreys', *The Musical Times*, 110 (1969), 772 and 774; idem., 'Tradition and Experiment in the Devotional Music of George Jeffreys', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 99 (1972-3), 105-8; Peter Le Huray, 'George Jeffreys', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London, 1980), IX, 583-6.
[19] James Lukens McConaughy, *The School Drama Including Palsgrave's Introduction to Acolastus* (New York, 1913), 71, 73. For further references to the Jesuits' employment of the educational value of drama, see L.-V. Gofflot, *Le Théâtre au Collège du Moyen Age à Nos Jours* (Paris, 1907), 92-3; T.H. Vail Motter, *The School Drama in England* (London, New York & Toronto, 1929), 228; G.P. Sandham, 'An English Jesuit Dramatist, Fr Joseph Simeon, 1593-1671', *The Month*, 24 (1960), 308; Hubert Chadwick, *St Omers to Stonyhurst. A History of Two Centuries* (London, 1962), 133-4.
[20] William McCabe, 'The Play-List of the English College of St Omers 1592-1762', *Revue de Littérature Comparée*, 17 (1937), 356.
[21] For information on drama at St Omers, see McCabe, 'The Play-List', 355-75; idem., 'Notes on the St Omers College Theatre', *Philological Quarterly*, 17 (1938), 225-39; Chadwick, *St Omers to Stonyhurst*, 125-40.
[22] Henry Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus* (London, 1875-83), I, 272-3; VI, 278; VII/1, 463-4; Leslie Stephen and Sydney Lee, eds., *The Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1885-1901), LII, 257-8; McCabe, 'The Play-List', 357; Bentley, *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, V, 1172; Sandham, 'An English Jesuit Dramatist', 309; Suzanne Gossett, 'Drama in the English College, Rome, 1591-1660', *English Literary Renaissance*, 3 (1973), 65.
[23] For information on where *Zeno* was first performed, see Smith, *College Plays*, 96, and McCabe, 'The Play-List', 364. The date of the first performance is given on f.37v of London, British Library, MS Add. 9354 ('Registrum Audomarensis Anglorum Gymnasii').
[24] Gossett, 'Drama in the English College', 64; on the elaborate revival of *Zeno* at the English College at Rome in 1634, see ibid., 72 and 79-83.
[25] William McCabe, 'Music and Dance on a Seventeenth-Century College Stage', *The Musical Quarterly*, 24 (1938), 317-18.
[26] The manuscript texts of *Zeno* are divided into Protasis (Actus I in the British Library MS), Epitasis, Catastasis and Catastrophe; the printed editions are in five acts.
[27] William McCabe, 'The Imperial Tragedy', *Philological Quarterly*, 15 (1936), 311-14.
[28] On the stage convention of first reciting, then singing lyrics, see William John Lawrence, 'The Wedding of Poetry and Song', *Those Nut-Cracking Elizabethans. Studies of the Early Theatre and Drama* (London, 1935).
[29] Another Caroline play, *Fuimus Troes*, quotes the lyrics of the songs at the ends of the acts; some of these comment on the action in the manner of a Chorus.
[30] For example, in Scene ii of the Catastasis.
[31] The characteristics of a prompt copy are described in Ronald Brunlees McKerrow, 'The Elizabethan Printer and Dramatic Manuscripts', *The Library*, 4th series, 12 (1931), 270-2. See also Sir Walter Wilson Greg, *Dramatic Documents from the Elizabethan Playhouses* (Oxford, 1931), Commentary, 204.
[32] See Bowden, *The English Dramatic Lyric* (cited in note 11 above), 90.
[33] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Mus.B.1 is incomplete in a similar way: 'most of the songs are given in the treble and unfigured bass arrangement common to song collections of the time, but in [this] manuscript space has been left for the insertion of the lute tablature': Vincent Duckles, 'The "Curious" Art of John Wilson (1595-1674): An Introduction to his Songs and Lute Music', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 7 (1954), 96. It is interesting to compare the accompaniment for 'Astrorum iubar' with the sketchy keyboard parts for two Jacobean songs in the John Bull MS (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS Mu 752): neither provides 'a musical accompaniment as it stands, being more of an indication of the harmony and the way it is to be developed than a fully written-out setting': John Harley, 'Two Jacobean Songs', *Early Music*, 6 (1978), 385-6.
[34] In *The Imperial Tragedy*, the English adaptation of *Zeno*, the word 'lute' is adopted.
[35] On the use of the lyra viol in song accompaniment, see Mary Cyr, 'Song Accompaniments for Lyra Viol and Lute', *Journal of the Lute Society of America*, 4 (1971), 43-9, and Peter Walls, 'Lyra Viol Song', *Chelys*, 5 (1973-4), 68-75.
[36] Biographical information on this man is to be found in Foley, *Records* (see note 22 above), VII/2, 713; Wilfrid Kelly, ed., *Liber Ruber Venerabilis Collegii Anglorum de Urbe. I. Annales Collegii. Pars Prima. Nomina Alumnorum. I. A.D. 1579-1630*, Catholic Record Society, 37 (London, 1940), 208; Anthony Kenny, ed., *The Responsa Scholarum of the English College Rome. Part Two. 1622-1685*, Catholic Record Society, 55 (n.p., 1963), 383; Godfrey Anstruther, *The Seminary Priests: A Dictionary of the Secular Clergy of England and Wales, 1558-1850* (Great Wakering, 1969-77), II, 278; Geoffrey Holt, *St Omers and Bruges Colleges, 1593-1773. A Biographical Dictionary*, Catholic Record Society, 69 (n.p., 1979), 230.